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THE

# EDINBURGH REVIEW,

APRIL 1807.

## No. XIX.

ART. I. *The Dangers of the Country.* By the Author of War in Disguise, &c. 8vo. pp. 227. Hatchard, London, 1807.

WE agree with the greater part of this boding volume; and we think the author has discharged a great public duty, in endeavouring to impress the country with a sense of its dangers, and to train us to that sort of fortitude which consists, not in shutting our eyes to the hazard, but in providing steadily against it.

After passing rather too slightly over the extent of our danger from the military power of France, and the risk of an actual subjugation, he proceeds to detail, under ten several heads, the consequences which would follow from such a calamitous occurrence. To the few who have allowed themselves to reflect on the subject, such an enumeration must be useless; but it may startle the thoughtless, and rouse the multitude from their dream of apathy, thus to see these menaced evils embodied and spread out before them, which they have hitherto apprehended only as a remote and indistinct possibility. If great sacrifices, too, and great exertion should become necessary, as we greatly fear they may, in the prosecution of the contest, it is of use to keep before us the amount of the miseries from which we are purchasing redemption.

The author does not dwell at all upon the horrors of the conquest itself, nor on the proscriptions and confiscations with which it would infallibly be attended. He supposes this great work to be finally consummated; and merely sets himself to estimate the changes which would be produced in the condition of the surviving population.

The first would be, the transference of our sceptre to the hands of some creature of the conqueror, or the total suppres-

sion of our independence, by our conversion into a province or department of his empire. The author thinks the last most probable; as our insular situation, maritime habits and untractable character, might otherwise give us a chance for recovering our freedom, and converting a nominal into a real independence. In either event, he rightly concludes, that our free constitution would be annihilated. It is this freedom, more than our commercial prosperity or our national influence, which excites the alarm and jealousy of our enemy: it exhales a vapour unhealthful to the constitution of despotism; and while England is free, the master of France must be uneasy. We might still have Parliaments, however, and mock elections; but we may guess at the measure of power which would be left to those assemblies, from that which we have seen entrusted to the senates of France or of Holland.

The consequences of conquest, however, would first come home to individuals, in the destruction of our laws and personal privileges. No one can be extravagant enough to imagine that a French government would allow a *habeas corpus*, a jury, or a gaol-delivery to its English subjects. We cannot hope for more than it indulges to its own people. The liberty of the press in France, too, may safely be taken as the measure of what it would be in England; and in comparison with the tyranny now exercised there, in this respect, the policy of the Inquisition, the Sorbonne, and the Bourbons, was perfect freedom. Their interference was restrictive or prohibitory merely; but the present governor of France compels its journalists to publish, as well as to suppress, whatever he pleases. He has personal quarrels, too, with the English press; which we are afraid could not be settled by mere prospective regulations. There are more than Peltier who might meet with the fate of Palm.

The next thing we should lose, would be the security of personal liberty. This consequence of conquest we shall give in the words of our author. It is a favourable specimen of his most popular manner.

'We must lay aside also that proud sense of personal inviolability, which we now cherish so fondly; and, what is justly prized still more, the civil sanctity of our homes. The Englishman's house must be his castle no more.

'Instead of our humble watchmen to wish us respectfully good night, when returning to our abodes in the evening, we shall be challenged at every turning by military patroles, and shall be fortunate, if we meet no pert boy in commission, or ill-natured trooper, to rebuke us with the back of his sword, or with a lodging in the guard-house, for a heedless or tardy reply. Perhaps, after all, when we arrive at our homes, instead of that quiet fire-side at which we expected to sit in domestic

domeſtic privacy with our wives and children, and relieve our burthened hearts by ſighing with them over the ſorrows of our country, we ſhall find ſome ruffian familiars of the police on a domiciliary viſit; or ſome inſolent young officers, who have ſtepped in unaſked to relieve their tedium while on guard, by the converſation of our wives and daughters. It would be dangerous, however, to offend ſuch unwelcome gueſts, or even not to treat them with all the reſpect due to brave warriors who have ſerved under Napoleon the Great.

'But, ſhould we eſcape ſuch intruders for the evening, ſtill we muſt lye down, uncertain whether our dwellings will be left unviolated till the morning. A tremendous noiſe will often at midnight rouſe the father of a family from his ſleep, and he will hear a harſh voice commanding to open the gate, through which its hapleſs maſter will ſoon paſs to return no more.' p. 20, 21.

The moſt diſaſtrous conſequence of conquest, would be the annihilation of national and individual opulence. The mere deſtruction of the funds would beggar an incredible multitude; but the trade and the riches of England would infallibly perish with its ſecurity for property—its equal laws—its colonies and commanding navy. It is only neceſſary indeed to conſider, how much greater and more powerful we are at this moment than our population or extent of territory ſhould naturally have made us, to ſee how much more we ſhould loſe, in loſing our independence, than any other people. We ſhould fall like Tyre or Carthage, if the foundations of our commercial greatneſs were once withdrawn. The quantity of domeſtic miſery which would be produced, in ſuch a population as ours, by this vaſt and general impoveriſhment, ſurpaſſes all calculation. The author is very long upon it; and gives a number of pictures and details, which we recommend to the conſideration of all thoſe who think that induſtry is ſecure of its reward in every civilized ſociety, and that it is mere romance for people in the middling conditions of life to fight for political privileges, or for the choice of their rulers.

The rigours of a ſuſpicious provincial military government, would be displayed in full force over the politicians of conquered England.—Our mobs and our clubs, and even our coffee-houſe converſations, would be effectually broken up by the ſabre and the bayonet. Sanguinary puniſhments would repreſs the new invented crimes of ſuſpected diſaffection and ſedition; and the happy invention of military conſcription, would take off the turbulent part of our youth, to recruit the legions of their maſter, and to extend his conquests in another quarter of the globe.

The author next foreſees the deſtruction of our religious liberty, and the compulſory reſtitution of Popery, among the immediate conſequences of our ſubjugation. We heſitate more

about this, than any of his preceding anticipations; though it is no doubt true, that the universality of that faith would be very convenient for an Emperor who keeps the Pope at his disposal, and that there is something in the constitution and doctrine of many of the Protestant churches which would be likely enough to give offence to an absolute sovereign.

The last evil to which the author directs the attention of his countrymen, is the general dissoluteness of manners which would result, partly from the debasement uniformly produced by loss of liberty, but chiefly from the contagion of that profligate and licentious soldiery which would be quartered over all the land, and would naturally take the lead in every thing in which their example could be seducing or pernicious.

Such are the obvious and tremendous evils which this author very fairly and clearly deduces from the supposition of our yielding to the fate which has already fallen on the greater part of Europe, and being subjugated by the arms of France. There is no fancy, unfortunately, and no exaggeration in the statement; every article of it is supported by precedents; every tint is coloured from the life. It is even a softened delineation; for no allowance is made for the peculiar rancour and hostility with which the enemy has always avowed himself to be actuated towards us, more than any other of his opponents.

In the second part of his work, the author proposes to point out a remedy for these evils. But, in this more comfortable and pleasing task, we are concerned to say that he is by no means equally successful. His prescription for averting the present crisis, consists of three ingredients. 1. We are *not* to make peace till matters look better on the Continent; 2. We are to improve our military system, chiefly by filling our ranks with very young men; 3. and finally, We are to deserve the favour of Heaven by reforming our lives, and by forthwith abolishing the slave-trade. Upwards of seventy pages are devoted to pious declamations against this abominable traffic, and reasonings and citations from the Revelations, to show that the successes of Bonaparte have been permitted as a chastisement and admonition to its supporters. All this may be very well meant; but the reasoning, we suspect, would scarcely go down in a sermon. The subject, however, requires a more deliberate consideration.

We cannot bring ourselves to enlarge upon the actual hazard in which we stand, of invasion and possible defeat, though it is here that the prejudices which tie up our hands from exertion are most fatally prevalent. After all we have seen of the unalterable hostility, the daringness and perseverance of our enemy, it is not a little alarming to think how general the persuasion still

is,

is, that nothing in the shape of a formidable invasion will be attempted. Even on the supposition of such an attempt, the greater part of our countrymen have never allowed themselves to imagine any thing beyond a battle at sea. A few of the more resolute have perhaps looked forward to a momentary and unambiguous conflict on the beach with those who had escaped from our maritime vengeance: but we cannot discover that the idea of a protracted contest in the interior has ever been admitted, or that any preparations have been made in contemplation of such a possibility. What the consequences may be of such neglect, we have just been attempting to point out. For some of the facts which imperiously call upon us to take security against them, we refer our readers to the following passages of the work now before us.

'Though his threats of invasion have been suspended, not so his naval preparations. He has not discontinued the building of that great number of ships of the line, the keels of which were long since laid at Antwerp, at Brest, and in various other ports of his dominions; and the dock-yards of Venice, are now fully employed, as well as those of Spain and Holland, in preparing for him a regular marine. Meantime, the Boulogne flotilla has been carefully maintained upon that extensive scale, and in that fitness for immediate service, to which he had raised it before his march for the Rhine. It is, if public and general report may be credited, capable of transporting, by a single embarkation, 150,000 men to our shores. Nor is that flotilla to be despised, as an instrument of invasion, when in the hands of a man prodigal of the lives of his troops, and inexorably bent on the accomplishment of his purpose: more especially now, when he has gained renown enough, and strength enough, both at home and abroad, to be in no danger, from the discontent that might be excited by the loss of an army.

'We had some security perhaps, till now, from the dilemma in which Napoleon was placed, by the necessity of either risking his own person in the passage, or resigning to another commander the glory of the expedition, in the event of its success. But now, he can afford to spare, to Murat, to Massena, Davoust, or some other distinguished general, the renown of conquering Great Britain; nor feel any apprehension that such a delegate will use the large force to be committed to him, either at Boulogne, or on this side the channel, so as to triumph with safety, and avoid the fate of Moreau. The Usurper will therefore most probably not expose himself to the inconvenience of leading the army of England, nor rashly re-engage himself to do so; but will yield to the prayers of his *anxiously affectionate* subjects, and devolve on some favourite chief, that hazardous command.

'But the Boulogne flotilla will not be relied upon, as the only mean of invasion. In other ports of the channel, in the German Ocean, the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, and the Adriatic, regular and powerful armaments will be prepared, so as to distract our attention, and divide our naval force; nor would it be possible for us to blockade them all,

through every ſeaſon, and with fleets and ſquadrons ſufficiently ſtrong, if our navy were three times as large and potent as it actually is. It would be prepoſterous therefore to ſuppoſe, that from no part of his immenſe maritime regions, will the enemy be able to ſend expeditions to ſea; and not leſs ſo, to rely that his fleets and tranſports will all be met with by Britiſh ſquadrons, before they can land troops on our ſhores. Even the vigilance and energy of Nelſon, could not prevent the powerful invaſion of Egypt; and if, prior to 1805, any man believed that it is impoſſible for the hoſtile fleets to ſteal from their harbours, to perform voyages, and to land forces in diſtant parts, without being arreſted by Britiſh fleets in their way, he muſt now be quite cured of that miſtake. We have learnt, by reiterated experience within the laſt two years, that all this may be done, without the diſcovery even of the point of deſtination, till it is too late to fruſtrate the plan.

'It would not be quite ſo eaſy, I admit, to collect and ſend to ſea, with equal ſecrecy, a fleet large enough to waft over an army adequate to the invaſion of England; but ſuppoſing ſuch fleets to be collected at more ports than one, even this might very probably be effected. It muſt not, however, be concluded, that the enemy will certainly be driven to the neceſſity of embarking by ſtealth. A much more likely, and feaſible expedient would be, the bringing together, by combined and well concerted movements, a large part of his naval force, at the deſtined point of embarkation, and then ſailing openly for our coaſt, under the protection of a fleet ſuch as we could not immediately collect ſhips enough to intercept and defeat.

'It has been computed by ſea-officers of reputation and judgment, that 150,000 men might be embarked at Boulogne in a ſingle day; for the veſſels now collected there, are ſo conſtructed as to take the ground without damage; and when anchored at high-water mark, on a long ſandy beach which is impregnably fortified for their protection, they are left dry for hours by the ebb tide; ſo that the troops may march on board by means of planks, as quickly almoſt as they could file off into their barracks; and at the return of high water, be ready to put to ſea. If ſo, the command of the channel for eight and forty hours, might ſuffice for the moſt formidable invaſion.' p. 109—112.

And afterwards—

'After all, have we effective ſoldiers, regular or irregular, ſufficient, in point of numbers, to make the country perfectly ſafe againſt a powerful invaſion?

'The volunteers, much more than the regulars, are diſperſed in every part of the iſland; and no great proportion of them could be convened at any given point, ſoon enough to ſtop the progreſs of an enemy, who might land on our eaſtern or ſouthern coaſt, before he could become maſter of London. Beſides, the defects which I have juſt been ſtating, would be found peculiarly fatal, if ſuch troops were to be marched from diſtant parts of the iſland, immediately prior to their being brought into action.

'Of the volunteers now enrolled throughout the kingdom, a great many

many are certainly, in point of diſcipline, as well as bodily qualifications, unfit for actual ſervice; and a large proportion even of thoſe who are returned as effective, will not be found ſo upon trial. It is too common, I fear, to keep every member on the effective liſt, who has once exerciſed with the corps in battalion upon an inſpection or general muſter; though, perhaps, he never was perfect even in his manual exerciſe, and has forgot the little he once learned of it. Theſe undiſciplined effectives too, are, it is probable, increaſing very rapidly, in almoſt every corps not receiving pay, though their nominal force remains undiminiſhed.

'Without enlarging on this ſubject, I will hazard an opinion that there are not 50,000 volunteers in the whole iſland, now ready to take the field, and fit to act againſt an enemy; yet, were there ſix times as many, it might be difficult to draw together two armies of that amount, in time to make a firſt and ſecond ſtand, for the exiſtence of their country. Suppoſing a battle to be loſt, and London in the hands of the invaders, the ſubſequent junction of volunteers, who are ſcattered over the whole face of the iſland, would be no eaſy work. With a moſt active and energetic enemy in the centre, the communications between the eaſt and the weſt, the north and the ſouth, of the iſland, would not be long open. The hope therefore of further reſiſtance, would depend, not merely on our having enough of effective volunteers, to form a powerful reſerve, but on their being ſufficiently numerous, to make head in different parts of the country at the ſame moment, and fight their way in large bodies to a general rendezvous, though oppoſed by powerful detachments.

'If it be objected, that theſe calculations are founded on an aſſumption that we ſhould be taken by ſurpriſe; I anſwer, that our notice of an approaching invaſion would probably be extremely ſhort, and quite inſufficient for the purpoſe of embodying our volunteers throughout the iſland, prior to the actual deſcent. The means of ſuddenly embarking a large army at Boulogne, are continually at the enemy's command. The only requiſite for invaſion, therefore, which, unleſs he truſts to the flotilla alone, he muſt provide by new expedients, is a convoying fleet; and this, as has been already ſhown, he may very poſſibly obtain by a preconcerted junction of different ſquadrons off that or ſome neighbouring port. But the only probable means of ſo obtaining a temporary ſuperiority in the channel, are ſo far from being inconſiſtent with ſecrecy, that they neceſſarily imply that quality; nor would the opportunity, when found, admit of any delay. It ſeems not unlikely, therefore, that the ſame day would bring us advice that the blockade of Boulogne was raiſed by a ſtrong hoſtile fleet, and that the troops were beginning to embark: nor is it impoſſible, that the flotilla might be already on our coaſt, before the danger could be announced by Government, at any great diſtance from London.

'What then is to be done in order to prepare effectually againſt the danger of ſuch a ſurpriſe, with our preſent means of interior defence?

Are the volunteers to be called from their homes, and marched into diſtant parts of the kingdom, there to be formed into armies, on every alarm? The repetition of ſuch coſtly and vexatious means of preparation, would ſoon exhauſt both the purſe and the patience of the country. Beſides, as the danger muſt always be imminent as long as a large army is encamped within ſight of our coaſts, and the moſt ſpecious indications of an immediate intention to embark, could be eaſily made, the enemy, if he found he could reduce us to ſuch coſtly defenſive expedients, would take care we ſhould have alarms enough to haraſs our volunteers prior to an actual attempt. It is plain, then, that forces which are to be aſſembled from many different diſtricts of the kingdom, at the expenſe of every branch of civil induſtry, as well as of domeſtic comfort, muſt probably be, for the moſt part, unembodied when the enemy is on his way to our ſhores.' p. 130—133.

In this ſituation, is it poſſible for a moment to doubt, that our danger is great, and that our preparation is inadequate? or, is it conceivable that men ſhould ſtill be found, who can fancy that they act a laudable and ſpirited part, in diſcrediting the danger, and obſtructing the neceſſary preparation? or in raiſing a ſenſeleſs cry of diſaffection or cowardice againſt all who have courage to look our ſituation in the face, and patriotiſm, to wiſh that it ſhould be rendered more ſecure? It ſeems to be the great object of thoſe who aſſume the direction of the public ſentiment, to hold out the enemy as ſomething very hateful, but by no means very formidable; and thus to inflame our animoſity, without exciting our apprehenſions. Now this, we conceive, is exactly the reverſe of the policy which ought to be purſued. Our animoſity is already more violent than is either reaſonable or becoming; and our apprehenſions are proved, by the imperfection of our preparation, to be far leſs active than they ought to be. To talk with contempt of the greateſt military power that the world ever ſaw, is either baſe affectation, or mere drivelling, or inſanity; and yet this is the popular tone among thoſe who ſeem moſt inclined to drive us on to the encounter. Provided we are angry enough, and ſufficiently convinced that we have to do with a deſpicable opponent, they ſeem to think it but of little conſequence how we are prepared in other reſpects for the conteſt. Our want of diſcipline and numbers—of generals—of ſtrong places, or plans of operation, are all overlooked; and inſtead of remedying them, it ſeems to be the prevailing policy to diſcountenance all who would preſs them on our notice, and to make up all deficiencies by more abuſe of the enemy, and more high-flown compliments to our own confidence and proweſs. In conſequence of all this, a general feeling is propagated in the country, that no extraordinary exertions can be neceſſary to repel theſe preſumptuous invaders; and it is but too familiar and obvious a truth, that nothing

thing but a conviction of absolute necessity will ever lead us to those exertions without which we cannot be in safety. That necessity, we think, is now come. We must be an armed nation, before we can be safe from the hostility of a nation much more numerous in arms: and, that we are not already an armed nation, is owing mainly to the pains which have been taken to disguise from us this necessity, to feed us with the vain idea that no foe will dare to assail us, and that we have nothing to do but to retort their menaces by unmanly abuse and impotent reviling.

Thoſe who agree with us, and with the author before us, as to the miſeries which this nation, beyond all others, would have to ſuffer from ſubjugation, will feel enough of anger and indignation at thoſe by whom they are threatened with ſuch a calamity. There can be no need, therefore, to inflame our animoſity by any other conſiderations. Frenchmen, as Frenchmen, were never very popular in this country; but inſulting and invading Frenchmen, could never have met but with one reception. Is it not an inſult, then, to the loyalty of our people, as well as to their ſpirit, to ſuppoſe that they need the excitement of paſſionate invectives, or that they will fight better, and more willingly, if they are kept in the dark as to the danger of the encounter? All this is the worſe, too, becauſe we are verily perſuaded that the vulgar railing, in which we indulge ourſelves towards the enemy, is very nearly as much miſplaced and unjuſtifiable as the accuſations which they ſo induſtriouſly circulate as to us. The French are indiſputably a gallant, a ſocial, and an ingenious people; and, except that they are at war with us, and have beaten our allies, and are purſuing meaſures that endanger our ſecurity, it does not occur to us that they are more deſerving of moral reprobation than moſt other nations. Their manners are ſomewhat more licentious, perhaps, than ours; and they are more boaſtful and inſolent than we are ſaid to have been in former times; but, compared with any other Continental people, we cannot help thinking they would appear to conſiderable advantage; and that they would probably be reckoned, by an impartial tribunal, fully as amiable and reſpectable as our good allies the Portugueſe or Neapolitans—the Coſſacs or Laplanders. As to their leader, it muſt be admitted that he has ſome flaws in his character that do not perfectly become a hero. He is more iraſcible and vindictive, it ſeems, than ſome other heroes have been; but his inſatiable ambition, with his diſregard of the lives and comforts of others, are very much in the common heroical ſtyle. We do not know that he is worſe than the common run of conquerors or arbitrary princes; and are inclined to place him, as to general character, not far from the level of the great Frederic, or the illuſtrious Catharine.

Catharine. Thoſe diſtinguiſhed perſons had vices enough, both public and private; and were rather given to interfere with their neighbours, from other motives than thoſe of pure philanthropy. We ſtill talk of them, however, not only with patience, but with admiration, and manifeſt a liberal indulgence to their failings, while we invoke all the lightnings of heaven on the head of their more formidable ſucceſſor. Now this, we muſt ſay, is very partial and childiſh, and altogether unworthy of the character of the nation, and the conteſt in which we are engaged. Its moſt pernicious effect, is in relaxing the vigilant anxiety of our preparation; but it deſerves alſo to be reprobated, as throwing unneceſſary obſtacles in the way of that pacification to which we *muſt* ultimately look forward, and in indiſpoſing us to copy from the enemy thoſe things which may be neceſſary for our preſervation.

In considering how we are to oppose that torrent of success, which has hitherto overborne all the bulwarks that have been erected to restrain it, it is neither useless nor unnatural to inquire to what that success has been owing. We may thus be enabled either to discover the vulnerable point of the enemy, or to borrow for ourselves a like invulnerability; to anticipate the decay of what as yet seems to have been constantly growing in strength; or to adopt such arrangements as may raise us to a corresponding degree of force and reputation.

We may talk now of the immense accession of territory and population which France has recently received; of the military discipline that is established over all that vast empire; and of the enormous armies which have been trained to victory in the incessant and extended wars of fifteen years. These, no doubt, are formidable items in the account current of her greatness; but they are rather the fruits of her success, than the causes of it. France, under her old government, was more populous, and more unanimous, and possessed more disciplined soldiers, than in the first of her revolutionary contests; yet, in that distracted and tumultuous state, she overthrew the finest armies in Europe, and established her dominion over provinces which her monarchs had vainly coveted for several generations before. It is to the revolution itself then, and its effects on the interior structure of society, that we are inclined to ascribe the greatness and the successes of France. By that great concussion, the whole talents of the nation were set at liberty, and rose, by their natural buoyancy, to the higher regions of the state. The ruin and confusion which it produced, did not prevent this effect from taking place; and whatever the nation may have lost in point of internal comfort or happiness, there can be no doubt that it has gained inconceivably in point of force and activity as a state. This is an advantage which all new governments

governments possess, to counterbalance the many disadvantages to which they are obviously liable. They are generally insecure, and often oppressive; but they are almost always administered with ability, and are strong and efficient in all their measures of public policy.

The fact is now pretty generally admitted: and the theory does not lye very deep. No man can win a place, who does not deserve to occupy it; but he may succeed to it, without any such qualification. A man cannot make a fortune, without money-getting talents; but he may inherit it, without any other dispositions than those of squandering and improvidence. The case is precisely the same as to public functions and political power. In regular and established governments, they are often given, and must often be given, to rank, and to wealth, and to personal influence, without any great regard to superior fitness or ability. In the first formation of society, or in its second formation, in the event of a radical revolution, no such thing is practicable. Places are not given them, but taken; they are not inherited, but won: and rank and wealth, and adventitious influence being annihilated, the only competition is as to personal qualifications; and the only test of their existence is their actual operation and display. All extensive governments, when considered with relation to their functionaries and administrators, are necessarily of the nature of aristocracies; but all aristocracies, at their first formation, are necessarily composed of the strong and the subtle—of those who are powerful or active. Imbecility can by no possibility have a place in them; negligence or incapacity operate a spontaneous exclusion. The race is then always to the swift, and the battle to the strong. That it is otherwise afterwards, is apparent; and though the reasons, why it is so, are not very remote nor abstruse, it may be instructive to trace their operation a little more carefully and minutely, than we have often patience to do in these broad and general speculations.

All civilized governments may be divided into free and arbitrary: or, more accurately for our present purpose, into the government of England and the other European governments. All these, we suppose, were suitably administered in the beginning. The most famous warrior would be king; the next in prowess and reputation would be earls and generals: he who could write best would be chancellor; and he who had the greatest gift of prayer, would be court chaplain or archbishop. The same principle would regulate all the inferior conditions: the first captains, we have no doubt, were taller and more expert than the serjeants; and they than the soldiers in the ranks. The acquisition of wealth, and the establishment of hereditary right, made a great change

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in these particulars. A cast, called nobility, was formed, from which alone all the great functionaries of government could be appointed in most countries of Europe; and in process of time, the more important charges could only be given among a small number of families. This produced a twofold effect on the government; in both its branches most prejudicial to its vigour and prosperity. In the first place, by narrowing prodigiously the range of selection, it diminished in the same proportion the chance of a suitable appointment; and, in the second place, by securing in a great degree such appointments to persons of a certain rank and connexion, it excused them from the labour of acquiring those qualifications, which would have been indispensable in the case of a fair competition, and took away the only effectual motive by which they could have been excited, to make themselves fit for the situations to which they aspired. It is well known, accordingly, that over the greater part of the Continent, commands and embassies, and almost all the momentous employments on which the welfare of a state is necessarily dependent, were claimed as appendages of a certain rank and situation, and were considered as altogether out of the reach of low-born ambition. For a long while, this had the effect of repressing, in the great body of the nation, all those habits and talents by which men could be qualified for public situations; and, for several centuries, the Continent of Europe presented the uniform spectacle of a stupid and brutish commonalty, submitting, without murmuring, to the dominion of a capricious and ignorant nobility. At last, as society enlarged, and the common business of men came to require some degree of intellectual exertion, the absurdity of such an arrangement grew visible, and its consequences began to be felt. Men began to mock at the follies of their rulers, and to aspire to be their correctors. A few situations were every where gradually abandoned to industry and talent; and the princes and nobles became somewhat less ignorant and presumptuous. The whole real power and administration of the state, however, continued in the hands of the privileged orders; and the people, increasing in talent and intelligence much more rapidly than in political influence, came to be ranged in some measure in hostility to their governors, and to be looked upon in return with new feelings of distrust and jealousy. This was the state of things in France immediately before the revolution; and was undoubtedly the true efficient cause of that prodigious explosion. With an immense body of information and genius in the nation, they saw the administration shifted from one set of incapables to another; and, sanguine from inexperience, and exasperated by opposition, they rushed forward to the redemption of the country

try with an impetuosity that occasioned its ruin. In the scenes of outrage and confusion that followed, private happiness, and perhaps private morality, was violently invaded and endangered: many absurdities and many atrocities were committed; but the great object was effected, of placing the highest talents in the highest situations; and appointing the officers of government, if not with a view to the good of the governed, at least with a view to the duties which they had to perform. Every antient ground of exclusion was entirely done away; and all the talent and enterprize of the nation was put in requisition for the service of government, by the mere notoriety of the fact, that it would be employed as soon as it made good its pretensions. It is by this talent, and by this enterprize, that France has hitherto gone on conquering—and to conquer, we are afraid, unless the talent and the enterprize of her adversaries is set free for the contest, by a more cautious repetition of the experiment by which her force has been redoubled.

The other nations of the Continent are, as France was fifty years before the revolution; bestowing every important employment on the order of nobility exclusively, and naming their generals and ministers, with scarcely any exception, from among a small number of court-favourites or powerful families. The people at large is either quite destitute of the talents, for which there is neither reward nor employment; or it begins to feel discontented at the exclusion, and to look upon its own rights and interests as distinct from those of its rulers. With us the case is somewhat different; and it is necessary to consider in what the difference consists.

All the causes of which we have spoken have operated in England as well as elsewhere: they must operate wherever a regular government has been long established, and wherever wealth and dignity is transmitted from generation to generation: but they have operated to a much smaller extent: and the vigour, which cannot be communicated to the Continent, perhaps, without the expense of a revolution, may be infused into England by an enlightened administration of her existing government.

In England, there is no exclusion on account of birth; and little on the ground of what is properly termed court-favour. There is no absolute exclusion, indeed, of any kind; and any man may aspire to any situation in the country. Wealth and political influence, however, are almost necessary to ensure his success in any of the higher departments. We are aware that a certain degree of wealth is necessary, in all countries, to support pretensions of a certain magnitude; but we allude now chiefly to the practice of selling commissions in the army, and other situations of still greater

er importance, which we believe to be peculiar to this country. The effect of ſuch uſages, in excluding and diſcouraging the fair pretenſions of talent, is too obvious to ſtand in need of illuſtration; but by far the moſt formidable obſtruction to the free uſe of our intellectual reſources, ariſes from the peculiar nature of our popular conſtitution, and the general adminiſtration of our mixed government.

It is perfectly well known, that there always is in this country a large party oppoſed to thoſe who are in the actual adminiſtration of affairs. This party conſiſts of thoſe members of the legiſlature who themſelves aſpire to fill the higheſt offices of the government; and of thoſe individuals throughout the country who concur in their general maxims of policy, or are attached to them from motives of a more perſonal nature. The numbers and ſtrength of this party are liable, of courſe, to variation; but it may reaſonably be eſtimated, in modern times, to comprehend about one third of the whole nation. Here, then, is one great ſource of excluſion, which operates, with us, far more extenſively than in any other country. Thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of power, and entitled to nominate to the great and influencing employments in the government, cannot be expected to beſtow them on their political enemies; and thus one third part of the whole population of the country, comprehending perhaps a ſtill larger proportion of its talent, is loſt to the public ſervice, and as completely proſcribed and excluded as the plebeian claſſes are in the old ariſtocratical governments of the Continent. If there was a free choice, however, or a fair competition among thoſe who belong to the party in power, there would be leſs reaſon for lamenting this partial excluſion; but the exiſtence of an oppoſite party, and the neceſſity of reſiſting its increaſe, has a ſtill more pernicious effect in narrowing the competition for employment. Among thoſe of their own adherents to whom the exiſting diſtributors of great employments might aſſign them, there may be ſome who are eminently qualified to fill them with ability; and ſome whoſe ambitious pretenſions it may be of the utmoſt importance to gratify. In ſuch a dilemma it is not to be expected that merit will prevail; nay, the more virtuous and patriotic the adminiſtration may be, the leſs chance will it have for prevailing; ſince it will always occur as an irreſiſtible argument, that it is better to ſubmit to the inconvenience of having one inſufficient functionary in the ſtate, than to run the riſk of diſplacing the whole adminiſtration by diſguſting ſome of its moſt powerful ſupporters. This general ſketch is enough to explain our meaning to thoſe who have attended to the ſubject; but it is right to unfold it a little more diſtinctly.

When

When an office of importance becomes vacant,—when a commander is to be named for a great expedition, or an ambassador for a delicate and critical mission, it is probable that more than one individual will occur to the ministry as peculiarly qualified to discharge those momentous duties, and clearly entitled to the nomination on the score of superior merit. If they were free to follow the suggestions of their own judgment, there would be no doubt about the result; but a ministry, in this country, is a set of persons who hold their patronage, and all their other power, in consequence of being supported in all their measures by about two thirds of the members of the legislature, and who would forfeit all this patronage and power the moment they lost that support, or were deserted by any considerable proportion of their adherents. If it should happen, therefore, that any person of great weight and influence in that body should chuse himself to be the commander or ambassador, in the case now imagined, or should insist that the appointment should be given to some friend or connexion of his own, and that, in both cases, under the express assurance that he would withdraw with all his adherents, and unite himself with the opposition, if his application was not attended to;—it is plain that, in most cases, the minister must yield to his conditions. It may not often happen, that any one individual can command such a number of votes as to overturn an administration by his secession; but the combined interest of a very few powerful families is generally able to do this; and where they recommend any one with their united influence, the recommendation has the force of a command. It would be altogether extravagant to imagine that any ministry would endanger their own stability, or even risk the cordiality of their adherents, by rejecting such a recommendation, in behalf of a competitor who had nothing but his merit to plead for him. The only apology which could be received for their refusal would be, that a previous application had been made, with which it was still more indispensable for them to comply.

If occurrences of this nature were rare, and if the government was left in general to the free exercise of its discretion, the evil arising from such occasional interferences would scarcely require to be noticed; but to those who are at all acquainted with the practice of the constitution, it must be unnecessary to say, that this is not the case. Not only are all the great offices bespoken for the leading members of the legislature, or their immediate connexions, but all the smaller employments, down to secretaries, and clerks to secretaries, are supplied by candidates who rely upon interest, and not upon merit; and produce, as their only qualification, the recommendation of this noble lord, or that disposer

poser of boroughs. So far from being left to the freedom of their own choice, ministers have in general no other discretion to observe, than to disoblige the least powerful of their suitors, and to pacify those whose application is rejected to-day, with promises of better success to-morrow. The consequences of this system are obvious, and sufficiently melancholy.

In the first place, all the great and important offices of the state are virtually monopolized by a few great families. Provided there be any member of those families possessed of talents to discharge their duties in a decent and passable manner, a claim is sure to be made in their behalf; and, from the nature of the government, that claim is almost sure to be successful. The nature of the government, indeed, and the weight of the opposition by which it is always confronted, renders a certain degree of talent in those privileged candidates indispensable. In this respect we have the advantage of the continental governments. Our chief places cannot be given away to persons utterly incapable of their duties; but still, the qualifications required by us in a candidate properly recommended, are undoubtedly very slender, and, beyond all question, much lower than might be required, and could be obtained, if the competition were free and general, and if success were the sure reward of superior qualification.

The second bad effect is, that persons whose natural genius and dispositions would ensure the very highest excellence in many important departments, are deterred from cultivating those talents, or bringing them forward into public notice, from the consciousness that they do not possess that political influence which is necessary to give them effect; or from despair of obtaining those recommendations, without which no success is to be expected. Much admirable talent is thus suppressed for want of encouragement; and minds, that might have redeemed or exalted the age or the country to which they belonged, have wasted their vigour in obscure and ignoble drudgery.

The last consequence is, that those who possess the power of nominating to high offices, being thus habitually beset with applications from quarters to which they are forced to pay attention, cease to think of any other functionaries than those who come so recommended, and make no exertion to discover or bring forward those talents, by which alone the exigencies of the country can be supplied in seasons of great difficulty.

These reasons, we think, are nearly sufficient to account for a fact, which we conceive to admit of no dispute, viz. that this country, though containing, in the mass of its population, a far greater proportion of intelligence and just principle, than any other that ever existed, has not generally conducted itself with any

extraordinary

extraordinary or consummate wisdom as a government, but has often committed or persisted in the errors which a narrow and a vulgar policy had imposed upon the least enlightened of its neighbours. It is natural to think that the highest talents should be found where there is the greatest reward, and the greatest field for their exertion; and in a free country especially, it seemed necessary to explain how a system should have arisen, which precludes the state from availing itself of the genius and the wisdom of its subjects, and prevents the people from interfering to save themselves by the fair application of the talents and the sagacity they possess.

It is easier to point out the evils of this system, than the measures by which they may be redressed. One great object is, to multiply the points of contact between the wisdom which is scattered among the people, and that which is actually employed in the conduct of public affairs; to enlarge the intellectual communication between the nation and its governors; and thus to enable the knowledge and the talent that are in the country to act upon the mechanism by which its business is performed. By this means, the necessity of employing men of talents, instead of political partisans, will become more generally apparent; the defects of the usual candidates will be better appreciated; and many will retire, and many be driven from a competition, in which they now meet with scarcely any resistance. To negative these established pretensions, however, and boldly to bring in distinguished abilities in preference to party agents, will require, in the beginning, no little strength both of mind and of influence in the ministry by which it is attempted. It is obvious, indeed, that the weaker a ministry is, the more completely it must always be held in thraldom to those by whom it is supported; and that the greater strength it can acquire, the greater will be its independence, and its power of fulfilling its duty, without regarding the disappointment or resentment of individuals. The first step to this great reform, therefore, must be to form a strong ministry,—one so firmly seated in the esteem and confidence of the country, as to be able to do what is right, without caring whom it displeases, and to attend to the business of the country, without interruption from a distrust of its own security. If such a ministry can once be found, nothing more will be necessary than to give a beginning to the system of which we have been speaking. It will not afterwards be easy to revert to the infatuation of former times. Intriguers and partisans may succeed, for a long while, in excluding men of active and commanding talents from high situations; but they will never be able to displace them, if they are once allowed to get footing, and to shew experimentally the difference between them and their predecessors.

If men could be generally perſuaded of the neceſſity of the caſe, and of the efficiency of the propoſed remedy, we ſhould by no means deſpair of ſeeing it adopted, at leaſt to ſuch an extent as to enſure its ultimate ſucceſs. Of the neceſſity, we think, no man that looks at the preſent ſtate of Europe, and recollects by what it has been produced, will long entertain a doubt. The ſame review will ſatisfy him of the efficacy of the remedy ſuggeſted. France has triumphed by the free and unlimited uſe ſhe has made of the talents of her people; but the people of England are at this moment much more enlightened and ingenious, and capable of affording more efficient ſervice to their government, than thoſe of France, or of any other country. If a ſimilar field was opened for competition,—if the ſame high rewards were held out for excellence, and the ſame facilities afforded for its publication and diſplay, we are perfectly ſatisfied that England would in a very ſhort time exhibit more ſplendid inſtances of ſucceſsful genius, in every department of the public ſervice, than have yet been produced among thoſe who have riſen to ſuch a height by their multiplication. Unleſs ſome ſuch meaſures be adopted, it is not eaſy to ſee how they are to be reſiſted.

We have dwelt too long, we are afraid, on theſe general conſiderations; but they are too important, we conceive, to be ſuppreſſed upon ſuch an occaſion; and we have been induced to give ſome latitude to the expreſſion of our opinions, both becauſe the topic has been altogether overlooked by the author of the work before us, and has not been ſufficiently unfolded in any recent work that has fallen under our obſervation. The eſſential difference between a new and an old government, is the key, we are firmly perſuaded, to the whole recent and diſaſtrous hiſtory of Europe, and ſhould be our guide and point of direction in all the efforts which we are yet to make for its reſtoration.

The only other topic in the work before us, to which we have now leiſure to attend, is that which treats of the policy of ſeeking peace with France, in her preſent triumphant poſition. The opinion of the author, we have already intimated, is decidedly againſt ſuch a pacification. Ours, we will confeſs, rather leans the other way; though the queſtion appears to us to be one of the moſt difficult and delicate, as well as the moſt important, to which the public attention can poſſibly be directed.

The war was undertaken, we ſhall admit, for the purpoſe of repreſſing the uſurpations of France, or of ameliorating its government. The reſult has been, that France has ſubjugated the whole Continent, from the Baltic to the Straits of Meſſina; and that its government has paſſed from a tumultuous democracy, into a regular, enlightened, and well-diſciplined military deſpotiſm.

Such

Such is the ſtate of things with regard to France and her continental enemies. With regard to ourſelves, we have hitherto ſuffered nothing but in our tranquillity and our finances. Our navy has been uniformly triumphant, our trade has increaſed, and we have conquered a great number of the foreign ſettlements of the enemy, without loſing any of our own; at the ſame time, we are threatened with invaſion, and our taxes are becoming every day more intolerably burdenſome. The problem is, whether, in theſe circumſtances, it be wiſer to make peace, or to continue the war. The ſolution, we have already ſaid, appears to us to be extremely difficult; but it will be eaſier if we can aſcertain for what objects the war muſt now be carried on.

There are only four ends, we think, that can poſſibly be in the view of thoſe who are for perſiſting in hoſtility. The firſt is, to reſtore the Bourbons, to reduce the power of France, and to repreſs her within her ancient limits. The ſecond is, to retrieve, at leaſt to a certain extent, the loſſes of our faithful allies. The third is, to maintain the conqueſts which we have made during the war; and the laſt is, to defend ourſelves with greater ſecurity from the dangers with which we are menaced from the enormous power and rooted hoſtility of our enemy. Of theſe four objects of war, the two firſt, we are afraid, may now fairly be given up as deſperate and unattainable. The third, we conceive, is unjuſtifiable and inſufficient; and it is with regard to the laſt only, that we are inclined to entertain any doubt or heſitation.

Every attack that has been made upon France has ended in adding to her power. The wars which her neighbours have waged againſt her have been the ſole cauſes of her greatneſs. She baffled the greateſt armies, and the moſt extenſive leagues, while the ſtrength of her enemies was unbroken, and her own immature. Is it to be expected, then, that the iſſue of the conteſt ſhould be different, when their reſources are waſted, and hers improved,—when their armies have been broken and diſperſed, and hers conſolidated, multiplied, and elated? The game, we fear, is decidedly loſt, as to the continent of Europe; and for our allies to perſiſt in it, will only be to puſh their bad fortune. They had better take up the remaining ſtakes, if they can; and endeavour to acquire a little more ſkill and contrivance, before they chuſe partners for a new party. Every new league that has been formed againſt France, has added a new country to her conqueſts. The firſt gave her the Low Countries and Holland; the ſecond gave her Italy and part of Germany; the third laid Auſtria at her feet; the fourth has annihilated Pruſſia. Is it for her enemies to perſiſt in this ſyſtem? Or does any one remain ſo ſanguine as to think the continuance of the war more hazardous to France, than

to what yet remains unconquered on the Continent? In ſo far as Europe or our allies are concerned, there ſeems no reaſon for doubting that peace will give them a better chance of ſalvation than war.

With regard to ourſelves, it will probably be pretty generally admitted, that the conqueſts we have made are of little value, except as the means of diſarming or embarraſſing the enemy; and that, if a ſecure peace could be purchaſed by their reſtoration, it would be madneſs to think of continuing the war, merely for the ſake of retaining them. We have more foreign ſettlements already than we have any good uſe for; and it would be the height of imprudence to think of keeping all that are now in our hands, even if their original owners were quite willing to relinquiſh them.

The only rational ground, then, upon which the continuance of the war, as it ſeems to us, can be juſtified, is, that in point of fact, we are ſafer from the power of France by war, than we ſhould be by peace; that war is truly a defenſive meaſure with us; and that, to relinquiſh the advantages which its continuance gives us over the enemy, would be to fall into a ſnare which a very little foreſight might enable us to eſcape. It is eſſential to inquire, therefore, how far this is a well-founded opinion.

It proceeds upon one general and fundamental ſuppoſition, which we are not inclined to diſpute, viz. that the enemy would like better to conquer, than to make peace with us; that he diſlikes our free conſtitution, our naval power, and commercial proſperity; and deeply reſents the deſtruction of his marine, and the hoſtility we have ſo zealously endeavoured to excite againſt him. If he does make peace with us, therefore, we may depend upon it that it will be for his own convenience, and not for any love he bears to us, and that he will have every inclination to procure our deſtruction, whenever he can find an opportunity. In admitting all this, however, as to the diſpoſitions of the French government, we do not admit much more than may be ſafely aſſumed as to the purpoſes and diſpoſitions with which nations in general leave off an indeciſive war. They do not in general love each other at ſuch a moment at all better than they did during the ſubſiſtence of hoſtilities; nor do they care leſs for the objects, for the attainment of which they have been ſhedding each other's blood in vain. They make peace merely becauſe they deſpair of obtaining thoſe objects at any reaſonable expenſe; but with a ſtrong reſolution to renew the purſuit of them, whenever they think they can be attained. As to making peace in the ſpirit of peace, therefore, it is a profeſſion in which we have no faith on any occaſion. For the ſame reaſon, we are but little moved with the common declamatory invectives

vectives againſt the perfidiouſneſs of our enemy, and the impoſſibility of truſting to any promiſes or engagements he may come under. We conceive that all nations are perfidious in this ſenſe of the word; and that they neither do, nor can truſt to the good faith of each other, when they enter into compacts and agreements. There are few poſitions in the ſcience of politics ſo generally and conſtantly true as this, that a treaty will not bind any government much longer than its intereſt would have bound it at any rate; and that all treaties will be broken, ſoon after it ceaſes to be the intereſt of either of the parties to obſerve them. If we were at peace with France to-morrow, it would ſtill be very much for her intereſt (we mean the intereſt of her preſent government) to demoliſh our conſtitution and our marine, and very much for ours, to reduce her power, and diminiſh her territory. If *either* of the parties, therefore, ſaw a fair proſpect of accompliſhing their end, is there any one ſo romantic as to ſuppoſe that pretexts would not be found to ſet aſide the pacific bonds of the treaty?

It is no doubt true, at the ſame time, that there are peculiarities in the preſent caſe which give an extraordinary weight to ſome of the conſiderations to which we have alluded. The object about which we are contending is nothing leſs than our exiſtence; and the hoſtility of the enemy approaches to the bitterneſs of perſonal hatred and animoſity: we have nothing to receive back, beſides, at a peace, and have a great deal to give up. All thoſe things certainly require deliberation. The moſt important of them, however, is the peculiar hoſtility of the enemy; and we will confeſs, that our concluſion upon the general queſtion would be very much influenced by the opinion we ſhould form as to the extent of this hoſtility, and the degree to which it is felt by the French nation in general.

If we could perſuade ourſelves that the French emperor had ſworn in his heart to accompliſh our deſtruction, or periſh in the attempt, and offered to make peace with no other purpoſe than to take profit by the temporary advantages it might give him by the reſtoration of his colonies, and the opportunity of bringing home his ſtores and treaſure;—if we could believe, in ſhort, that he was reſolved only to give us one year of peace, and that he would find it ſafe and practicable to renew the war again after ſo ſhort a reſpite,—then we would entirely agree with thoſe who think that ſuch a peace ought to be rejected, and that it could only be conſidered as a ſtratagem to cheat us out of the conqueſts we have made, and to defeat the effect of our maritime ſuperiority. But if, on the other hand, we ſhould ſee reaſon to believe that France ſtands in need of a peace of longer duration, and that, with all the inward hoſtility that can be imagined, its ruler looks

forward to the formation of a navy, and the reſtoration of his commerce, as the only ſure means of ſubduing us,—then we would grant him ſuch a peace, and take his word for it in a treaty; becauſe we are decidedly of opinion, that we ſhould profit more by the reſpite than he could do; and becauſe the very time which would be requiſite to mature his machinations, would render their execution impoſſible.

We certainly incline decidedly to the latter of these opinions; though we have no longer room to state our reasons at length. They are founded chiefly upon the great difficulty the French government would find in engaging its people to enter upon a new and desperate contest, after so welcome a pacification; upon the unwillingness and hesitation of that government to grant us a peace at all; and upon the admitted fact, that no such use as is here supposed, was made of the peace of Amiens, though it subsisted much longer than was necessary to have indicated the purposes for which it was concluded. Believing, therefore, most cordially and sincerely, that France will make peace with an intention to renew the war whenever she has us at an advantage, we see no reason to think that she has in view such local and limited advantages as she could gain by a speedy renewal of hostilities, or that she will ultimately gain any advantage at all by a longer interval of repose.

The reasons of this opinion will be best explained by a short enumeration of the advantages and disadvantages of a peace to this country; or rather of the losses and dangers which we shall incur and avoid, by accepting, at this moment, of terms of pacification.

The dangers and disadvantages of peace in our peculiar situation are obvious, and have been often enumerated; but, for the most part, with so much exaggeration and vehemence, that a plain and candid statement of them may still have the merit of novelty. In the *first* place, we must lay our account with giving up the greater part of the conquests we have made, without receiving, ourselves, any thing in return. France has nothing to return to England in compensation for what England may restore to her or her allies. We may stipulate something indeed for our allies in return for what we give up; but though this may be very much for our honour, it will not be much for our immediate interest or emolument. We have already said, however, that the possession of these places is really of very little benefit to this country; and that the chief use of taking them, is rather to hamper and annoy the enemy, than to enrich ourselves. The chief disadvantage, therefore, which we shall suffer by their restoration, will be, in the *second* place, that we shall thus enable the enemy to occupy a variety of positions from which he may annoy us, on the re-

newal of hostilities, with infinitely more effect than he can do at present, and from which he will take care that we shall not be abl to dislodge him, without great cost and preparation. If we giv him back his West Indian colonies, he will have it in his power to send a large force there, under the pretext of reducing the negroes, &c. with which he may overrun all our islands, on the sudden breaking out of hostilities. He may endanger our Indian dominions in the same manner, by sending troops to the Isle of France, or to Ceylon, or Pondicherry; and, at all events, he will garrison those settlements so strongly, that it will occupy a great part of our force, for a year or two, to reconquer them, and to replace ourselves in the situation in which we now stand, and in which, by the continuance of the war, we may now maintain ourselves with perfect security.

In the *third* place, the restoration of peace will enable the enemy to bring home the treasure and the stores which are now locked up in their settlements by our triumphant navy, and to export that great accumulation of commodities which is in a great measure withheld from the market by the same pressure of hostility.

These consequences would follow *immediately* from a peace, and are disadvantages to which we should be subjected by the cessation of the war for ever so short a period. There are others from which we should have nothing to apprehend, unless the peace was of some continuance; they require but to be named. France might restore her commerce, and, moving without the load of our enormous taxes, might eclipse and supplant us in the great market of the world. She would also revive her navy, and, after she had got trade, could scarcely fail to rival, and even to outmatch us in this most essential particular, with her enormous extent of coast, and tributary maritime states. *Lastly*, that we may leave out nothing in the enumeration, we may mention the opportunities which a long peace would afford to the enemy to sow disaffection among our people, especially in Ireland, and in our tributary kingdoms in the East.

To meet those dangers and disadvantages of peace, it would, perhaps, be enough to state the deliverance which it would bring from the danger of immediate subjugation, and the opportunity it would afford for completing those preparations by which that fate may be ultimately averted. There is no man, we believe, who deliberately considers the statements we have already copied from the work before us, who will be of opinion, that our present preparations are adequate to the danger with which we are threatened, or even that they can be made so within the period during which the attempt may be expected, if the war is to continue.

If we are satisfied that peace must be insecure, and that our enemy will busily employ it in improving his navy, with a view to the renewal of war, it cannot be imagined that we should neglect to improve our army during the same interval. We cannot, perhaps, create a military force sufficient for our defence during war, before an invasion is attempted; but we can certainly create such a force, with ordinary exertion, before the enemy can have created a navy sufficient for our destruction. To make a navy, it is necessary, first of all, to establish an extensive foreign commerce;—to make an army, nothing more is requisite, than to train the population already at our disposal. In this point of view alone, therefore, we think peace would be infinitely more valuable to England than to France; and that, if properly and judiciously improved, it might place us in a situation to defy the menaces of our enemy on a renewal of hostility, and to deliver us for ever from the hazards to which it cannot well be denied that we are now liable.

When we mention the name of Ireland, however, we use an argument for peace, which admits, we conceive, of no reply. How vulnerable that country is, and how essential its preservation is to the very existence of our empire, all men who are capable of judging, are now, we believe, agreed. The measures by which alone it can be secured (now, alas! once more thwarted and delayed), must necessarily be gradual in their operation. No system of management, perhaps, would render Ireland secure, if it were to be invaded by a strong force, within a year or two after this time. A very few years, however, of wise administration, would render it even more invulnerable than the rest of the British territory. Such an interval of peace, therefore, is beyond all value with regard to that vital portion of our land, and would give us an incalculable advantage, even if the contest were then to be renewed in every other respect upon a more unfavourable footing. It would be like a truce obtained, while Orlando was recovering from his insanity; or a parley prolonged, till Jupiter could be aroused from his amorous slumbers.

It is needless to suggest, that, by the restoration of peace, we should be relieved from an oppressive and almost intolerable load of taxation;—that our industry, disburdened of this grievous pressure, would be quickened into new forms of prosperous enterprize; and that our trade would then rush like a golden deluge over all those regions into which it is now forced to insinuate itself by circuitous and diminished channels. A few years of peace would so recruit and restore our resources, as to render us equal to any exertion in case of a renewal of war. The commercial rivalry of our enemies, we think, is but little to be dreaded. If

we undersell all the world at this moment, when our taxes are so enormous, and our access to the market so variously impeded, we should have little to fear from the free competition of France, although all its cannon were melted down into steam-engines, and all its swords beaten out into axles.

By making peace, too, even with the intention of renewing the war at a convenient opportunity, France will eventually be seduced into pacific habits, and lose many of those advantages which she now enjoys as a belligerent. To improve her commerce, as the rival of ours, and the basis of her future navy, must be the first great object of her ruler; but a commercial people, and, above all, a people just beginning the tempting career of commercial prosperity, must naturally be averse to war; and, most of all, to war with the greatest maritime power in the world. The war and the conscription, we are credibly informed, are very far from being popular in France at this moment; but if the war were once terminated by an honourable peace, and the people begun to be occupied in peaceful pursuits, it would not be easy to make them submit to this returning plague, nor very safe, perhaps, for their ruler to compel them.

It is likewise deserving of consideration, that the longer we can protract the period of peace, the more we get over, in safety, of the life of that extraordinary individual, with whom, it is extremely probable, that much of the rancour, and much of the power by which we are endangered, will die. But it is of still more consequence to observe, that the longer we can postpone the crisis of our contest, the weaker and the less provided we shall find our adversary for the encounter; and this not merely from the disuse and distaste for war which the experience of peace will produce, but from the rapid decay of those advantages which she now possesses as a new government. Already the throne of Bonaparte begins to be surrounded by court-favourites, and princes and dignitaries of all descriptions; and the access of merit to his imperial patronage, will probably soon be as difficult as it is to other thrones. The eminent persons who forced themselves into notice in the tumultuary times of the revolution, must disappear in no long period; and the genius and form of the existing government, is by no means calculated to supply their place, except, perhaps, during the opportunities and casualties of an actual campaign. If a more liberal and patriotic system, therefore, be adopted in England, while a more jealous and exclusive policy is daily gaining ground in France, it is not difficult to conjecture what the result will be, nor in how short a time the situation of the combatants may be in this respect entirely reversed.

There are many other consequences of peace which might be anticipated

anticipated with nearly equal probability. Thoſe in particular that relate to the revival and recruiting of the other Continental powers; the probable diſunion of the tributary ſovereigns by which France has now ſurrounded herſelf; and the diſmemberment of many parts of her overgrown and diſcordant dominions. All theſe events at leaſt, it is eaſy to ſee, are rendered much more improbable by the continued preſſure of war; and though moſt likely, and indeed almoſt certain in themſelves, can ſcarcely be expected to occur till peace have reſtored to the ſyſtem, its natural ſprings of development. We have no longer room, however, to enlarge upon theſe, or any other conſiderations; and ſhall conclude with one general remark.

Peace is in itſelf ſo great a good, and war ſo great an evil, that whenever we are not able to foreſee exactly all the conſequences of either, we may ſafely preſume, that all that are unknown of the one will be good, and all that are unknown of the other will be evil. In moſt human affairs, however, the conſequences which are not foreſeen are more important than thoſe that can be predicted. Hiſtory and experience illuſtrate this ſufficiently as to the preſent parallel, and ſhow that the moſt ſucceſsful war is uſually productive of loſs and diſaſter, even to the victorious party, while peace ſcarcely ever fails to ſupply a thouſand advantages that had not been calculated upon, and to repair, with incredible celerity, the wounds which hoſtility had inflicted. Among the chief bleſſings of peace, we think, is its tendency to generate a ſpirit of peace; a ſpirit which cannot be generated, we believe, in any other way, and which, in an advanced ſtate of ſociety, and after a long experience of the miſeries of contention, may perhaps prolong into habitual amity thoſe hoſtile truces and breathing-times to which nations have lately limited their intervals of war.

Without indulging in ſuch anticipations, however, we may be permitted to ſay, that Europe now ſtands in need of refreſhment and repoſe; that the experiment of war has been carried quite far enough to ſhow that its further proſecution would be ruinous; and that with regard to this country in particular, whoſe only remaining object of war muſt be ſecurity, that object will be rendered infinitely more attainable by a peace, even of temporary endurance, than by an obſtinate perſeverance in meaſures of hoſtility. We expreſs theſe opinions with the leſs heſitation, becauſe it rather appears that they concur with thoſe which our enemy has formed on the ſubject. If peace were to do ſo much good to him, and ſuch injury to us, as is alleged by the advocates for war, it is ſingular that he ſhould have appeared ſo much more reluctant than any adminiſtration of ours has yet been to enter into terms

terms of pacification. It is a ſtrong ground for believing that peace would be advantageous to us, that our wily and perſevering enemy has uniformly refuſed to conſent to it. This is an evil to which we muſt ſubmit, and againſt which we muſt ſtruggle as valiantly as we can: but it is painful to think how many there are among ourſelves who ſecond theſe purpoſes of the enemy, from miſguided zeal and miſtaken patriotiſm, and labour to perpetuate that hoſtility from which he alone has hitherto derived any advantage. We cannot obtain peace, to be ſure, by wiſhing for it, or even by offering it; but it is ſomething to be prepared to receive it, if the offer ſhould be made to us; and, at all events, it is of conſequence that the grounds of our election ſhould be fully and generally conſidered, before the time calls on us for an immediate determination.

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ART. II. *Remarks on the Husbandry and internal Commerce of Bengal.* 8vo. Blacks & Parry. 1806.

A TREATISE on the huſbandry and commerce of Bengal, was printed at Calcutta about ten years ago. The preſent work is a republication of the firſt portion of that treatiſe, and was written by Mr Colebrooke in 1794, though corrected for this edition in 1803. The remainder of the original publication was chiefly compoſed by the late Mr Lambert, and related to the manufactures and external commerce of Bengal, whilſt the obſervations of Mr Colebrooke are confined to the internal traffic. We have already remarked, that this work was not unknown to Dr Tennant, for whom plagiariſm has ſometimes furniſhed an Indian recreation.

We ſhould have thought the whole treatiſe eminently calculated to excite and to reward the public attention; but ſince we are obliged to content ourſelves with a portion of thoſe intereſting ſpeculations, we have no heſitation in giving the preference to that with which we are here preſented. Mr Lambert was a highly reſpectable merchant of Calcutta; a man endowed with uncommon ſagacity, and bred up in mercantile habits. 'Merchants,' ſays Dr Smith, 'during their whole lives engaged in plans and projects, have frequently more acuteneſs of underſtanding than the greater part of country gentlemen. As their thoughts, however, are commonly exerciſed rather about the intereſt of their own particular branch of buſineſs, than about that of the ſociety, their judgments, even when given with the greateſt candour, is much more to be depended upon, with reſpect to the former

former of thoſe two objects, than with regard to the latter.' We are deeply impreſſed with the force of this obſervation. The candour and veracity of Mr Lambert were far above ſuſpicion; but, in the plans occaſionally ſubmitted by that gentleman to the conſideration of the Government-General, we always diſcovered a more accurate perception of the intereſts of the Calcutta merchants, than of thoſe of the natives, of the Eaſt India Company, or of England.

But are theſe intereſts really diſtinct? That of the Calcutta merchants (a body which compriſes men of the higheſt worth) may be allowed to be, in ſome reſpects, irreconcilable with that of the Company: but may it not be correctly affirmed, that the permanent advantage of Bengal, of the Company, and of England, reſts on the ſame foundations, flows from the ſame principles, and muſt be promoted by the ſame meaſures, in ſo far as they are connected? Is it not true, that a ſtep which muſt prove prejudicial to one of the three, would ultimately produce conſequences injurious to the others; and that the permanent advantage reſulting to each, from cooperating towards the general proſperity, is more than ſufficient to compenſate what each muſt relinquiſh to obtain that end?

To these questions we reply with a decided conviction in the affirmative: but the arguments whence we deduce these conclusions are founded on many general, and many local considerations, to which our limits do not admit even of adverting. A more favourable occasion may possibly soon present itself in the discussion of a momentous question of general policy. We shall, then, after doing justice to the eminent perspicuity and talent displayed by the Director, who drew up the report on that important subject, take occasion to prove that, in all human probability, the measure he deprecates would prove still more suddenly, and more fatally injurious to the British interests in India, than even he anticipated. Our arguments will be founded on considerations derived from the internal polity of that country, which have never hitherto been brought under review, on account, probably, of the great development they would require, to persons unacquainted with the peculiar state of society which prevails in our Indian dominions. We are confident that our suggestions will receive the approbation of the persons most competent to form a correct judgment, viz. the gentlemen by whom the charge of administering justice, or collecting the revenues of districts placed under their superintendance, has been exercised. We shall also expect the assent of those who have weighed, with judicious scrutiny, the causes of the phenomena we admire; of a country amply peopled with hardy and intelligent inhabitants,

quietly

quietly submitting to a sway exercised by a handful of strangers, cordially espousing their interests, and sacrificing their lives on the field of battle for the support of their authority. To that numerous and ingenious portion of the community, however, who think that the state of society in other countries, either is, or ought to be, precisely what they see it at home, our arguments, we are afraid, will appear altogether contemptible; though some of them, to adopt the language of Mr Bruce, may even have travelled as far as Paris. In this patriotic class, we suspect we must rank the valiant General Craddock; though we lament that a laudable predilection in favour of leathern caps, should have led to such an effusion of human blood.

The work before us, indeed, invites to no such discussions. Distinguished equally by conciseness and perspicuity, it presents important facts, and avoids general reasonings. On controverted points, the opinions of the author are rather implied than expressed; and although, if we have correctly seized his notions, we can by no means subscribe to all his conclusions, we render a willing testimony to the ability and industry with which he has prosecuted his researches, as well as to the honourable motives which suggested them.

Just before the year 1794 (when this work was published), a measure of incalculable magnitude had been put in execution, involving the interests of every class of persons in India. A measure equally urged by the Board of Controul, and by the Court of Directors, from considerations of benevolence and justice, and supported, as they imagined, by policy, as well as propriety. A measure which constituted the great object of the successive administrations of the Marquis of Cornwallis, and of Lord Teignmouth; and where plans, dictated by benevolence, were to be executed, it would have been difficult to have selected more zealous or more intelligent agents. The partisans of the permanent settlement of the revenues were disposed to date the renovation of Bengal from the æra of its introduction: less sanguine observers harboured doubts of its efficacy. It would have afforded us infinite gratification, to find from the statements of Mr Colebrooke, that measures suggested by the purest motives had been attended with the desired success; but on this head his readers receive no information; nor do we recollect any passage in this work which appears to be written posterior to 1794; when its merits could not be judged from its effects. Yet some incidental observations lead us to conclude, that the principle on which the permanent settlement was founded, neither coincides with our author's views of justice nor policy. We will now endeavour to exhibit a correct statement of the most important results

sults detailed in this work, and conclude by some strictures on the particular points which we consider as exposed to animadversion.

Under the name of Bengal, Mr Colebrooke comprehends all the regions governed by the presidency of Fort William, viz. the whole suba of that name, that of Behar, with such parts of the subas of Allahabad, Berar, and Orissa, as acknowledged the Company's authority, previously to the additions they received during the government of the Marquis of Wellesley. These physical divisions are faintly distinguished by the gradual rise of the level in receding from the sea. The tract of inundation is marked by its ample produce, particularly of rice, and by the superior value of its manufactures. The culture of rice is superseded in the higher lands by that of wheat and barley. The superior stratum is every where clay, with a considerable proportion of silicious sand, fertilized by various salts, and by decayed substances, animal and vegetable.

The results of three calculations, founded on different *data*, leads our author to conclude that the population of Bengal, in the extensive sense above mentioned, is at least 27 millions of inhabitants. The first is founded on an actual ascertainment, by our author himself, in the district of Puriniyah, which, allowing five to a family, gave 203 inhabitants to a square mile; and applying this result to the whole area, after excluding a fourth as waste lands, we should have 24,740,000 inhabitants for Bengal, Behar, and Benares, exclusive of Orissa and Berar. The second calculation is founded on general surveys of entire pergunnahs in different districts: they lead Mr Colebrooke to the following proportions for the whole of Bengal, viz.

| | |
|---|---|
| Rivers and lakes (an eighth) | 3 |
| Deemed irreclaimable and barren (a sixth) | 4 |
| Site of towns and villages, highways and ponds, (a twenty-fourth) | 1 |
| Free lands (an eighth) | 3 |
| *Liable for Revenue.* | |
| In tillage (three eighths) | 9 |
| Waste (a sixth) | 4 |
| | 24 |

The result of this calculation, assigning one cultivator the head of a family for every 18 bigas, and supposing the same proportion to subsist between the husbandmen and the artificers as was ascertained in Puriniyah, would, after striking off a fourth for lands entirely waste, give a population of 33 millions for the whole,

whole, did not other causes of inaccuracy subsist, some of which he has pointed out. The third basis of calculation, though far from furnishing a very solid groundwork, is, in our apprehension, preferable to the two above mentioned. It is founded on the quantity of salt consumed; a fact which may in some measure be ascertained by the Company's sales.

'That quantity, compared with a supposed population of 30 millions of people for Bengal and Behar, would indicate an annual consumption of nearly 11 pounds a head; but if we suppose the population not to exceed 24 millions, we must then rate the average consumption of salt so high as 14 pounds, which exceeds all experience in India, even where salt is cheapest.

'Common husbandry sows the rice at the season when it should naturally vegetate to gather a crop in the rains: it also withholds seed till the second month of that season, and reaps the harvest in the beginning of winter. The rice of this crop is esteemed the best.'

Wheat and barley are sown at the commencement of winter, and reaped in the spring. Most sorts of pulse are either sown or reaped in the winter. Millet, a common food with the lower classes, is restricted to no season. The plough used in Bengal is ill calculated for making a deep impression; repeated ploughings are requisite to prepare the soil for the reception of seed; and it must afterwards be watched, to defend it from the depredations of birds. The operation of weeding is performed with an inconvenient instrument; in reaping, the sickle supplies the place of the scythe; and time is unprofitably occupied in selecting the riper plants.

'At the convenience of the husbandman, the cattle tread out the corn, or his staff thrashes the smaller seeds. The grain is winnowed in the wind, and is stored either in jars of unbaked earth, or in baskets made of twigs, or of grass.'

The want of roads prevents the employment of beasts of burden to bring home the harvest. The rotation of crops is guided by no judicious selection; influenced solely by the desire to obtain as much from the land as it can be made to yield within the year, the soil is ultimately impoverished, and soon requires time to recruit. Dung, universally used for fuel, is employed as manure only in the cultivation of sugar cane, mulberry, tobacco, and poppy. The want of capital in manufactures and agriculture prevents the division of labour; it forces the peasant to unite the labours of the mechanic with the cultivation of the earth, and compels the artist to engage in rural toils.

'An ignorant husbandry,' says Mr Colebrooke, 'which exhausts the land, and neglects the obvious means of restoring its fertility, and of reaping immediate profit from the operations which might restore it: rude implements, inadequate to the purpose for which they are formed, and

and requiring much superfluous labour; this again ill divided, and of course employed disadvantageously;—all loudly call for amendment.'

In Bengal, where the revenue of the state has long had the form of land rent, the management of the public finances has a more immediate influence on agriculture than any other part of the administration. The conditions of the Puttahs or Wases, granted by the Zemindars to their tenants, vary extremely in the same districts. When the rent is paid in kind, the usual rate of distribution is half the produce. The local taxes, established in particular districts, are a source of infinite vexation and litigation, whilst 'measurements long omitted, without a rule of record substituted in their place, and former surveys forgotten, or their rates become obsolete, leave no certain rule for adjusting the rents.' But high as the assessment is to which the peasants in Bengal are subjected, they have no right to expect lenity in its exaction from the Zemindars.

'Responsible to government for a tax originally calculated at ten elevenths of the expected rents of their estates, they have no probable surplus above their expenditure to compensate for their risk. Any calamity, any accident, even a delay in his recoveries, may involve a Zemindar in difficulties, from which no economy nor attention can retrieve him. He is not, therefore, likely to be an indulgent and forbearing landlord.'

The fifth chapter is devoted to a statement of the profits of husbandry. The result of Mr Colebrooke's inquiries is, that the cultivation of grain yields little or no profit to the husbandman, who raises it with no other view than as a source of subsistence to his family, in case of the failure of more profitable crops, or to guard against the return of years of scarcity. The price of corn fluctuates in Bengal more than in Europe, and has a considerable influence on the value of all other articles, by creating an unusual competition amongst the sellers, when it is above the common standard. This is in some measure counteracted by the husbandman's possessing a little stock of his own produce, for the consumption of his family; and by the Company's monopoly of certain articles of produce at unvaried rates. The profits of cattle are considerable, and much less precarious; they are derived from the increase of stock, and the sale of the produce, milk, curds, and clarified butter.

'The orchard is what chiefly contributes to attach the peasant to his native soil. He feels a superstitious predilection for the trees planted by his ancestor; and derives comfort, and even profit from their fruit.'

The mango, palmyra, cocoa-nut, date, and areca, which shade his humble cottage, administer the luxuries of his table, and supply him with articles of ready sale. For the supply of conveniences,

niences, or an accession of wealth, he must depend on the successful culture of more precarious crops, sugar, tobacco, silk, cotton, indigo, and opium. The medium profits of the latter are not perhaps greater than from corn; but frequent instances of immense gain are calculated to allure cultivators; though the Company are said to experience much difficulty in procuring the quantity required for the China market. Tobacco is the most profitable culture to which the husbandman can devote his toils. It might be raised in Bengal in sufficient quantities to supply the consumption of Europe. But whilst the freight remains at 15l. per ton, its export thither would prove detrimental to the speculator. The sugar cane has been cultivated throughout Bengal from time immemorial; and the names by which it is known in other countries, appear to be slightly corrupted from Sanscrit appellations. In an eloquent and argumentative appeal to the British nation, Mr Colebrooke descants on the justice and policy of opening the English markets to the produce of Bengal; he contrasts the cheapness of culture there, with the extravagant price at which it is raised in the West Indies; the voluntary labours of free cultivators, with the blood-stained toils of reluctant slaves; and deprecates the idea of considering Bengal in the light of a foreign and tributary country, whose industry should be discouraged. His arguments on this subject appear indeed, to us, altogether unanswerable: were sound policy always in unison with strict justice, the line of conduct to be adopted would admit of little hesitation. Cotton is raised in Bengal in considerable quantity; besides which, an immense importation is received from the northern and western countries; the high rate of freight alone prevents its being brought to Europe, to the advantage equally of our own manufactures, and of the country whence it is exported. The districts in which the silk-worm is reared, could not perhaps supply a greater quantity of silk than they at present furnish; but we are convinced with Mr Colebrooke, that the culture of the mulberry might be extended with advantage to other districts.

'The exportation of grain from corn countries, and the returns of salt, constitute the principal object of internal traffic. The importation of cotton from the western provinces, and the exchange of tobacco for the areca nut, together with some sugar, and a few articles of less note, complete the supply of internal consumption. Manufactures are almost limited to the wants of their immediate neighbourhood, excluding from this consideration the provision of the public investment, and the calls of foreign trade. Piece goods, silk, saltpetre, opium, sugar and indigo, pass almost wholly through the Company's hands, excepting only what foreign commerce, and the traffic to various ports in India, ex-

port, of such among these articles as the Company do not monopolize.'

Mr Colebrooke estimates the value of corn annually transported from distant parts of the interior, to supply the consumption of cities, and the export trade, at two millions Sterling, which is principally repaid in salt. The consumption of their own manufactures by the natives in articles of dress, he estimates at six millions annually. Our author then furnishes an enumeration of the articles which he imagines might be advantageously imported from Bengal, were the rates of freight reduced to what a free competition would afford, and concludes with the following incontestable proposition,

'That England ought not to discourage the commerce of her own subjects and tributaries in favour of foreign nations.'

We have now endeavoured to do justice to the meritorious and successful researches of Mr Colebrooke, whose talents have, we understand, deservedly raised him to the highest station which a Company's servant is likely to attain in that country. Before we proceed to the less agreeable part of our task, we cannot refrain from stating a whimsical, and rather ludicrous impression, which we received from the perusal of some part of his work. If we suppose a man of an intelligent and reflecting mind, and possessed of much local knowledge, thrown into society with a person of similar character, but destitute of the latter advantage, though accustomed to speculate on an extensive scale, to contemplate mighty innovations, and much more apt to feel deeply the evils he attributes to existing institutions, than calmly to appreciate the effects of their removal; if we could suppose that such a person were to succeed in communicating his impressions to his associate, and in enlisting his local knowledge in the service of his own speculative views, whilst at the same time he is much too intelligent not to know, and much too candid to suppress, the physical causes to which the evils he deplores may frequently be traced; we shall then be able to account for several passages in this work. In these, we find the state of the Bengal peasantry depicted in a querulous tone, as the result of their own mismanagement, and the consequences of their unenlightened industry; but we have scarcely time to breathe the philanthropic sigh over their infatuation in being blind to obvious improvements, before we stumble, altogether unexpectedly, on the physical necessity which regulates their conduct, and which all the agricultural science of Mr Arthur Young could not remove. We adduce two instances, which have a little amused us.

'In

'In his progreſs through Bengal, the traveller will not confine himſelf to remark the natural diverſity in the aſpect of the country, but will compare the neat habitations of the peaſants, who reſide in hilly regions, with the wretched huts of thoſe who inhabit the plain; and the contraſt may ſuggeſt a reflection, how little the richeſt productions, and moſt thriving manufacturers, contribute to the general comfort of the people at large.'

We had ſcarcely time to lament the unfortunate inhabitants of plains, before we were reminded that the waters which fertilize their fields, frequently deluge their habitations; and that the inconveniences of their quarters was compensated by saving the labour of artificial irrigation, and obviating the necessity of manure. Again,

'If dikes, to check the inundation, ſhow an attention to improvement—reſervoirs and dams, conſtructed for irrigation in the champaign country, are equally a proof of ſome attention to that object, while wells for watering the fields offer a pleaſing ſpecimen of induſtry in the weſtern provinces. But if ſomething occur to extort applauſe, the moſt deſultory obſervation will notice more to cenſure. The aſſemblage of peaſants in villages, their ſmall farms, and the want of encloſures, bar all great improvements in huſbandry.'

This unaccountable propensity in the peasants to huddle together in villages, whilst they might apply their labour so much more profitably by living on their farms, would have appeared like infatuation.

But, 'it is true, that in a country infeſted by tygers, ſolitary dwellings and unattended cattle would be inſecure; but no apology can be offered for the peaſants indifferently quitting the plough to uſe the loom, and the loom to reſume the plough. Induſtry cannot be worſe directed.'

But since the danger from beasts of prey renders the assemblage of houses necessary, was it judicious to insert this amongst the objects of censure? We are unable to judge how far enclosures would prove beneficial in Bengal; they are rare there, as over the whole Continent of Europe; but were they ever so abundant, they would not at all obviate the necessity of guarding the cattle from the attacks of ferocious animals, nor admit of their being left out at night. Bold as it may seem, we even venture to apologize for the alternate labours of the loom and the ploughshare.

'The ſpring and the dry ſeaſon occupy four months,' ſays Mr Colebrooke, 'during which the heat progreſſively increaſes, until it becomes almoſt intolerable, even to the natives themſelves.'

At this period, uninterrupted field labour is impossible; and though the greatest sultriness prevails then, yet the heat is intense during three fourths of the year, for some hours after

noon. When his rural occupations are unavoidably interrupted, through fatigue or excessive heat, application to a sedentary employment appears to us rather laudable, than an object of censure. It is true, the husbandmen have the alternative of being idle during that period; and many of them have had the penetration to prefer it.

'The neceſſaries of life are cheap, the mode of living ſimple; and though the price of labour be low, a ſubſiſtence may be earned without the uninterrupted application of induſtry. Often idle, the manufacturer and peaſant may nevertheleſs ſubſiſt.'

It is possible, that, in temperate climes, the minute subdivision of labour may furnish a tolerably accurate criterion of the commercial prosperity of the country in which it subsists. It is possible that the numerary value of its productions may be in some degree commensurate with the moral degradation of the mass of its inhabitants; and that when their ideas shall each be limited to the performance of one simple manipulation, the country shall have attained the acmé of its splendour. These axioms we are by no means disposed to combat; but think that, during the unavoidable interruption of his rural labours, occasioned by the climate, the Bengal peasant may be allowed to employ himself in plying his loom within doors.

An observation which Mr Colebrooke has applied to one branch of cultivation, might, in our opinion, be judiciously applied to all.

'A courſe of experiments would be requiſite to aſcertain whether the methods actually employed, be better ſuited to the ſoil and climate, than others which might be, or which have been, ſuggeſted, after comparing the practice of other countries with the various methods purſued in Bengal.'

It will frequently be found, that customs which appear to strangers the result of negligence and want of refinement, have their origin in local peculiarities, and may, on further information, be traced to a series of profound and continued practical observations. We are disposed to think, that our author's strictures on the plough, and on the rotation of crops used in Bengal, may be found in this predicament. The former is not calculated to make a profound impression on the soil, and only scratches the surface. Is it desirable it should do more? We can affirm, that, in most parts of Bengal, at some distance from the surface, the soil is strongly impregnated with alkaline salts, extremely hostile to vegetation; insomuch, that delicate plants have frequently a layer of bricks placed below them, to prevent their roots from descending to the noxious stratum. To enable his readers to judge how far the Hindus are scientific and intelligent cultivators of the soil, we lament that Mr Colebrooke has

not

not given the names adopted by them for the different species of lands, discriminated by their respective level above the line of inundation, and the peculiar mode of culture appropriated to each. The Dowra, annually fertilized by inundation, and yielding one crop. The Caduri, above the level of inundation, but receiving an annual deposite of rich soil washed from higher lands, and yielding two crops. The Danga, more elevated than either, and manured (not indeed with dung, which Mr Colebrooke seems to regard somewhat too exclusively as the only fertilizing substance, but) with soil brought from the tract of inundation, and left by the waters on their retreat; this is devoted to the more delicate and costly productions. These are only a few of the distinctions admitted in Hindu husbandry. The two first, to which nature applies the manure it requires, bear crops *ad infinitum*, without the necessity of lying fallow to recruit their vegetative powers. What we have said will suffice to prove that the Bengal peasantry do not proceed without fixed principles for their guidance, and those probably derived from a remote antiquity, and possibly the best adapted to their soil and climate. We can also assert, that, in the part of the country with which we are most conversant, the rotation of the crops was in a certain degree regulated by their supposed effects on the soil, excepting where the annual deposite of alluvial earth rendered this attention superfluous.

It were idle to criticize the data on which Mr Colebrooke has founded his calculations of the population of Bengal. They were the best, we have no doubt, to which he had access; and unsatisfactory as they are, we are persuaded they have conducted him to a nearer approximation to the truth than his predecessors, and that the population of the tracts in question may perhaps fairly be estimated at thirty millions.

'We appeal,' says Mr Colebrooke, 'to the recollection of every person who has traversed the populous parts of Bengal, whether every village do not swarm with inhabitants? whether every plain be not crowded with villages? and whether every street be not thronged with passengers?'

This apparent affluence of inhabitants, in a country where one fourth of the population are rarely seen abroad, convinces us that the inhabitants bear a relatively great proportion to the superficies of occupied land. Our author has excluded a fourth of the area 'for tracts of land nearly or wholly waste;' but this is in addition to one sixth, previously allowed in his calculation for lands 'deemed irreclaimable and barren,' and wastes liable to pay revenue. This classification is not very intelligible. Does our author comprehend in the former, the extensive tracts of forests, such as the Sundrivana; and indicate, under the lat-

ter, the barren and waste tracts which occur in fertile and cultivated districts? If this exposition be correct, we shall be at a loss under what head to place the rich pastures which occupy so great a proportion of the whole superficies. An incidental expression in a subsequent passage, would induce us to conclude that these must find a place amongst the waste lands—'Cows are usually fed near home, on reserved pastures, or on the waste lands of the village.' But, without adverting to the injudicious choice of the term selected to indicate lands from which the peasant derives so capital a part of his subsistence and profit, our astonishment is extreme, to find them rated at only a sixth of the whole area, whilst the land in tillage is estimated at a third. We should certainly have been disposed to reverse these proportions, in the part of Bengal with which we are familiar: and we find that Mr Grant estimates the pasture land at two fifths, whilst he allots only one fifth for the portion in cultivation.

To the writings of that meritorious servant of the Company, Mr Colebrooke appears to have devoted little attention. We find him once quoted, in a note, and that inaccurately, which we think it right to rectify, in order to preclude important misconceptions.

'The standard,' says our author, 'for the regulation of rates has been lost. We learn from Mr James Grant, in his observations on the revenues of Bengal, that the assessment was limited not to exceed, in the whole, a fourth part of the actual gross produce of the soil. The antient method of estimating the resources from the produce is explained in the Ayin Acberi.'

Mr Colebrooke has inadvertently mistated the fact asserted by Mr Grant. That gentleman states one half of the crop to be the general contribution from corn, when paid in kind; but one fourth of the estimated value when paid in specie, which was optional with the cultivator. But as our author thinks the original standard is now lost, he, of course, conceives that this fact rests on the single authority of Mr Grant. Yet, in the Ayin Acberi itself, the proportion of a fourth is distinctly stated. In the Muntukheb al Bab, the following passages authenticate the original standard on which the Asul Tumar Jumma was constructed by Rajah Tudor Mull.

'A new mode of collecting the revenues was also adopted, and named Buttai; the aggregate quantity of grain produced, in the autumnal and vernal harvests, by the sole influence of the periodical rains, underwent an equal division; one half rewarding the labour of the husbandman, and the remainder being appropriated by government.'

Again,

'The dues of government might also be collected in money, if judged preferable, in the proportion of the fourth of the estimated produce of each Biga.'

The

The same fact is attested by Shah Nuaz Khan, in his biography of Rajah Tudor Mull.

'He exacted the fourth of the produce in money; and in kind divided the crop, which was called Buttai.'

Considerable perplexity will be found also to occur in Mr Colebrooke's manner of considering the subject of Zemindari rights.

'In one point of view, the Zemindars, as descendants of antient independent Rajahs, or as the successors of their descendants, seemed to have been tributary princes. In another light, they appeared to be only officers of government. Perhaps their real character partook of both.'

We know, in point of fact, that none of the considerable Zemindars of Bengal are descended from independent sovereigns, and that their possessions are comparatively of very recent date. The observation, then, only tends to embarrass the question, by the introduction of an irrelevant supposition.

It only remains to consider the hints suggested by the enlightened benevolence of Mr Colebrooke, for the amelioration of our Indian dominions. They consist of two propositions: 1*st*, That the capital employed in agriculture is too small, and injudiciously applied.

'If Bengal had a capital in the hands of enterprizing and intelligent proprietors, who employed it in agriculture, manufactures, and internal commerce, these arts would be improved; and with more and better productions from the same labour, the situation of the labourers would be less precarious, and more affluent.'

Let us examine this proposition. A more intelligent cultivation would indisputably raise a greater quantity of produce: But is it the penury of its produce of which Bengal has to complain? In a country where corn does not pay the expense of cultivation, would the production of a still greater quantity augment its value? The produce is now exuberant, and the defects of the agricultural system cannot be demonstrated by the scantiness of the produce, as stated by our author himself. We apprehend, from Mr Colebrooke's statements, corroborated by our own observation, that it is not the produce, but the constant demand, which should be augmented, to alleviate the situation of the husbandmen. But who are the intelligent and enterprizing proprietors, to whose assistance he would have recourse? Would he recommend the rescission of the act of Parliament, which precludes Englishmen from purchasing or farming lands? To rescind an act of the Legislature, which places the character of the British nation

'Above all Greek, above all Roman fame?'

An act of justice and enlightened policy, without which, we will

venture to affirm, one half of the lands of Bengal would, ere this, have become the property of Englishmen, and the natives would have been strangers on their own soil. * But perhaps we mistake Mr Colebrooke's idea, and will not pursue this topic further. Should that prove the case, the permanent settlement, by the sale of lands to supply deficiency of revenue, seems to provide for the introduction of more enterprizing, and more affluent proprietors, into the landed system. The purchasers usually consist of wealthy natives, who have acquired their fortunes by commerce: their habits of industry, their enterprize and their capital, under the encouragement held forth by a permanent assessment, may, it is hoped, be advantageously employed in rural concerns.

The *second* proposition is the encouragement of agriculture, in facilitating exportation, by lowering the rates of freight, and the duties on Bengal sugar in England. The length to which we have carried our analysis of this important and valuable publication, prevents us from entering on a subject so much perplexed by jarring interests; and obliges us to conclude by repeating our warm general approbation of the contents of this work.

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ART. III. *The Stranger in Ireland; or, a Tour in the Southern and Western Parts of that Country in the Year* 1805. By John Carr, Esq. of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple; Author of a Northern Summer, or Travels round the Baltic; the Stranger in France, &c. &c.

WE were glad to see a tour through Ireland by Mr Carr; for though a hasty traveller, and an incorrect writer, we judged, from his former publications, that he had talents for observation, and for lively description. We expected that he would throw new lights upon the state of Ireland; that country, for which, as Lord Chesterfield said, 'God has done so much and man so little.' The union has certainly created a demand for a statistical, economical, moral and political view of Ireland, with a clear explanation of the causes which have, for nearly three centuries, impeded its progress in civilization; and a statement of such remedies as sound policy and practical humanity suggest for its improvement.

Spenser,

* It is difficult to describe the astonishment with which foreigners learn this act of magnanimity in the British Legislature. Several persons of distinction in France could not conceal the impression produced by mentioning it.

Spenſer, who was ſecretary to one of the lord lieutenants in the reign of Elizabeth, and Sir John Davies, who was attorney-general and ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons in Ireland in the reign of James the I., have left full and able accounts of the ſtate of that country in their times. The Iriſh were then a nation of wandering ſhepherds, and feudal freebooters. The Engliſh *pale* extended but to a few counties immediately round Dublin; all without were excluded from the benefit of the Engliſh laws and protection. On the confines of the pale, and in the Engliſh *marches*, a continual warfare was carried on between the natives and the ſettlers; but in theſe petty conteſts there was little of that chivalrous ſpirit which diſtinguiſhed our Scottiſh borderers. Neither in proſe or verſe could the hiſtory of theſe marauders be told with grace or dignity. Spenſer, however, gives an entertaining account of their ſepts and clans, their Brehon laws, their *Boolies*, their *Coſheerings*, their *Stucas*, their long mantles, and their ſaffron-coloured linen. The methods which he propoſed for the civilization of the Iriſh, were the abrogation of the Brehon, and the adoption of the Engliſh laws; the diſperſing Engliſh ſoldiers and ſettlers over the country to overawe the rebellious, and to induce the well-diſpoſed to imitate examples of better modes of life: He recommended alſo the eſtabliſhing of garriſons and magazines for corn, and the building of villages, and country ſchools near every pariſh church for the inſtruction of the common people.

Sir John Davies, who wrote but a few years after Spenſer died, gives a ſimilar account of the country, but adds, in his '*Progreſs through the Waſtes and wildeſt Parts of the Kingdom*,' and in his Hiſtory of the ſettlement in Ulſter, an intereſting view of the efforts made to accelerate the progreſs of civilization, and the ſucceſs with which theſe judicious attempts were attended. The right claimed by the ſoldiers, to take at will, from the peaſantry, man's meat, and horſe's meat, and even money; the *damnable* cuſtom (as Sir John juſtly ſtyles it) of coin and livery, a cuſtom 'which, eſtabliſhed in hell, as it was in Ireland, would have overturned the kingdom of Beelzebub,' was aboliſhed. The pernicious cuſtoms of taniſtry and gavel-kind, by which the deſcent of property was rendered uncertain, and its ſubdiviſion an encouragement to idleneſs, were now broken through. The lands were ſet, and their deſcent eſtabliſhed according to the actual Engliſh law. The Brehon laws were altogether abrogated, and ſomething like a rational and equal adminiſtration of juſtice commenced. The number of judges of aſſize were increaſed, and they went regular circuits through the kingdom; 'whereas the circuits, in former times, went but round about the pale, like the circle of the cynoſura about the pole.' Trials by jury were inſtituted; but Sir John obſerves,

obſerves, that 'many of the poor people were very unwilling to be ſworn of the juries, leſt, if they condemned any man, his friends, in revenge, ſhould rob, or burn, or kill them for it; the like miſchief having happened to divers jurors ſince the laſt ſeſſion holden there.'

Sir John Davies, who ſhews himſelf a true friend to Ireland, made efforts, in this *Progreſs*, to inquire into the ſtate of the church lands and benefices; 'but my lords the biſhops were not well pleaſed that laymen ſhould intermeddle with theſe things, and did ever anſwer, Let us alone with that buſineſs. Take you no care of that.' The churches were miſerably out of repair: ſuch as were got up for preſentation only thatched; and, ſays Sir John, 'the poor vicars that came to our camp were moſt ragged, ignorant creatures, not worthy the meaneſt of their livings, though thoſe were many of them but of 40s. per annum.' The non-reſidence of the proteſtant biſhops was much complained of; and a proverb is quoted, which was frequently in the mouth of one of the greateſt of theſe prelates, 'That an Iriſh prieſt is no better than a milch cow.'

Davies, as well as the great Bacon, had ſagacity enough to predict, that unleſs meaſures of liberal policy were adopted for the government of the country, 'Ireland *civil* would become more dangerous than Ireland *ſavage*.' What Davies could, he did; and what he could not effect, he ſuggeſted. He obtained amneſties for the offences of the rebels who returned to their allegiance; remiſſion of old debts and quit-rents due to the crown: he obliterated, as far as poſſible, the remembrance of antient feuds and party diſtinctions; reſtrained the exceſſes of the ſoldiery; and, beſides eſtabliſhing a regular adminiſtration of juſtice, did his utmoſt to obtain ſome education for the poor of the country.

Of the progreſs of civilization in Ireland after his time, and of the ſteps by which it was retarded or advanced, we have no diſtinct view. There have, indeed, appeared voluminous pamphlets, profeſſing to treat of the ſtate of that country; but theſe relate chiefly to party queſtions. Arthur Young's Tour has been much and deſervedly applauded as a faithful and lively picture of that kingdom when he ſaw it; but that was nearly thirty years ago. Much remains to be learned; and we therefore opened with eagerneſs a new tour through Ireland, which we hoped would repreſent to us Ireland as it was, and as it is. But, alas! we were miſerably diſappointed. We found Mr Carr's quarto, a book of ſtale jeſts, and fulſome compliments. All the old ſtories of bulls and blunders, which, as we are informed, have for years paſt been regularly brought forward for the recreation of every new lord-lieutenant and his ſecretary, are here collected for the edification of the

the public. The Stranger in Ireland was, it seems, upon his arrival, bountifully supplied, by the hospitable Hibernians, with all the *good things* in which that convivial nation abounds. With a little more taste and judgment, he might have arranged these so as to afford agreeable entertainment to his readers; but, to save himself the trouble of thought or arrangement, he has emptied and overwhelmed us with his common-place book. For one beauty this work is indeed eminently distinguished,—for the beauty of contrast; that species of contrast, which results from want of order, where grave and gay, just and absurd, fine and vulgar, sublime and ludicrous, succeed each other, so as to create in the highest degree the pleasure of *unexpectedness*. This pleasure, indeed, gradually abates as we proceed; for we are at length taught to expect the recurrence of these strange figures, which come round and round again like the pictures in a Savoyard's magic-lantern; whilst the same tone of a show-man, kept up incessantly, must at last weary the most enduring ear. Let no impatient reader of this volume resort to the index in hopes of skipping with celerity and advantage. The table of contents will rather mislead than direct; it will entice him on, and leave him disappointed and provoked. The knack of giving *good* heads to chapters has been carried to a high and treacherous state of perfection. We are often cheated into reading a stupid chapter, as we are entrapped in the newspapers by the beginning of some paragraph, apparently about Newton or Buffon,—about some new discovery in optics, or natural history, which proves in the end nothing more than a lottery advertisement. Our Author's table of contents may be most inviting to the large tribe of anecdote-mongers and desultory readers; but surely, numerous as they are, their taste should not have been exclusively consulted, to the utter neglect of the interests of purchasers, who set some little value upon their money or their time.

Besides being disappointed in the solid contents, we were disgusted with the manner of this book. It is worse written than any of Mr Carr's former tours. The style is both careless and affected, trivial and inflated; his fine sentences are sometimes without meaning, and often without grammar; and his high-flown descriptions, which are neither prose nor poetry, frequently terminate in striking instances of the bathos. For example, take the following account of his arrival at Killarney.

'The evening, shrouded in black clouds charged with rain, rapidly set in; the wind roared; and only the light-blue smoke of the cabin relieved the universally deep embrowned sterility of the scene. *In these and most other districts the milk of sheep is used.*'

His description of Mucross-Abbey is not inferior.

'The graceful ruins of Mucross-Abbey on our right, half embosomed in

in a group of luxuriant and ſtately trees, *influenced, as ſoon as ſeen, the bridles of our horſes.*'

It is a pity that our touriſt, before he began to deſcribe Killarney, had not attended to the monition of a celebrated author, who thus writeth:

'I have at length ſeen what I have long wiſhed to ſee,—this wondrous lake! To attempt to deſcribe it, would require the ableſt of the antient poets, or of modern poets; wherefore I ſhall never attempt it.' *

Though we regret, that Mr Carr did not attend to this diſſuaſive paragraph, yet we do not accuſe him of being ignorant of the merits of the performance in which it is contained; for his ſtyle frequently reminds us of the manner of the author to whom it is attributed,—the celebrated George Falkener. In his peculiar uſe of pronouns, in his heterogeneous anecdotes, and in his mode of dragging into a ſentence a multitude of words and ideas foreign to the principal purpoſe, Mr Carr is not inferior to this great original; the reſemblance of ſtyle is indeed ſo ſtriking, that we ſhould almoſt ſuſpect him of ſtudied imitation. We ſhall ſelect a few parallel paſſages.

Mr Carr ſays,

'I cannot help gratifying my readers in this ſtage of our tour with the reſult of an active and anxious inquiry, which I made of the exiſtence of a cuſtom in ſome parts of Ireland, equally cruel and impolitic, &c. It is with real pleaſure that I have it in my power, upon the authority of ſeveral gentlemen of great reſpectability reſiding in various parts of Ireland, to ſtate, that at this day *the cuſtom of ploughing and harrowing by the horſe's tail* does not exiſt. Long ſince, it ſhocked the humanity and excited the interference of the legiſlature; for I find that, in the year 1634, when Lord Strafford was lord-deputy, an act was paſſed againſt this cruel uſage.'

Mr Falkener ſaid before him,

'The Iriſh formerly *ploughed by the tail with bullocks.* But upon Dr Swift's voyage to the Houynhams being publiſhed, and his ſaying ſo much in praiſe of horſes, this barbarous, horrid, atrocious, ſhocking, deteſtable, cruel, nefarious cuſtom, was aboliſhed by act of Parliament. See an abridgment of the Iriſh *ſtatues*, ſold by me in Parliament Street.'

Carr

informs us, 'that *Ceres* bears a ſtrong affinity to the Iriſh word *Cuirim*, or *Cairim*, to ſow or plant; and that *Treabtalamh*, a plougher of the earth, is not unlike *Triptolemus.*'

Falkener

* The Epiſtle to Gorges Edmond Howard, Eſq., with notes by George Falkener, Eſq., was the production of Huſſey Burgh Jephſon, and ſome other wits, during the adminiſtration of Lord Townſend in Ireland.

FALKENER,

more modeſt than Carr in his pretenſions, claims only the improvement of the plough for the Iriſh.

'Ploughs are an inſtrument for turning up the earth, firſt invented by Triptolemus, a near relation of the goddeſs Ceres, and afterwards much improved by Mr John Wynne, baker, of the Dublin Society.'

Again, our authors have a coincidence of thought and expreſſion on the happy ſubject of bulls.

CARR.

'An Iriſhman and a bull form a twin thought in an Engliſhman's mind; long and inveterate prejudices have made them as inſeparable in reflection as a bull and his horns. I went to France in the full perſuaſion of ſeeing a race of lean men, and found them of the ordinary ſize and ſtature; and many of them of a bulk and vigour that an untravelled Engliſhman would reluctantly give credit to. I went to Ireland, expecting a bull to fly out of every Iriſhman's mouth every third time he ſpoke. That the lower claſſes make bulls, I believe, becauſe I have been well informed that they do, and becauſe the lower claſſes of other countries make them alſo.'

George Falkener, who was as tender upon the ſubject of blundering, and as zealous for the honour of the Iriſh as Mr Carr ſeems to be, volunteered in their defence; and, as Mr Carr jumbles together the French and Iriſh in his vindication, Mr Falkener, with equal propriety, drags the Germans and Iriſh into the ſame exculpatory paragraph.

'The Germans are, in general, ſuppoſed to be a proud people. Julius Cæſar and Mr Nugent give them this character; but the Iriſh are very unjuſtly charged with a talent of blundering; but it is well known that the people expreſs themſelves in their native tongue, the Engliſh, with more perſpicuity and preciſion. The Dean of St Patrick was of this opinion, who, though born and bred in England, always declared himſelf, when ſober, to be an Iriſhman.'

At Cork we expected ſome good jokes; because Mr Falkener, to whoſe authority we may refer with implicit confidence, informs us, that Attica was called the Cork of Greece. Accordingly, we find that our traveller's taſte for wit improved as he approached Cork. As he was going up a hill, having humanely helped a carrier to reload his car, the witty native thanked him in the following attic manner.

'Ah, may your Honour live long, very long!'

The brilliancy of this repartee is to be equalled only by the Kerry poſtillion's wit, thus recorded page 175.

'Your Honour'—ſaid our driver, upon our obſerving that one of his horſes plunged—'that mare is always very *uneaſy* in going down hill.'

From theſe bon-mots, and from the various anecdotes of King Donahue—Lord Caſtlereagh and his young friend Sturrock—the

immaculate

immaculate St Bridget—Carrolan and Miss Bridget Cruise—that celebrated antiquarian Mr Grose and the butcher—Lord Avonmore and the calf—from these and a thousand more,

'Ah, dread the thouſand ſtill unnamed behind!'

we are convinced that Mr Carr has the same indefatigable taste for collecting anecdotes of celebrated characters, for which Mr Falkener was distinguished. In zeal, Mr Carr is equal to his master, but not in prudence, nor in that 'first and greatest art, the art to blot,' as will appear by the following.

FALKENER.

'I undertook a journey to London to collect materials for the life of Mr John Dryden, a poet well known in the reign of Charles the Second; but, after remaining there three months for this purpoſe, I could only learn that he was accuſtomed to ſit in a big chair among the wits at Button's; and this, my friends telling me, not being ſufficient for a life of ſaid poet, I accordingly diſcontinued it. I alſo begun a life of the Dean of St Patrick's, in a ſtyle which was much admired, and equal to the fine ſimplicity of the Greeks, and the Dean himſelf, which I began in this manner—'Dean Swift was a man who had wax in his ears.'—I am in poſſeſſion of many other anecdotes known to no perſon now living; and when they are completed, it will be publiſhed by me and my executors in Parliament-Street.'

In Mr Carr's eagerness to introduce speeimens of the poetical talents of his friends, and in the judgment with which he selects, we must admit that he is superior even to his prototype. Allowing, however, for the difference between the tragic and comic muses, they may be fairly set in competition with each other.

CARR.

'The following beautiful lines from the pen of that diſtinguiſhed man, whoſe verſatility of genius is the aſtoniſhment and admiration of all who have been within the range of it, Curran, will prove how the mourning muſe can affect in Ireland.'

*On seeing the Funeral of the Rev. Alexander Lamelliere.*

By John Philpot Curran, Esq.

'For ſee, beneath that ſable pall,
Extended on that bier,
Lie the remains, the earthly all
Of youthful Lamelliere.

But none, oh Death! thy pow'r can ſly;
In vain we ſhed the tear;
We know 'tis vain; yet every eye
Muſt weep for Lamelliere.

So will we think on Lamelliere;
Recal his precepts ſweet;
His name ſhall to our hearts be dear,
While mem'ry holds her ſeat.'—&c.

There

There are eleven more of these mortuary stanzas, of equal merit with the above.

FALKENER.

'The Reverend Dr Clarke, Vice-Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, hath a very fine taste for poetry, which plainly appeareth by the specimen annexed, as it was first published.'

*On a Lady's forgetting her Riding Hat.*

By the Rev. Dr. Clarke, when Vice-Provost, &c.

'Fair Anna had no heart to give,
So left her head behind.
Bright Mina, on whose smiles I live,
Was not by half so kind.

Both head and heart she with her brought,
And both she took away,
And with her carried all she caught,
That's all that gazed that day.'

Mr Carr is not merely the eulogist of wits and poets: every man he meets is well-bred, witty, eloquent, generous, admired, or at least well-known; every lady, of course, is fair and elegant, accomplished, amiable, graceful, enchanting, perfectly well informed or distinguished for talents. He is the most courteous, and the most fortunate of travellers; he wins his easy way from house to house, and leaves, at every hospitable mansion, according to the custom of ancient Irish bards, a *planxty*, celebrating the virtues, charms, or high descent of the hostess. Far be it from us to censure the generous overflowings of gratitude: but we must own, that our author has, on some occasions, startled our Scottish notions of economy, by the profuseness of his remuneration for trifling civilities. For instance, is he not, even at his first setting out, rather too lavish in payment for a few slices of broiled mutton, when he *vows*—'*upon the cabin-table* of the Holyhead Packet, to tell every one, who might ever read him, that he was relieved from the "*gloomy dilemma*" (of hunger) by a *lady of fashion*, an Irish woman, and a poetess,—the *accomplished* and *elegant* authoress of several *charming* poems, and particularly some *beautiful well-known* lines'—which we forbear to quote.

As it is easy, on every occasion, to pour forth, fresh from the mint, supplies of the 'aerial coin' of praise, there can be no danger of a bankruptcy in the complimentary line of business; but is there not reason to apprehend that an immoderate issue may depreciate the value of the coin, and destroy the currency of the tokens? Indiscriminate praise, like indiscriminate satire, destroys its own purpose. In Mr Carr's tour, there are no less than 88 pages of quotation, one sixth of the whole quarto: these

quotations

quotations, contain many specimens of the wit and eloquence of Curran, Kirwan, and Grattan. The rage for reading every thing that has been written, said or thought, by celebrated characters, now exposes all distinguished persons to the danger of having every careless word, which escapes them in private conversation, conn'd, and set down in a note-book, thence to be transferred to the *anas* of the anecdote-monger, or the quartos of the fashionable tourist. Literary legacy-hunters now display the most indecent anticipation of their expected gains: not content with the hopes of what may come to their share after the death of their friend or patron, they take possession of his spoils during his lifetime; and he has the misery of seeing his reputation torn to pieces, without the power to defend himself,—without even the consolation of complaint; for all this is done with a profusion of compliments, and with the best intentions imaginable. A man may resent the malice of an enemy; but what remedy has he against the kindness of a friend? According to the different nature of their talents, the victims suffer in different proportions. The man of wit is least aggrieved. 'Whoever,' says Dr Johnson, 'tries to recommend Shakespeare, by select quotations, will succeed like the pedant in Hierocles, who, when he offered his house to sale, carried a brick in his pocket as a specimen.' Of the talents of the brickmaker, we can judge, however, in some degree, by the single brick. A bon-mot is a good thing by itself; a *whole*, from which we can form some judgment of the wit: but the orator is the sufferer by this retail trade. A stroke of eloquence, a simile, or an allusion, lose half their power, and all their beauty, when taken out of their proper place, and deprived of introduction and accompaniment. Whoever has been accustomed to attend to public oratory, must know how much of its effect depends upon the time and place, upon contrast, and upon the connexion of the parts of an harangue: none of these can appear in the insulated sentences, which our collector obtrudes upon our attention, and from which we are perversely inclined to withhold admiration, because it is imperiously demanded. The reader is disposed to be displeased, when all exercise of his judgment is in a despotic manner precluded by such titles to paragraphs as the following.

'Exquisite ironical humour.—Fine description of an informer.—Striking specimens of eloquence and style in writing.'

It is but justice to Mr Carr to display some of his best anecdotes, which we shall do, without prejudicing the reader against them by exaggerated epithets of praise.

P. 41.—'The dress of the beggars in Dublin is deplorably filthy, and induced a wit to say, that he never knew what the beggars in

London

London did with their caſt clothes, till he found that they were ſold to the Dublin beggars.'

P. 84—'It was upon the ſteps of this place (the General Poſt-Office in Dublin) that Curran and Lord ——— were ſtanding, when the latter, who had voted for the Union, as he looked towards the late Parliament-Houſe, which was then in a forlorn ſtate of mutilation, obſerved—"How ſhocking our old Parliament-Houſe looks, Curran!" To which the witty barriſter finely replied—"True, my Lord, it is uſual for murderers to be afraid of ghoſts."

P. 206.—'A Viceroy of Ireland aſked one of his chaplains, "Why there were no toads in Ireland?" To which he replied—"Becauſe, your Excellency, there are ſo many *toad-eaters*."

'I muſt not omit to ſay, that General Doyle has aſcribed a new animal to Ireland. Upon a traveller's telling him that he had been in a country where the bugs were ſo large and powerful, that two of them would drain a man's blood in one night, the General wittily replied, "My good Sir, we have the ſame animals in Ireland, but they are there called by another name, they are called *hum-bugs*."

P. 437.—Mr Carr relates an anecdote of an Irish dragoon, which is highly honourable to his country; but we refer to it, instead of extracting it, because we think it will appear to most advantage in the work itself.

We extract the following passages, not only as favourable ſpecimens of the author's manner, but as juſt repreſentations of the Iriſh, and as ſlight circumſtances from which the politician and philoſopher may draw ſome important concluſions.

'The next morning I attended the quarter-ſeſſions (at Killarney) at which a barriſter preſided. At this meeting, the character of the people was ſtrikingly developed. The greateſt good humour prevailed in the court, which was a large, naked room, with a quantity of turf piled up in one corner of it. Every face looked animated; ſcarcely any decorum was kept; but juſtice was expeditiouſly, and I believe ſubſtantially, adminiſtered by the barriſter, who is addreſſed by that name, and who appeared to be perfectly competent to the diſcharge of his judicial duties. He was elevated above the reſt. A fellow, like every one of his countrymen in or out of court, loving law to his ſoul, projected himſelf too forward to hear a cauſe which was proceeding: the officer of the court, who, like the bell in Peeping Tom of Coventry, made a horrible noiſe by endeavouring to keep ſilence, ſtruck this anxious unlucky wight a blow on the head with a long pole, almoſt ſufficiently forcible to have felled an ox: the fellow rubbed his head; all the aſſembly broke out in a loud laugh, in which the object of their mirth could not reſiſt joining. Inſtead of counſel, ſolicitors pleaded: one of them was examining a ruſtic, a witneſs on behalf of his client when I entered: the poor fellow ſuffered anſwers, unfavourable to the party for whom he appeared, to eſcape him; upon which, after half a dozen imprecations, the ſolicitor threw the teſtament on which he had

been ſworn at his head; a ſecond laugh followed: another fellow ſwore backwards and forwards ten times in as many minutes; and whenever he was detected in the moſt abominable perjury, the auditory was thrown into convulſions of merriment. The barriſter held in his hands, not the ſcales of juſtice, but a little braſs machine for weighing ſhillings, ſimilar to that which I deſcribed to have been uſed by my fair glover in Dublin, and which was in frequent requiſition upon the judicial ſeat, for aſcertaining the due weight of fees paid into court;—another proof of the injurious effects of the wretched ſtate of the circulating medium! The day before, a young nobleman, whoſe political genius and unblemiſhed integrity have been ſince ſo brilliantly brought forward, by the demiſe of one of the moſt incorruptible and eloquent, though not the moſt ſucceſsful of miniſters, was ſeated on the bench, for the purpoſe of obſerving the habits of the people: I allude to the preſent Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Henry Petty. His preſence was regarded as a flattering compliment; but whether it kept thoſe ſons of drollery and mirth in better order, I know not.

'When his Lordſhip was preſent, a culprit was ſentenced to three months impriſonment: as he was conducted out of court, the fellow ſaid, "By Jaſus, it is all owing to his Lordſhip, long life to him; if he had not been there, I know the barriſter, as worthy a gentleman as ever lived, would only have ſentenced me for a fortnight; but he thought, as the young Lord was there, if he had let me off more aiſy, he would not have been thought to have done his duty; and there it is."

Another quarter-ſeſſion at Cork attracted our author's attention; and his account of it deſerves to be recorded, as corroborative evidence of the aſſertion, that the lower Iriſh are proud of their talents for litigation, and not yet aſhamed of thoſe habits of jocular perjury, in which they have been encouraged, rather than diſcountenanced, by the higher claſſes, who treat ſuch faults in theſe poor ignorant people as matter of merriment and ridicule, and not with reprobation and abhorrence. 'On ne ſe guerit pas d'un defaut, qui plait.'

'In the courſe of my rambles, I was attracted by a crowd upon ſome ſteps, and found that the quarter-ſeſſions were holding. I entered a diſmal hall, where an aſſiſtant barriſter preſided: the ſame merry noiſe and confuſion prevailed here as at Killarney. I found a wild Iriſhman, a facetious fellow, upon the table, ſeated in a chair, and under examination, attended by an interpreter. "D'ye know" ſaid the examining ſolicitor (who officiated as counſel) "the traverſers in the dock?" "And plaze you, I know them both by what I have heard," was the anſwer.—[A loud laugh.]—The following queſtion produced one of the moſt favourite figures of ſpeech amongſt the low Iriſh. "Well, Sir, did he confeſs at all?" Anſwer. "Plaze your honour, he would not confeſs a h'a'porth;" *i. e.* the worth of a halfpenny. "I know you well," ſaid one of the Jury to another witneſs. "Oh plaze you," ſaid

ſaid the witneſs, " you never knew me but out of honeſty. "—[Another laugh.]—This fellow contradicted himſelf many times; but always with ſo much humour, that the graveſt judge could ſcarcely have preſerved a due ſolemnity of face. So naturally diſpoſed are the lower orders to drollery, that I found perjury, if it had any thing of humour in it, ſeemed to be ſtripped of all its culpability. The government has acted wiſely, in appointing gentlemen regularly bred to the law to preſide in theſe courts, who are capable, by habits of inveſtigation, of diſcerning truth, however deeply concealed, and who know the genius and condition of the people thoroughly. Amidſt all this facetious prevarication and ſmiling confuſion, I was aſſured, from very good authority, and in the cauſes to which I fixed my attention I found it to be ſo, that juſtice was fairly adminiſtered. At the ſame time, I think, the amelioration of the lower people demands, that wherever a perverſion of truth, under the ſolemn obligation of an oath, appears, however calculated, by attendant ſpecious wit and humour, to diſarm ſeverity, it ought to excite the ſtrongeſt animadverſion of the Bench; which, I am convinced, from the uncommon acute ſenſibility of the lower people, would ſpeedily cover the crime with ignominy.'

We perfectly agree with our author in the opinion, that some reform is much wanted in this mode of administering justice in Ireland. He was fortunate in seeing assistant barristers, who did honour to the choice of government, by maintaining *some* decorum in their courts. But the integrity or abilities of those individuals to whom power is delegated, cannot, in the judgment of a good legislator, be any excuse for the imprudence, or any compensation for the hazard, of entrusting it to them without proper restrictions. All who know how much of human virtue depends upon situation or institution, would not wish to place others, or to be placed themselves, in circumstances where their passions and interests must give them continual temptations to swerve from their duty, and where they have frequent opportunities of doing wrong, without much danger of reprehension. An assistant barrister is a newly created officer of justice, still unknown in Great Britain. Lately, the Crown has appointed, for each county in Ireland, a barrister of five years standing, to aid, in difficult cases, the justices at sessions. Though it is particularly provided by Parliament, that these assistants should not arrogate place or precedency, they have, notwithstanding, in most counties, assumed preeminence, and, in consequence, the old magistrates and principal gentry of the country frequently absent themselves. To their former office as assistants, there has lately been added an important and highly useful jurisdiction, a commission to try causes of civil contract to the amount of ten pounds. Causes of this description, *triable* under the *Civil Bill Act*, are numerous in Ireland, and formerly took up an unreason-

able portion of the time and attention of the Judges of assize. They are now tried at sessions; and there is reason to believe that justice is at present equitably and expeditiously administered. But it would surely be more decorous to have the civil business carried on as at assizes in one court, whilst the criminal business proceeds in another. The assistance of the barrister, sitting as judge in the civil court, would always be at hand to expound the law for the benefit of the country gentlemen; and some little importance would still be left to that useful, necessary, and constitutional body of magistrates, who distribute justice without salaries, or without any reward but the sense of fulfilling their duty; when we say without reward, we speak of country magistrates, who seldom accept of shillings and sixpences for summonses and warrants. It is dangerous to encroach upon constituted authorities; and although it is said, with some truth, and with some satire, that nothing is well done in Britain that is done for nothing, we must still look back with reverence to our earliest institutions, to a period which, amidst barbarous manners, established the foundations of our admirable constitution. We should speak with deference upon a subject where our information is not perhaps sufficient; but we have been assured that assistant barristers in Ireland are permitted to plead as counsel at assizes, in the very counties where they preside at sessions. Does it never happen, that he who has been judge at the sessions, becomes an advocate at the assizes in the same cause? Have opulent or powerful clients no influence in such delicate situations? Do party prejudices and electioneering politics produce no bias? It would be easy to obviate all suspicion, by making it a rule, that assistant barristers should never be appointed to act in the counties where their own property lies, and that they should never plead as lawyers in the counties where they act as judges at sessions. Any increase of salary which may be necessary to remunerate these gentlemen for these privations, will be money well bestowed, as it will materially improve the administration of this branch of justice in Ireland.

Mr Carr rises above himself, when inspired with eloquence by virtuous indignation at the sight of the horrible state of the House of Industry in Limerick. He speaks of it as an eye-witness; we cannot therefore doubt the facts. They are a disgrace to that city. The manner in which they are now described by a popular writer, will probably promote the correction of these abuses. If this prophecy should prove true, we shall rejoice that Mr Carr has written this quarto: and, from the benevolence apparent in all this gentleman's writings, we are convinced, that the consciousness of having obtained a material benefit for his fellow-creatures, would

would amply repay him for all the pains and penalties of authorship.

The account of the Dublin House of Industry confirms us in an opinion, which we have long entertained, and which cannot be more concisely expressed than in the words of our judicious countryman Dr Gray *, 'Fields of industry are better than houses of industry.' What avail houses of industry, and orphan houses, and parish schools, to mend the morals of the people of Dublin, when in one street alone there are fifty-two houses licensed to sell spirits! 'That a revenue derived from such a source should be an object worthy of encouragement, it is impossible to believe,' says Mr Carr. 'It might as well impose a tax upon coffins, and inoculate all its subjects with the plague.'

The chief part of the information in Mr Carr's book, is comprised in the last chapter, entitled, 'General Remarks.' Amongst other serious topics, he there adverts to the state of education in Ireland. Upon this subject he speaks liberally, though in rather too high-flown language.

'Education,' says he, 'has never beamed on the poor Irish man; sentiments of honour have never been instilled into him; and a spirit of just and social pride, improvement and enterprize, have never opened upon him. The poor Irishman looks around him, and sees a frightful void between him and those who, in well regulated communities, ought to be separated from each other only by those gentle shades of colouring that unite the brown russet to the imperial purple. He has no more power of raising himself, than an eagle whose wings have been half shorn of their plumage. The legislature has rarely noticed him but in anger,—when that ignorance, which it has never stooped to remove, has precipitated him into acts incompatible with social tranquillity, and repugnant to his nature.'

We learn with great satisfaction, that since the above was written, a Board of Education has been appointed in Ireland, composed of men of character, talents, rank, fortune and popularity. From their united efforts, their country has much to expect. They are to inquire into the state of the schools in Ireland; and we hope that they will endeavour to establish a good system of instruction for the lower classes of the people. By instruction, we do not mean merely reading, writing, and arithmetic; in these, if we have not been misinformed, the lower Irish are sufficiently well taught, even in their *hedge-schools*, (which, by the by, might with more propriety be called *ditch*-schools.) In arithmetic, especially, the boys are said to be wonderfully expert. We are told that, in a great public charity in



* Essential Principles of the Wealth of Nations illustrated, &c.

Dublin, and in parts of Armagh, writing and arithmetic have been long since taught by Mr Lancaster's method. The Irish learn, whatever they wish to learn, quickly, and with the greatest facility. But it is in moral instruction that they are deficient; and to raise a demand for this, and to administer it properly, are the great difficulties. It will be no easy task to breed up children to have totally different habits and principles from their parents, without destroying that filial and parental affection, which is the great bond of society, and without which no national education can be fundamentally good or permanent. It will be no easy task to change the associations of pleasure, pride and mirth, which the Irish children early form with the ideas of cheating, stealing, prevaricating and lying. To convince their understandings that honesty is the best policy, and that their duty to God and their neighbour is likewise their duty to themselves, might be easily accomplished; but the moral demonstration would have no more effect on their conduct, than any of the demonstrations of the missionaries at Otaheite, unless their associations and habits were changed by some strong or constant motives.

To substitute the sturdy pride of plain-dealing, for the delight of successful cunning, must be a work of time, especially where the people are, from their poverty and *subordinate* situation, continually tempted to deceive; and where party-politics and religious prejudices incline a vast proportion of the population to consider the remainder as fair game for flattery and deception. We agree with Mr Carr in the manly opinion which he has well expressed, that

'Nothing but a frank and liberal syſtem of education, which ſhall be wholly free from the *ſuſpicion* of aiming at religious converſion, directly or indirectly, can promote the great object of enlightening the poorer claſſes of ſociety in Ireland.'

All our author says about *proselytism* is excellent; we consider it as by far the most valuable part of the book; and from 'a stranger in Ireland,' we hope that it will not shock any individuals, but that it may produce its just effect upon the good sense of all parties. Mr Carr pays a tribute, and, as we are assured, a well merited tribute of approbation to the ladies of Ireland, for their benevolent indefatigable exertions to improve the education of the poor children in their country. He mentions several well-conducted schools under the patronage, and, what is much better than the patronage, under the daily superintendance, of ladies in every respect qualified for the task. From these schools we may reasonably hope salutary and immediate effects. From a board of education we can expect only well digested plans, which, if steadily pursued, may in time produce a general change in the habits

habits of the people. We hope that it will not be thought to arise from national partiality, if we advert to the state of education in our own country, and if we say that Ireland may look with advantage to North Britain, for an example of the success which rewards the labour and expense bestowed on national instruction.

Our author writes judiciously against *eleemosynary* education. He justly observes, that it would be better to accept of sixpence per annum as payment, than to offer instruction gratis: in all countries, and particularly in Ireland, the pride of parents and children would revolt from the idea of suing for education *in formâ pauperis.* This is an honest pride, for which nothing half so good can be substituted by charity or ostentation. We hope, as Mr Carr does, that the poor laws and poor rates of England may never be introduced into Ireland.

Page 519.—Mr Carr has fallen into one of those common prejudices, which usually ensnare the hunter after popular discontents. He inveighs bitterly against a race of farmers, who have obtained the name of Middlemen, from their holding an interest in lands between the proprietor and the terre-tenant. Every tyro in political economy, who has read Smith's Wealth of Nations, should know the utility of factors in all mercantile transactions. And in what does a middleman differ from a factor? He collects the value of the produce, and pays it to a land merchant at home, or exports it to a land merchant abroad. A nobleman or gentleman, who lets land for one, or for several years, does nothing more than sell raw materials to a manufacturer; and the middleman is a merchant or factor, who buys the raw material wholesale, and retails it to the workman. When this process is omitted, the landlord is obliged to employ deputies or agents, who are not connected with the under tenant by any common tie of interest. The agent's business is to collect the growing income at stated periods, and in as short a time as possible. He either goes or sends a clerk on a certain day to receive the rents of an estate. Whoever is not ready on the appointed day, is distrained. Upon a second failure, the tenant is ejected; a new one is easily procured; and after every thing which the tenant possessed has been disposed of, an increase of rent, sufficient to liquidate the former loss, is added to the new bargain. Thus, the agent is a greater oppressor than the middleman. Where middlemen are interposed, the profit made by the agent falls to their share. It is true, that they let the lands at the highest price; but they must bear the loss, if the tenant fails; and knowing this, they are interested in every loss or gain that happens to

their subtenant. The middleman is, like the doctor, desirous of gain; but it is never his interest to destroy the patient. Wherever large capital is deficient, the system of middlemen *must* prevail. In the time of Jack Cade's rebellion, the same complaint against monopolizers of lands was the watch-word of his adherents; and so late as the reign of Elizabeth, there was a similar cry in England against engrossing farms. But till capital has been collected by numbers, numbers cannot enter into competition for farms: the large capitalists alone can stock them; and the under tenants must be dependent upon such farmers for the small portions of land, which, in Ireland, supply them with the means of existence. Our author despatches, in two sentences, that great question in political economy, what is the best food for the poor? We shall here only put in our caveat against the peremptory manner in which it is decided. Whoever has seriously considered the subject, and has read what has been written by Malthus on population, and by Selkirk on emigration, will not lighly hazard a decision. The Irishman's reply to Mr Carr's inquiry into the cause of the great population of Ireland, deserves a serious investigation. 'By Jasus, Sir, it's all the potato.'

Either we are misinformed, or Mr Carr is strangely mistaken with regard to the average price of labour in Ireland, which he states at 18d. per day. This appeared such an extraordinary assertion, that we were at the trouble of looking over the whole book to verify our reference, which at last we found (page 505.) In our search, we discovered the cause of his mistake. He had learned (page 419), that the price of labour, *near Cork*, is 16d. or 18d., which is certainly not a high rate in the neighbourhood of the second city in Ireland; but to call this the average price of labour through the kingdom is a gross error. Such careless assertions we deem most unpardonable blunders; because they mislead all who attempt to reason upon such false *data*. For instance, how could Malthus himself reconcile the wretchedness of superabundant population with such high wages of labour, and such low price of provisions, as Mr Carr has stated? We are well assured, that the average wages of labour in Ireland do not amount to half the sum which he has mentioned. Those who make a tour through a country, see objects in a new, and often in a more entertaining point of view, than persons whose long residence in the country have rendered most objects familiar; but, on certain points, we can hope to obtain accurate information from those only who have lived in the country, and who, in their political and economical observations, have taken time into the account.

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Mr Carr has, with much address, evaded the discussion of many questions on which parties run high in Ireland; by this policy he probably hopes to be favourably judged by both sides. But it should not be the prime object of a man of talents to steal into popularity: his pride should be, to stand forward in the cause of truth, to do his utmost to serve his fellow-creatures, disdaining the clamours of ignorance and prejudice, secure of his reward from the good and wise; or, if disappointed of this honest fame, able to rest satisfied with his own approbation. There is a fashion amongst many well-meaning timid persons, of avoiding to speak upon what are called *dangerous* subjects; as if the danger were created by inquiring into the means of defence; or as if it could be dissipated by pretending that it does not exist. Talk of danger, and it will appear,—seems to be the maxim of this childish superstition.

Every body knows, that there have been insurrections and rebellions in Ireland: that, in 1796, nothing but the dispersion of the French fleet by a storm saved that kingdom from conquest: that, in 1798, the plot by which the city of Dublin was to have been *revolutionized*, was not discovered or counteracted, till a few hours before the moment appointed for its execution: that, in the same year, an inconsiderable French force effected an invasion of Ireland, were joined by numbers of the natives, and penetrated to the centre of the island: that, in 1803, a nobleman, high in office, and of most respectable character, was assassinated in the metropolis; and that, by this premature murder, in which the rabble indulged themselves contrary to the wishes and orders of their leaders, the plan of another insurrection was disconcerted.

But these are things of which the timid will not speak, and of which the foolhardy will not think. The rash do yet more mischief in politics than the timorous: they will not suffer you to believe that danger ever exists, notwithstanding the most alarming symptoms; and they consider it as a proof of want of courage, or want of loyalty, to suspect, that things which have been so lately, may recur.

'Ireland,' say they, 'is now perfectly quiet; and it is ridiculous and wicked to suppose, that it will ever again be in a state of disturbance. There have been Thrashers, to be sure, within these few months in that kingdom; but these were honest, poor, ignorant fellows, who had no bad designs: they collected in large bodies, to be sure, went about at night armed, to administer unlawful oaths; but the Thrashers' oath was merely not to pay tithes to proctors, and to obey Captain Thrasher; but nobody knew who this captain was, so that the oath was of no consequence. And those who refused to take it, were only dragged

dragged out of their beds and ducked; or delivered over to Captain Carder, to have their backs *carded*, (that is, flayed with a ſteel inſtrument uſed in dreſſing flax.)

'But all this was done with jollity,
Midnight ſhouts and revelry.'

'And theſe political maſkers were all in fancy dreſſes; white caps on their heads, and white ſhirts over their clothes; ſome over uniforms, it is ſaid;—but no harm was done. Beſides, their cauſe was ſo popular, that moſt of the middling farmers favoured them, and many of the thinking men approved of the end, and objected only to the means. Now, however, the whole affair is ſettled by ſpecial commiſſion; the poor wretches, who have been tried and condemned, have ſuffered, and are a ſufficient warning to the reſt; *though* they have been generally pitied, becauſe it was obvious that they were merely tools in the hands of others, and actually did not know what they were about. At all events, the country is now perfectly quiet; and we may all ſleep in peace.'

Yes!—ſleep in peace, like the raſh fools who ſleep at the foot of Mount Veſuvius—ſecure, because, say they, there has been lately an eruption of the mountain, and, may be, there will not be another in our times.

It is in vain to palter and palliate. Ireland never will be perfectly ſafe, till the cauſes of diſcontent among the great body of the people are removed. Complete *Catholic emancipation*, as it is called, ſhould be granted to them; nothing leſs will do. As to the right, the arguments in favour of the abolition of the ſlave-trade are not more clear, than thoſe in favour of the Catholic emancipation. But as to the expediency,—it is alleged, if we grant the Catholics this, they will aſk more. *Then* it will be time to refuſe; but the ſurmiſe that people will encroach, is no argument againſt granting them their rights. Expediency can never permanently ſtand againſt juſtice. And after all this, expediency exiſts merely in imagination. Popery is a mere bugbear. The fear of a Catholic intereſt in a Britiſh parliament is abſurd. The Catholic gentry in Ireland, of property ſufficient to become members of the ſenate, are few, compared with the Proteſtants; and, what is of more conſequence, their intereſts are the ſame as thoſe of the Proteſtants. Their property is ſubject to the ſame danger from invaſion or inſurrection. The old claims to forfeited Iriſh eſtates could never be ſubſtantiated, without deſpoiling the preſent opulent Catholics. Property againſt numbers, is a conteſt decidedly in favour of property, as long as the poſſeſſors of property manage their advantages with prudence: but oppreſſion makes the danger which it fears.

The Iriſh Catholics, *upon their taking the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy*, ſhould, in their political rights, be put exactly on a footing

footing with all the other ſubjects of the empire; and ſhould be relieved from the burthen of tithes paid to miniſters from whom they receive no inſtruction. Might not their prieſts, too, be paid by government? They would then be properly dependent. The late grant to the College of Maynooth, for the education of Catholics, is liberal and prudent. It is to be hoped, however, that that college is ſubject to frequent viſitations. We ſhould know what books are put into the hands of the ſtudents; not with a view of interfering in the leaſt with religious tenets, but to ſecure ſome pledge that the youth are properly educated. In all other colleges the *courſe* is univerſally known. With theſe precautions, and with this juſt toleration, all the lower claſſes of the Catholic religion in Ireland would be ſafe, and good ſubjects; not only when Engliſh troops are in the country, but in all circumſtances. In caſe of an invaſion, it would not be their intereſt to join the enemy. It is a common Iriſh proverb, that 'thoſe who are upon the ground can go no lower.' Raiſe them, and their fear of falling begins to operate. In moſt countries, the loweſt claſs of the people is in the ſituation of the aſs in the fable, caring not who is maſter, ſince he muſt always carry his paniers; but the aſs ceaſes to be in this, his uſual ſtate of neutrality, if his paniers be too heavily laden, and if he have hopes that his new maſter will lighten his burthen.

Independently of all that can be done by the Legiſlature, much may be effected towards making the different claſſes of people in Ireland coaleſce, by the good ſenſe of individuals, in their daily converſation and intercourſe with each other. All ſigns of party hatred ſhould be ſuppreſſed; all party words forborn. The appellations of orangemen and *croppies* ſhould never be heard: *Proteſtant aſcendancy* ſhould never be talked of; nor ſhould the term *an honeſt man* be uſed excluſively to deſignate a Proteſtant. If this liberal policy were univerſally adopted, Ireland would indeed be perfectly quiet and ſecure. And it would become, not only a ſecure, but a flouriſhing part of the Britiſh empire, if commercial as well as religious jealouſies could ceaſe. This is another ſubject, which a writer, publiſhing a quarto on Ireland, ſhould have diſcuſſed. The diſcuſſion would lead us far beyond our limits, which we have already tranſgreſſed: but we cannot avoid obſerving, in general, that it is a farce to talk of an incorporating union having taken place between two countries, whilſt the frontiers of each are guarded by a hoſt of cuſtomhouſe officers; whilſt the inhabitants cannot paſs or repaſs from either country, without undergoing a ſearch as rigorous as if they were in an enemy's territory; whilſt the duties and drawbacks of exciſe operate as checks upon the tranſfer of property, and even upon locomotion.

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Though Mr Carr, from prudential motives perhaps, has avoided ſome ſubjects peculiarly intereſting to Ireland, yet it is but juſtice to acknowledge that he has taken great pains to repreſent the Iriſh in their true colours, wherever he adverts to the prejudices of their neighbours. We ſhall conclude our ſpecimens of this work with his character of the Iriſh, which we believe to be a faithful repreſentation of that people, and which, we hope, will ſtrengthen the public intereſt in their favour.

'With few materials for ingenuity to work with, the peaſantry of Ireland are moſt ingenious, and, with adequate inducements, laboriouſly indefatigable. They poſſeſs, in general, perſonal beauty and vigour of frame; they abound with wit and ſenſibility, although all the avenues to uſeful knowledge are cloſed againſt them; they are capable of forgiving injuries, and generous even to their oppreſſors; they are ſenſible of ſuperior merit, and ſubmiſſive to it; they diſplay natural urbanity in rags and poverty; are cordially hoſpitable, ardent for information, ſocial in their habits, kind in their diſpoſition; in gaiety of heart and genuine humour unrivalled; even in their ſuperſtition preſenting an union of pleaſantry and tenderneſs. They are warm and conſtant in their attachments; faithful and incorruptible in their engagements; innocent, with the power of ſenſual enjoyments perpetually within their reach; obſervable of ſexual modeſty though crowded in the narrow limits of a cabin; ſtrangers to a crime which reddens the cheek of manhood with horror; tenacious of reſpect; acutely ſenſible of, and eaſily won by, kindneſſes. Such is the peaſantry of Ireland. I appeal, not to the affections or to the humanity, but to the juſtice of every one, to whom chance may direct theſe pages, whether men ſo conſtituted, preſent no character which a wiſe government can mould to the great purpoſe of augmenting the proſperity of the country, and the happineſs of ſociety.'

Upon the whole, we have beſtowed more time upon this book than we ſhould have done, had not the author appeared before as a reſpectable touriſt, and had we not thought it our duty to endeavour to prevent him from degenerating into a mere collector of ſtale jeſts, and worn-out anecdotes; in ſhort, into a mere book-maker. We now leave Mr Carr's merits to the judgment of more competent, and more conſequential reviewers. The Iriſh have given him, from their favourite vehicle, the agnomen of *Jaunting*-Car, and the lord-lieutenant has created him a knight. *

ART.

* See a curious note (p. 31) in the aforeſaid *Epiſtle to Gorges Edmond Howard*, relative to the offer of knighting George Falkener '*in the field, by the Earl of Cheſterfield, in Dublin Caſtle.*'

ART. IV. *A Tour to Shiraz, by the Route of Cazrum and Firuzabad, with various Remarks on the Manners, Customs, Laws, Language, and Literature of the Persians: To which is added, a History of Persia, from the Death of Kerim Khan, to the Subversion of the Zend dynasty.* By Edward Scott Waring, Esq. of the Bengal Civil Establishment.

To travel in a country imperfectly known, and to publish a journey which shall neither prove amusing nor instructive, though not quite unprecedented in the history of literature, must still be allowed to require some address and management. As the ambition of authors is not limited to one mode of excellence, we venture to furnish a few canons for the benefit of those who may be desirous of excelling in this line; premising, that although we have derived some useful hints from the publication before us, our obligations are by no means limited to the lucubrations of Mr Waring. 1*st*, To avoid the relation of characteristic anecdotes as much as possible. Man is naturally a very inquisitive animal, and too apt to indulge an impertinent curiosity respecting matters which nowise concern him. The manners of foreign nations most evidently fall under this description; and it is extremely commendable in a traveller to disappoint him of this silly amusement. It is to the injudicious neglect of this canon, that we are to attribute the foolish interest which some authors have excited for persons who should be no more to us than we to Hecuba; thence it is that, at the courts of Gondar, of Amerapura, of Tasisudon, and even of Pekin, we had formed a little circle of acquaintances, in whose welfare we took a ridiculous interest, and have caught ourselves trembling at the danger which future revolutions might occasion to the tottering authority of the Abyssinian monarch, or the spiritual dignity of the infant Lama. There is also another reason for avoiding anecdotes illustrative of manners, and substituting short but comprehensive sentences in their stead. Veracity is an article in pretty general circulation; and those anecdotes are generally believed, either to be true, or to be supposed so, by the persons who report them. Judgment, on the other hand, is a much rarer commodity; the talent of generalizing the mass of facts, in order to deduce accurate conclusions on national character and manners, is not very generally possessed, and demands, for its exercise, a long period of observation, and an extensive range of communication amongst different ranks. The adoption of our plan, therefore, seems to be the surest method of excluding both amusement and instruction, since the reader is sure to be sceptical as to the author's ability

ability to form a correct judgment, particularly if his decisions are given in a very decided tone, although he may have resided in the country during a period of almost three months. Besides, we really believe that most people coincide with us in adopting the Norman adage, 'Qu'il y a des bonnes gens partout;' and when we find that these have been more careful than usual to keep out of the way of a particular traveller, we are not apt to appreciate highly his powers of impartial observation. *2d*, The next canon we would recommend to a travelling tyro, is copiousness of reflections: the more trite the subjects, the better are they adapted to the end in view: for this purpose, we suggest despotism, insecurity of person and property, murder, assassination, and perfidy. As the same reflections must arise in every human breast on these topics, any given individual may be sure of not deviating into usefulness, by publishing his own. *3d*, As every object in the physical and moral world may be contemplated in a point of view more or less favourable, he must be sure to seize the most unfavourable. This is an important canon; for a series of disgusting pictures, unavoidably creates some disgust at the book, besides an aversion to the subject, and all information connected with it. *4th*, If recent events have raised the country through which he travels to a high degree of political importance, he should be cautious of affording information on the points which are most anxiously studied at the moment. But if he cannot altogether suppress these topics, he might at least contrive to treat them in a style so manifestly loose and inaccurate, as to destroy all hopes of obtaining correct and precise notions. We flatter ourselves, that these rules may not prove altogether useless to future travellers, and have again to disclaim exclusive obligations to Mr Waring, who has by no means sufficiently attended to them, on various occasions.

Mr Waring possessed one great requisite in a traveller, a perfect knowledge of the language of the country he was to visit. He embarked on the 10th of April 1802, (ask not from whence?) and arrived at Bushir on the 22d May. His route lay through the populous village of Birasgun, the ruins of Dires, and the city of Cazrun, now in a state of decline. On the 19th of June he entered Shiraz, where he remained till the 31st of July, about six weeks, and then returned by the route of Firuzabad to Bushir, where he staid till the 7th of September. The whole period of Mr Waring's stay in Persia, from the 22d of May till the 7th of September, comprizes a period of about three months and a half. But to collect information on all the topics we find mentioned in the titles of his thirty-five chapters, would, to an uninspired traveller, require years; to discover persons on whose statements

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he could rely, must, according to his own account, prove no very easy task; but this cautious and deliberate mode of inquiry is by no means to the taste of our traveller, who decides as confidently on the Persian character, morality, and manners, as if he had spent his life in the country. The faults of Mr Waring, however, are the faults of youth: the abilities, of which we discover occasional traces in this work, will remain, after time has corrected the precipitate judgments and fastidious taste, which too frequently obscure its merits.

Those who have contemplated the state of society in modern Persia, through the medium of former travellers, will find little novelty in this work; and of a portion of that little we doubt the accuracy. In the pleasing, good-humoured, and unpretending narrative of Captain Franklin, they will find much more amusement. But many of his facts are questioned. That the environs of Shiraz should have appeared delightful to Captain Franklin, as they are represented by the Persian muse, whilst to Mr Waring they seemed disagreeable, does not surprise us: *de gustibus*, &c. But the singular discrepancy regarding a physical fact, which required only observation, is calculated to excite surprise. Captain Franklin, speaking of the climate of Shiraz, informs us, 'The mornings and evenings are cool, but the rest of the day temperate. In summer, the thermometer seldom rises higher than 73° in the day, and at night generally falls to 62°.' Mr Waring has the following note. 'Captain Franklin mentions that the thermometer in summer is never more than 77°. I am sorry to differ from him; my thermometer I found to be correct, and, from daily observation, I am confident it was never under 90°.' We have some difficulty, however, in reconciling Mr Waring's observation with the following passage, written the day after he left Shiraz. 'The night was disagreeably cold; and I could not refrain from reflecting, that I had to prepare myself for the dust and heat of the Gurmsir. Thermometer 94°.' This disagreeable coldness was not surely produced by an atmosphere heated to 90° of Fahrenheit.

Our readers are probably not unacquainted with the importance attached to the alliance of the court of Persia, by the present ruler of France. The repeated secret missions of the most intelligent and active agents in his employ, since the commencement of the present contests, sufficiently evince his anxiety on this point. The present object may probably be to incite the Persian monarch to attack the Russian possessions between the Euxine and Caspian; but there is reason to think, that, at one period, a design of a different nature actuated his ambition. This momentary interest, added to that laudable curiosity which

is at all times attracted to the fate of great and once powerful nations, induces us to insert a succinct account, collected from the publication before us, and other documents, of the most important events which have occurred in that country since the death of Nadir Shah in 1747.

On the death of that illustrious warrior, his descendants disputed the succession for a moment in the heart of the empire, whilst on its skirts arose two powerful monarchies which extinguished their contention, by extending their own boundaries till they met in the centre. The grandsons of Nadir returned to the obscurity of his father; and the descendants of that great monarch, whose name, only half a century ago, scattered dismay from the banks of the Euphrates to the shores of the Ganges, now earn a laborious subsistence in the humble occupation of grooms. Ahmed Khan, the Abdali, into whose hands fell the treasures of his master, founded at Cabul a dominion which he has transmitted to his descendants; at this day, his successor governs, in that city, the fair and fertile regions of Cabul, Multan, Casmir, and Sind in Hindustan; whilst, in Persia, his jurisdiction extends over the provinces of Candahar and Khorasan. The empire, founded in the west by Kerim Khan, was not destined to be of so long duration. This officer was governor of Shiraz; and, on the death of his master, rendered himself independent in the province of Fars. A long and prosperous reign of thirty years established his power, and extended his authority over the whole of Persia, excepting that portion still possessed by the Abdallis. When M. Gmelin travelled in Persia by order of the Czarina; the empire of Kerim extended over Aserbijan, Masenderan, Asterabad, the cities of Tabriz, Hamdan, Tigrat, Shiraz, Ispahan, and Kerman, with all their dependencies; in short, it comprehended all the countries from the Gulph of Persia to the frontiers of Turkey. His administration was marked by the severity of military discipline, and the exercise of a rigorous justice. Shiraz, his capital, contains monuments of princely munificence erected by Kerim; amongst others, a bason half a mile in length, covered over like Exeter 'Change; and a mosque, of which the architecture is highly praised. He never assumed the title of king, contenting himself with the appellation of Vakil, or deputy. His death, in 1779, was the signal of new disturbances, of which we shall particularize those only which led to important consequences.

Whilst in the south the family of Kerim disputed the succession to the empire, the eunuch Aga Mohamed Khan, whom Kerim held in confinement in Shiraz, contrived to escape; and flying to the north of Persia, where his relations held elevated stations,

stations, subjected to his dominion the provinces bordering on the Caspian. The son of Kerim, his brother, and another relation, paid successively the forfeit of their ambition. Ali Morad, also related to the Vakeel, succeeded to their authority, and enjoyed for near five years the dominion of the southern provinces. His death, in 1784, paved the way for Jaffier Khan, a nephew of Kerim.

Jaffier Khan reigned four years, a period filled with disorders, and marked by several rebellions. Notwithstanding his personal courage, success rarely attended his arms. Aga Mohamed, his most formidable rival, extended his power to the centre of Persia, and established the seat of his empire in Tahiran, where his successor still continues to reside. It was during this period that Captain Franklin visited Persia, who has furnished an account of his interview with Jaffier Khan: in the following year, 1788, that prince was assassinated by two of his officers.

Latif Ali Khan, son of Jaffier Khan, found means to gain possession of Shiraz, after various viciſſitudes of fortune, and to eſtabliſh his authority over the province of Fars. The reſt of Perſia, excluſive of the Abdalli poſſeſſions, had for ſome time been ſubjected to the controul of the eunuch Aga Mohamed Khan, who carried his arms into the only remaining poſſeſſion of the houſe of Kerim. His campaign of 1789, was diſtinguiſhed by a ſignal victory and an unſucceſsful ſiege; and, diſappointed in his deſign of making himſelf maſter of Shiraz, Aga Mohamed retraced his ſteps to Tahiran, now the capital of Perſia. Latif Ali availed himſelf of his retreat to attempt the reduction of Kerman; but the defection of his confidential miniſter, who poſſeſſed himſelf of Shiraz, in his maſter's abſence, and called in the aid of Aga Mohamed, completed the ruin of this young prince, worthy of a happier deſtiny. This event occurred in the year 1790; but the heroic, though unhappy efforts of Latif Ali, procraſtinated his fate till the year 1794. Now a ſolitary fugitive, and now at the head of a conſiderable force, his activity and reſolution ſpread alarm over the whole extent of the empire, till, taken priſoner on the capture of the city of Kerman, he was put to death by order of Aga Mohamed, in the 25th year of his age. In his perſon terminated the ſhort-lived dynaſty eſtabliſhed by Kerim Khan in Shiraz, in the year 1748.

Aga Mohamed now beheld all the provinces, which we have enumerated as conſtituting the empire of Kerim, united under his ſway. He died in the following year 1795, and his nephew, Fatah Ali Shah, quietly aſcended the vacant throne. This prince, like his predeceſſor, holds his court in the city of Tahiran, 'a city of conſiderable ſize,' ſays Mr Waring, 'and now the capital of

Perſia. It is ſituate' (ſituated) 'in a plain, and experiences equal ſeverity of heat and cold; it is about twelve marches to the Caſpian, and little more to Iſpahan.' Our readers will find the modern capital of Perſia, in the maps of the accurate D'Anville, nearly equidiſtant from the city of Cazvin, and the ruins of the far-famed Raï. Its poſition, according to the geographer, is much nearer to the Caſpian than to the city of Iſpahan. As a ſpecimen of our author's ſtyle, we inſert his account of the preſent king of Perſia.

'The preſent king of Perſia aſcended the throne under a variety of advantages, which rarely occur in a country where the only claim to ſovereignty depends upon the ſword. At the time of his uncle's deceaſe he was at Shiraz; upon this event he advanced towards Tahiran, and was fortunate enough to gain poſſeſſion of this important place. It was at this place where all the treaſure of the empire was depoſited, and the families of all the principal officers of the realm. He, by this means, ſecured the affections of the ſoldiery, and the fidelity of all the principal officers of ſtate. Haji Ibrahim, the moſt conſiderable and reſpectable perſon in the empire, declared himſelf in his favour; and it was chiefly owing to his exertion and influence, that the king met with ſo little reſiſtance in the accompliſhment of his wiſhes.

'Fatah Ali Shah, the preſent king, is about ſeven-and-twenty years of age; he is a Kejer, an inconſiderable tribe in the neighbourhood of Tahiran, and of no repute before the acceſſion of Aga Mohamed Khan to the throne of Perſia.* Indeed, during the reign of Kerim Khan, they were in general diſrepute, nothing being more common than the people of the bazar refuſing to ſell them any article, on the plea that they had nothing fit for a Kejer ſufficiently bad and vile. † But now, owing to the very great partiality the king evinces for his tribe, they have become the moſt conſiderable people in the kingdom; and the name of Kejer is deteſted and feared in every part of the empire of Perſia. All the reſponſible truſts are conferred upon them: and the preſent governor of Iſpahan, and of the diſtrict of Irac, was elevated from his former ſituation of a ſeller of greens, to his preſent ſtation, merely becauſe he was a Kejer.

'The manners of the king are ſaid to be very dignified, though at the ſame time very affable and prepoſſeſſing; and he is allowed to poſſeſs all the exterior accompliſhments of a Perſian. In his perſon he is ſuperior to

* All great men have an illuſtrious pedigree. It is ſaid the prime miniſter, whom Nadir Shah ſeduced the unfortunate Tahmaſp Shah to murder, was an anceſtor of the preſent royal family. He was a name-ſake, and a Kejer.

† Aga Mohamed Khan was a ſtate priſoner during the reign of the Vakil Kerim Khan. Upon his acceſſion to the throne, he dug up his body, and deſtroyed the grave of his illuſtrious and lamented predeceſſor. I ſaw the tablet in one of the gardens.

to moſt men; and the immenſe length of his beard (a gift highly valued by the Perſians) is a perpetual theme of diſcourſe and admiration. He has been engaged in no military enterpriſe, and, in conſequence of this, the public opinion denies him the only Perſian virtue, courage. ‡ His annual expeditions towards Khoraſan are made with the view of engaging the attention of his ſubjects, and accuſtoming his troops to the fatigues of actual ſervice, but without the ſmalleſt deſign of attempting the reduction of that province. The greateſt blemiſh in his character, is the murder of Haji Ibrahim, who had regarded him as a ſon, and who had evinced for him the affection of a father. It is ſaid that the miniſter uſed to take greater liberties than the extent of his ſervices allowed; but I know of no excuſe which can palliate ſuch barbarous inhumanity.

'The court of Tahiran is ſaid (by thoſe who have had many opportunities of judging) to be very magnificent and ſplendid, and in every reſpect becoming the ſovereign of an extenſive and flouriſhing empire. When the king receives any one in ſtate, his ſons, who are very numerous, ſtand in a line from the throne; * his miniſters and officers of ſtate behind them; and in the avenues are perhaps more than two thouſand golami ſhahis ſumptuouſly clothed. The maſter of the ceremonies introduces the ſtranger; and every thing is conducted with the greateſt decency and ſolemnity. Permiſſion of being ſeated in the preſence of the king is only granted to embaſſadors, and envoys of foreign ſtates, and to, I believe, the Shaikh al Iſlam, as the chief prieſt of the Moſlem religion. The king ſometimes wears his regalia; and by allowing the rays of the ſun to fall upon him, I have heard it was impoſſible to behold him with any degree of ſteadineſs. His jewels are ſuppoſed to be ſuperior to any potentate's in the world; indeed it would be ſurpriſing were it otherwiſe, as he has poſſeſſed himſelf of all the valuable jewels in his empire.

'The king has now reigned above ſeven years; and were it poſſible to form an opinion on the duration of a deſpotic government, he has every proſpect of reigning for a much longer period. His brother, Huſſun Culi Khan, who twice threw off his allegiance, is now in a place of ſanctuary, which, I believe, the king reſpects more on account of the entreaties of his mother, than from any reverence he entertains for the place itſelf. † He is, however, guarded with the ſtricteſt vigilance, and it is almoſt impoſſible for him to effect his eſcape.



‡ I have frequently heard the Perſians ſay, that the king did not deſerve the throne, becauſe he had not won it by the ſword.

* His family amounts to above fifty, ſeveral of whom were born on the ſame day.

† I learnt, on my laſt viſit to Buſhir, that his mother was dead. She was mother to both the brothers, and was exceſſively fond of her youngeſt ſon. By all accounts ſhe was a woman of conſiderable ability, and was highly reſpected by all claſſes of people.

'The king's eldeſt ſon, Mihr Ali Khan, is an enterpriſing young man, much eſteemed by the ſoldiers and military officers; and as his illegitimacy deprives him of all hope of peaceably ſucceeding his father, it is difficult to ſay what the intrigues of diſcontented noblemen might not excite him to attempt. He has frequently declared to the king his father, that the ſword ſhould either ſecure or deprive him of the throne; and that it was his determination to overcome the obſtacles which were placed in his way. Such is the ſituation of princes in a deſpotiſm, that it is the only means they have of preſerving their lives; and in the event of the king's death, Perſia will again be deluged with blood: for as the princes are the governors of various diſtricts in the empire, they have each the means of aſſerting their claims to the throne.

'The king of Perſia has revived a taſte for literature, ſo ſcandalouſly neglected by his predeceſſors. He is himſelf a man of conſiderable taſte and erudition, and is alſo a tolerable poet. As it is an unuſual circumſtance for ſovereigns to be poets, I venture to produce a ſpecimen of his compoſition.

"If thou wert to diſplay thy beauties, my beloved, to Vamec, he would ſacrifice the life of Azra at the ſhrine of thy perfections.

"If Yuſuf beheld thy charms, he would think no more of Zulekha.

"Come to me, and comply with my wiſhes; give me no further promiſes of to-morrow.

"When the miſtreſs of Khacan approached him with a hundred graces, one glance captivated his heart."

The most surprising part of this account, we think, is the extent of Fatah Ali's small family. A prince of twenty-seven years of age with fifty children! *Proh deum atque hominum fidem!* We can scarcely help suspecting a typographical error, and that our author means to assign thirty-seven or forty-seven years for the age of Fatah Ali. Even in countries where polygamy is practised, this circumstance is calculated to excite astonishment. The Persian historians frequently mention the number of sons left by a deceased monarch; and allowing an equal number of daughters, we must still acknowledge Fatah Ali to be by far the most prolific monarch of whom history makes mention. Should he attain the age of sixty, and his posterity increase in a similar proportion, his subjects will have occasion for all their arithmetic to ascertain the number of their princes.

We find the following account of the present state of the military force.

'The military force of Perſia conſiſts chiefly of cavalry; and it is only when they are going againſt a fort that they make uſe of infantry. The troops are clothed, furniſhed with horſes, arms, &c. at the expenſe of the king; and the pay which they receive is from ten to fifteen tuman a year; in addition to this, they are ſupplied with an allowance of

of barley and ſtraw for their horſes, and wheat, rice, and butter for themſelves. They receive alſo ſomething under the head of inam, a preſent, but this I believe to be very uncertain. This pay, however, is very great; for when we conſider the value of money in Perſia, (which I look upon to be four or five times greater than in England), and the ſupplies which they receive, it will appear that their yearly pay amounts to fifty or ſixty guineas.

'When the king puts himſelf at the head of his army, the different ſerkardas (chieftains) are ordered to aſſemble their troops; and the king, having pledges in his hands for the fidelity of his ſoldiers, is certain of having an army of fifty or ſixty thouſand men in a few days. Beſides theſe troops, there is another body called Yholam Shahis (ſlaves of the king), and who are conſidered to be the choiceſt troops in the empire. They have charge of the king's perſon, receive greater pay, and are clothed in a more expenſive manner than the regular cavalry.

'Theſe may be about twenty thouſand; but the flower of this corps is formed into a body of about four thouſand, who are diſtinguiſhed by the exceſſive richneſs of their dreſs, and the inſolence of their behaviour.'

We have already hinted our ſuſpicions, that ſome inaccuracy might be diſcovered in that part of Mr Waring's work which claims more particularly the charm of novelty. Can it be wondered at, if, during ſo ſhort a reſidence, he was unable to procure accurate information on ſo great a variety of topics as his work embraces? The revenue of the ſovereign is ſtated to conſiſt in the rents derived from an eighth part of the lands; the remaining ſeven eighths belong to the ſubject.

'One eighth of the lands in Fars and Irac is probably poſſeſſed by the king; the remainder by his ſubjects. The produce of theſe lands are ſubject to two diviſions, the one called Nukd, and the other Jinſi; or, in other words, the former yielding produce for manufacture, as cotton, ſilk, &c.; and the latter crops of grain. Thoſe who cultivate land belonging to the king, either Nukd or Jinſi, pay a rent of half the produce, beſides the deduction which is made on account of the ſeed: the king, however, ſupplies cattle for drawing water, and digs wells at his own expenſe.'

On this ſtatement, we beg leave to remark, that the lands of Hindustan, by the inſtitutions of Acber, were in like manner divided into Nukd and Jinsi; but that thoſe terms had an acceptation conformable to their real meaning, and altogether different from that ſtated by Mr Waring, which is contrary to their ſignification. The Nukdi lands were thoſe of which the rents were paid in money; the rents of the Jinsi were paid in kind. Now, the word Nukd ſignifies ready money; whilſt Jinsi ſignifies the article, the commodity. It is therefore manifeſt, that the ſame regulations prevailed in both countries, in the ſame ſenſe; and

that no terms could be more injudiciously selected to express the meaning which Mr Waring assigns them.

We wish Mr Waring had enabled us to furnish a connected account of the celebrated sect, who, under the name of Wahebis, threaten the extirpation of the faith of Mohamed, in the countries where it first struck root, and whom we have, on a former occasion, introduced to the acquaintance of our readers. * He supplies us, however, with only a few insulated facts, and these without date.

'Abdul Waheb was a native of Ajen, a town in the province of Al Ared.' This district skirts the desert, and lies east of the tract which extends between Mecca and Medina. He is represented as a man of erudition, having pursued his studies successively at Basora, Baghdad, and Damascus. His first converts were made in his native city; and, before his death, Abdul Waheb saw the whole of the district converted to his tenets, and subjected to his authority. The tenets which Mr Waring assigns to the Wahebis are the following.

'That there is one juſt and wiſe God; that all thoſe perſons called prophets, are only to be conſidered as juſt and virtuous men; and that there never exiſted an inſpired work, nor an inſpired writer. The uſe of tobacco, opium, and coffee was interdicted. Among a number of the civil ordinances of the Wahebis are the following. Illegal to levy duties on goods the property of a Moſlem; on ſpecie, two and a half *per cent.*; land watered naturally, to pay ten *per cent.*; artificially, five *per cent.* The revenues of conquered countries to belong to the community: the revenues to be divided into five parts; one to be given to the general treaſury, the reſt to be kept where collected, to be allotted for the good of the community, for travellers, and charitable purpoſes: a Moſlem, who deviates from the precepts of the Coran, to be treated as an infidel: the deſtruction of magnificent tombs, a neceſſary act of devotion.'

It may be presumed, that, at the commencement, the new sectary did not venture to reject entirely the doctrine of Mohamed; or perhaps the term 'Moslem' does not here apply to the followers of Mohamed, but to those oriental illuminati. The word in its original sense, signifies saved, one who obtains salvation, and may be transferred by these sectaries to themselves. The injunction respecting the Coran may possibly be limited to the observances it enjoins; for the faith it inculcates is incompatible with the doctrines we have detailed.

Abdul Aziz succeeded to the spiritual authority, and to the temporal power of Abdul Waheb, and carried both to a much greater extent. Two armies, sent against him by the Pacha of Baghdad, were weakened by his address, and discomfited by his valour,

* See Vol. VIII. p. 41—43.

valour. An expedition, led by the sheriff of Mecca in 1794, was not more successful. The Atubis, the most powerful of the tribes who inhabit the coast, have adopted the tenets of the Wahebis, and controul the navigation of the Persian Gulph. The holy shrine at Carbela, where the pious Moslems annually wept the untimely death of the sons of Ali, was attacked by the Wahebis in 1802, the tombs destroyed, and the town ransacked.

'The force of the Wahebis is very conſiderable, probably eighty or ninety thouſand. Whenever an expedition is undertaken, the chiefs are directed to be at a certain place by ſuch a time: and it is ſo contrived, that a large body ſhall meet at a particular ſpot, without knowing the deſigns of their leader. This force is generally mounted on camels, and their arms are chiefly a ſword and a ſpear. They have few guns or matchlocks; thoſe which they have are very bad.

'Since finiſhing this, intelligence has been received, of their having attacked and plundered Taïf, Mecca, and Medina. They have, in conſequence, violated the ſacred law, which forbids armed men approaching within a certain diſtance of the temple.

'They have thus deſtroyed the foundation ſtone of Mohamedaniſm: and this mighty fabric, which at one period bade defiance to all Europe, falls, on the firſt attack, at the feet of an Arab reformer. The event may make a great change in the Mohamedan world; for it appears to me almoſt certain, that the pilgrimages to Mecca have had nearly as great an effect in ſupporting this religion, as the firſt victories and conqueſts of Mohamed.

'At my laſt viſit to Buſhir (1804), I heard the intelligence of Abdul Aziz having been aſſaſſinated.'

Nearly a third part of this publication is occupied in criticisms and specimens of Persian poetry, with parallel passages sometimes subjoined from Virgil and Horace. But the European reader can judge of the merit of Ferdusi and Hafiz, only through the medium of Mr Champion's verse, or Mr Waring's prose; whilst the Italian muse appears in the mellifluous harmony of her native numbers. To render the comparison at all just, Mr Waring should have translated the passages he quotes from the Roman poets, into English prose. The inferiority of the former would certainly prove less striking.

We by no means feel disposed, on this occasion, to discuss the comparative merits of the poets of the East and West. Whatever may be the charms of Persian poetry, the language is not likely ever to be studied by the literati of Europe; and their poets will, consequently, never be properly appreciated. To translate poetry, the translator must be himself a poet. There is, certainly, no Persian work of considerable length, which can command admiration as a whole; but we will venture to affirm, that numerous passages may be selected from the best writers, which will stand a comparison with those of any other nation.

But whence comes it that their beauties vanish the moment they are transfused into a different language? Do they consist less in the thought than in a singular felicity of expression, which unquestionably constitutes the charm of poetry, as much as the idea it conveys? May it not be asked, whether we should be very ardent admirers of Virgil or Horace, if we knew those writers only through the translations of Trapp or Creech? It is probable the Persian poets may not have been even so fortunate.

Though we have not been able to bestow high commendations on this publication, it has left us a favourable impression of the talents of its author. Should he ever happen to suspect that knowledge is not to be acquired by intuition, nor nations judged of as individuals, and that to doubt and to inquire, is at least as philosophic as to decide and dogmatise, his future productions will certainly be deserving of attention, from persons whom the subject may happen to interest.

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ART. V. *The Substance of the Speech delivered in the Committee of Finance, 29. January* 1807, *by the Right Honourable Lord Henry Petty.* With the necessary Tables, and an Appendix, containing the Plans of Lord Castlereagh and Mr Johnston. 8vo. pp. 116. London, 1807.

As the wants of the State, whatever may be their extent, must be fully supplied; and as they can only be supplied by contributions levied on the internal resources of the country, our readers will readily conceive, that the skill of the financier must be displayed, not in removing, but in palliating the evils of taxation,—not in really lightening a load, which must be borne in its full extent, but in rendering it more tolerable, by a more equal distribution of its pressure. There is no way but one, either of borrowing money, or of paying debt. It is quite chimerical, therefore, to expect that any real saving can accrue to the public from those arrangements of finance, which consist merely in blending, or in combining, those very simple operations. Their object, indeed, is not to save, but to modify and regulate,—either to relieve the existing generation, by drawing on the more ample resources of a future age, or to relieve posterity at the expense of the existing generation. If the expenditure of a state is at any time increased much beyond its usual rate, from the frequent occurrence of war, or from any other unforeseen emergence, it would be obviously most unjust to load one generation beyond its strength, and entirely to relieve posterity from burdens, which are imposed as much for their benefit and security, as for that of

their

their forefathers. It would be also very inexpedient; because the weight which, if laid on all at once, would crush the prosperity of a country, may be so divided and lightened, by being gradually increased, as to allow its growing resources freely to expand, and the fund from which future exertions must be made, to be proportionally enlarged, so as to meet with ease the pressure even of heavier demands. It is the great and distinguishing excellence of the funding system, that it enables the statesman to levy contributions on future ages, and thus furnishes him with ample resources for the execution of great designs; and though in its excess it may degenerate into an intolerable grievance, and may even strike at the root of national prosperity, yet, in its milder operation, it does not in any great degree retard the advancement of a thriving country. It lops off only the redundant branches, while the massy trunk, untouched and unimpaired, is left to renew, for a future age, its fresh and more abundant foliage.

It must be confessed, however, that by furnishing an easy method of raising present supplies, the funding system may tempt the indolence or the rashness of statesmen to carry it to too great a length. It is evident, that if the debt of a nation be regularly and rapidly increasing, so that in each successive year it becomes necessary to mortgage a greater proportion of its annual revenue, the period must arrive sooner or later, when it will be impossible to make any further addition to its burdens. In these circumstances, however strongly any measure may be recommended by considerations of public utility, yet, if it increases the expenses of the state, it cannot be adopted without the certainty, or at least the imminent hazard, of national bankruptcy. The most effectual, and indeed the only method of guarding against this calamity, is to establish, at the period when the debt is first contracted, a fund for its final redemption; and thus, while the resources of posterity are freely anticipated, at the same time to provide the certain means of their future relief. The design of the funding system is to lighten the burden of an uncommonly heavy expenditure, by extending it over a succession of generations; while the system of sinking funds fixes a period for the discharge of these incumbrances, and thus prevents any one generation from being overwhelmed by the consolidated debt of ages. By invariably combining the expedient of borrowing with the practice of establishing a sinking fund for the redemption of debt, the extremes of two opposite systems are in a manner tempered and balanced; we are enabled to avoid the inconveniences peculiar to each, and to avail ourselves of all their advantages, without any of their evils.

In almost every state where the funding system has been adopted, it

it has been abused. Statesmen have considered it as an easy way of raising present supplies; and they have troubled themselves very little about the consequences to which they must have perceived it would lead. In Britain, after a few feeble and fruitless attempts to check the undue increase of the national debt, our provident ancestors seem to have consigned the interests of posterity to utter oblivion. They appear to have imagined that the national debt was a sort of sacred inheritance, which, along with our rights and liberties, it was their duty to transmit unimpaired to their children. It is true, indeed, that in the system of finance pursued immediately after the revolution, various expedients were devised for preventing an indefinite increase of this debt. The partial system of redemption adopted at that time, was however naturally relinquished for the more comprehensive scheme of a general fund established in 1716 by Sir Robert Walpole, and rendered applicable to the discharge of the whole debt. The history of this fund is well known; it was encroached upon, on every real or fancied emergence, till it was at last wholly alienated from its original purpose. No attempt was afterwards made to limit the amount of the national debt till the year 1786, when the annual sum of one million was set apart for that purpose. In 1792, 200,000l. was voted to be annually added to it; and another sinking fund was established of 1 *per cent.* on all future loans. Both those sinking funds amounted, on the 5th February 1807, to about 8,339,709l.

In order ſtill further to aſſiſt the effect of theſe ſalutary meaſures, Mr Pitt adopted the reſolution of raiſing part of the ſupplies within the year; this reſolution he carried into effect by means of an increaſe in the aſſeſſed taxes. By this plan, aided by voluntary contributions, a ſum of 6,000,000l. was raiſed within the year 1797. In 1798 the income-tax was ſubſtituted in its ſtead, which it was ſuppoſed would more effectually accompliſh the object of the former meaſure. Since the year 1797, when the principle of raiſing the ſupplies within the year was firſt adopted, it has been carried to a much greater extent. In addition to the income or property-tax, other taxes have been impoſed, by which the war-taxes have been brought up to the immenſe ſum of 21,000,000l. It is poſſible, however, that this ſyſtem, aſſiſted as it is by the conſtantly increaſing action of the ſinking fund, may be puſhed too far, and may ultimately preſs too heavily on the growing reſources of the country. The plan of finance brought forward by Lord Henry Petty ſeems to be framed with a view to guard againſt this evil. It is calculated to relieve the preſent generation, and to throw proportionally a greater burden on poſterity. This is alſo the object of the funding ſyſtem; but the preſent

plan

plan is an extenſion of that ſyſtem; it carries it a ſtep further. By the funding ſyſtem, the principal is borrowed, and taxes are laid on to pay the intereſt; by Lord Henry Petty's plan, both principal and intereſt are borrowed, and taxes are only impoſed to pay the intereſt of a ſum equal to the intereſt of the principal, *i. e.* the intereſt of the intereſt. It is evident that this ſyſtem can only afford a temporary reſpite from taxation. By borrowing the intereſt at preſent, we can only hope to delay its payment till a more convenient ſeaſon. The circumſtances of a country may, however, render it expedient to have recourſe to meaſures of this nature.

When we conſider the preſent ſituation of Britain, we cannot heſitate as to the expediency, if not the neceſſity, of preventing, as far as poſſible, any further addition to her burdens. We do not think that in this country taxation can be carried much further without degenerating into a ſyſtem of the moſt vexatious and grinding oppreſſion. The taxes on luxurious conſumption, which are in every reſpect the moſt eligible, and the leaſt oppreſſive, ſeem to have reached their natural limit. Almoſt all commodities pay about double or triple their original value in taxes; every tranſfer of property, all the general tranſactions of commerce, and even particular profeſſions, are taxed. No new tax of any conſequence can be propoſed by the miniſter on conſumable commodities without the certainty of its encountering a moſt formidable oppoſition. In ſome caſes taxes are either greatly modified, or relinquiſhed without any attempt to carry them into effect; and even when they are perſiſted in, the experience of their impropriety, or inefficiency, often renders their repeal neceſſary. With all theſe facts before us, it ſeems very doubtful whether the taxes which we have already impoſed on conſumption admit of any conſiderable augmentation. It is only when taxation preſſes lightly on a country, when it rather follows than precedes its increaſing wealth, that an increaſe in the exiſting duties can be expected to produce any thing like a proportional increaſe of revenue to the ſtate. When conſumable commodities are already very heavily taxed, any conſiderable addition to the duties which they pay, inſtead of yielding an increaſe, would moſt probably ſo far diminiſh conſumption as to occaſion a defalcation of revenue.

The difficulty of drawing any additional revenue from taxes on conſumption, plainly appears from the change which of late years has been introduced into our ſyſtem of taxation. Great part of the ſupplies which are required for the preſent exigencies of the ſtate, are raiſed by direct and compulſory taxes, to which we are perſuaded no miniſter would willingly reſort if any other reſource remained. Beſides a variety of other taxes, which have more or

leſs of a compulſory character, the property-tax levies a contribution of one-tenth on all income above 100l. a-year. Having nearly exhauſted the taxes on conſumption, we have had recourſe to direct taxation; but, if direct taxation fails, we have no other reſource. If, however, we are of opinion, that taxes on conſumption will not admit of any conſiderable augmentation, we are ſtill more decidedly convinced, when we conſider the extreme ſeverity with which the property-tax already preſſes on the middling claſſes of ſociety, that direct taxation cannot be carried further without materially encroaching on the reſources of future wealth.

Although it would therefore be, in our opinion, very inexpedient, with the proſpect before us of a tedious and expenſive war, to add very conſiderably to our permanent taxes, and thus raſhly to puſh taxation to its utmoſt limit, yet it would ſurely not be very conſolatory to reflect, that while we were relieving ourſelves from preſent burdens by throwing proportionally a greater load on futurity, we were at the ſame time providing no ſure reſource for meeting the accumulated demands which, in that caſe, would too ſurely await us. If it were certain, indeed, that peace would be procured in a few years, or at any time before the loans for intereſt, or the ſupplementary loans, roſe to a very great amount, in that caſe it would be only neceſſary to continue ſuch a portion of the war-taxes as would be required either for paying the intereſt of the debt contracted, or for its final diſcharge. The nature of the arrangements adopted for this purpoſe would of courſe be determined by the ſtate of the finances at the cloſe of the war. We are aware that the continuance of war-taxes, after the peace, would be made a handle to excite popular clamour and diſcontent; but the burden of theſe taxes, for a limited period, is comparatively a very light evil, when it is conſidered, that by improvidently adding to the load of permanent taxes, we might derange our finances, and ultimately be compelled to adopt that as a meaſure of neceſſity, which we now adopt as a meaſure of prudence. We are, beſides, at a loſs to diſcover, what peculiar objections can be urged againſt the continuance of the war-taxes: if, at the concluſion of the war, it be neceſſary either to continue the old taxes, or to impoſe new ones, it would ſurely be better to allow thoſe taxes to remain, of which the effects are known, and to which the habits of the people are accommodated, than to reſort to what is wholly new and untried.

As it is impoſſible, however, to fix any certain limit to the duration of the war, it is neceſſary to provide againſt the moſt unfavourable contingence which can happen. The plan of finance now before us, conſiſts, as we have already had occaſion to obſerve, in an extenſion of the funding ſyſtem, by borrowing both principal and intereſt, and in funding only the intereſt. But if the

the war were to continue for ten or twelve years, the loans for intereſt would nearly equal the ſum required for the ſervices of the current year. In order, therefore, to attain the great object of the meaſure, namely, to limit the amount of the permanent taxes, it becomes neceſſary to provide for the payment of the intereſt due on thoſe loans, without impoſing new duties. For this purpoſe the ſinking fund, which, in the courſe of ten years, will have increaſed from 8,555,000l. to 22,720,000l., will afford ample reſources.

When this fund was firſt eſtabliſhed, the evils of its exceſſive increaſe were foreſeen and provided againſt. By a ſubſequent arrangement, however, the ſinking funds of 1786 and 1792 were conſolidated, and no limit was fixed for their accumulation. The miſchief, it was thought, could be guarded againſt when it was near; and the great acceſſion of debt, occaſioned by the enormous expenditure of the laſt war, had unfortunately removed to a diſtant period the dangers which were to be apprehended from the future increaſe of the ſinking fund. When we conſider, however, not only its preſent amount, but how rapidly it muſt accumulate, independent of the ſtrong claims of the preſent generation for relief from their almoſt intolerable burdens, it appears to us that the period may well be looked to, when it will be expedient to limit its operation, and thus, by rendering the reduction of the debt more gradual, to guard againſt the effects of too ſudden a change. The collecting of that immenſe revenue, which is at preſent required for the payment of the public creditors, and for the ſervice of the ſtate, together with the whole body of laws, regulations, and complicated eſtabliſhments neceſſary for this purpoſe, has effected a great, though gradual, change in the ſtructure of ſociety in Britain. To this artificial ſtate of ſociety, however, mens' views, habits, ſchemes, and commercial arrangements, are accommodated; and any great, or ſudden alteration, even although it might remove one evil, would undoubtedly produce extenſive miſchief. The abſtraction of a certain portion of the revenue of a country, though a great evil, is not the only evil of taxation. The increase in the value of the commodity taxed, the conſequent diminution of its conſumption, and perhaps the ſtagnation of the manufacture, produce fully as much confuſion and inconvenience as the mere privation of revenue occaſioned by the tax. But when the change is fairly accomplished, the business of ſociety adapts itſelf to it, and goes on with the ſame regularity as before. In theſe circumſtances, if things were ſuddenly reinſtated in their original condition, the evil of taxation would no doubt be removed; but this benefit would be accompanied by all those incidental evils which the ſudden reformation even of acknowledged

ledged grievances never fails to produce. These considerations, though sufficiently obvious, do not seem to be generally attended to. The redemption of the debt is considered (and it no doubt is so) as the mere prelude to relief from taxation; but it never seems to be imagined, that the repealing of taxes to the enormous annual amount of 32,000,000l. will be a work either of difficulty or delicacy. It appears to us, however, that the same skill and contrivance which was called forth when those taxes were imposed, will be required to guard against the evils which may be produced by their repeal. We do not know, indeed, any business of finance, in which a departure from the line of considerate caution would produce such extensive evil.

There is not the same risk in imposing taxes, because an unexceptionable tax may be repealed; and the imposition of a new tax raises the price of the commodity on hand, and must in this respect be an advantage to the dealers; but by rashly repealing a tax on any commodity to a great amount, the dealers might be all ruined by the fall which would take place in the value of their stock in hand. By relieving one particular article from a tax, its consumption might be greatly increased, and it might drive from the market all other rival commodities, on which the taxes were still continued. The repeal of one tax might thus render various taxes unproductive, and, what would be still a greater evil, it might diminish the demand for other commodities, and produce a stagnation in their respective manufactures. It would be impossible, we should imagine, without great inconvenience, to repeal, in one year, taxes to the amount of more than 2,000,000l., in which case, even supposing the debt to be redeemed, it would be sixteen years before the country could be released from its burdens. It must be confessed, however, that as long as the war continues, there is not much reason to apprehend any inconvenient increase in the sinking fund; and that the present scheme of finance, though it no doubt guards against this evil, yet originates in the necessity of limiting the increasing amount of our permanent taxes. This is the principal object of the plan, which we cannot help thinking both wise and reasonable, and well calculated to guard against those financial embarrassments into which we might be involved by blindly adhering to a system, and pushing it to an extreme, under circumstances totally different from those which rendered it originally expedient. Highly approving, therefore, of the principle of the measure, we shall now give a short view of its details, which we think however of less consequence, as being in some degree matters of arbitrary arrangement.

The war expenditure of Britain, to be provided for by the present plan, exclusive of subsidies, or any other unforeseen contingencies,

tingencies, is taken at 32,000,000l. Towards defraying this heavy expenditure, we have already war taxes to the annual amount of 21,000,000l. It is proposed to make up the deficiency by means of loans, and to take annually from the war taxes as much as will amount to 10 *per cent.* on the sum borrowed; 5 *per cent.* for the payment of interest, and 5 *per cent.* to be set apart as a sinking fund for the redemption of the principal. The war taxes are to be charged with the interest and sinking fund of the loan of each year until they be exhausted. This will take place in fourteen years, in which time it is calculated that the first loan will be redeemed, and will be again available for the service of the state. In the same manner in each succeeding year, a new loan will be redeemed; so that the plan presents a series of loans and redemptions which is inexhaustible.

For the first three years, the loans will amount to twelve millions; in the fourth year fourteen millions, and in the last ten years sixteen millions will be borrowed. As the war taxes, however, are all required to make up the necessary supplies of the year, whatever portion of them may be taken away for the interest and the sinking fund of the war loans, must necessarily be replaced. In addition, therefore, to the principal loan, another loan must be borrowed for this purpose. In the first year, the war loan will consist of 12,000,000l.; to pay the interest of which, and to constitute a fund for its redemption, 1,200,000l. will be detached from the war taxes. The sum taken from the war taxes will be made up by 1,000,000l. taken from the war loan, and 200,000l. raised by a supplementary loan. To the interest of the supplementary loans, a sinking fund of 1 *per cent.* is to be added for the redemption of the principal. This charge is to be defrayed by new taxes.

As the plan continues to operate, the war taxes must be gradually decreasing, and the supplementary loans must proportionally increase. Their increase, however, cannot occasion, during the first ten years, any very great addition to the existing taxes, as in the years 1807 and 1808 annuities will expire to the amount of 385,515l. The charge of the first three years is to be defrayed wholly from these annuities; and what remains is to be equally distributed over the next seven years; so that in each year taxes to the amount only of 293,000l. will be required. If the war should unfortunately last till this resource should fail, another arrangement presents itself for the next ten years. It is proposed, when the interest of the sinking fund shall have accumulated, so as to exceed the interest of the present unredeemed debt, to appropriate such part of the excess as shall be required, to the payment of the interest of the supplementary loans; never, however, so far encroaching on the sinking fund, as either to prevent

prevent the redemption of the whole debt which existed previous to the year 1802, within forty-five years from that period, or to postpone the redemption of any future loan longer than forty-five years from the period when it was first contracted. By limiting, therefore, the operation of the sinking fund, the war expenditure of Britain, amounting to 32,000,000l., will be provided for during the second ten years of the war, without materially adding to her burdens; and the great object of the plan will thus be completely attained.

Such being our opinion, it may perhaps appear unnecessary to enter into any further discussion respecting the merits of this measure. We cannot help observing, however, (although with great deference to the talents of the author), that it rather appears to us to be too complicated, and that some of its provisions are even superfluous. We do not, in the first place, see what end is answered by interfering with the war taxes. As the war taxes are all required for the supplies of the year, whatever portion of them is detached for the interest and sinking fund of the war loans, must be replaced by means of supplementary loans. It appears to us, therefore, that it would be a more direct and simple method, to apply those supplementary loans at once to the purpose for which portions of the war taxes are detached. In which case, the intervention of the war taxes would be quite unnecessary. This will appear more evident by an example. To make up the sum of 32,000,000l., 11,000,000l. is wanted in addition to the war taxes. L. 12,000,000 are borrowed, together with a supplementary loan of 200,000l., for which taxes are imposed. For the interest and sinking fund of this war loan, the sum of 1,200,000l. is required; 1,000,000l. of which being deducted from the war loan, and 200,000l. being made up by the supplementary loan, leaves 11,000,000l., the sum wanted for the service of the state; the war taxes being all applied as they are at this moment, and neither broken in upon nor replaced.

It appears to us, also, that the operation of the sinking fund is quite nugatory. When nations or individuals set apart a portion of their annual revenue to accumulate at compound interest, this is no doubt the sure way to grow rich. But we do not well see how they can improve their circumstances, by *borrowing* money, and allowing it to accumulate at compound interest. If a sum of money be borrowed, and 10 *per cent.* be annually borrowed along with it, 5 *per cent.* for the payment of interest, and 5 *per cent.* for a sinking fund, the borrower will always be precisely in the same situation as if nothing had been borrowed for a sinking fund; because, as he can only add to the sinking fund by borrowing, the more he adds to it, the more he adds to his debt. It may be

thought, perhaps, that something may be gained by the compound interest which the sinking fund accumulates. But it is evident that no compound interest can accumulate on a sum of borrowed money, because the interest must be paid annually. Although the interest were borrowed, this would not alter the case. It would no doubt allow the sinking fund to accumulate; but the borrower would, in the mean time, accumulate his debts in the same proportion. It is impossible that the circumstances either of a nation, or of an individual, can be altered, by accumulating a fund of borrowed money.

We have already endeavoured to shew, that the interest and sinking fund of the war loans is really paid by the supplementary loans, the intervention of the war taxes being noway necessary for that purpose. The supplementary loans, however, are borrowed. By setting apart, therefore, a portion of them for a sinking fund, we are accumulating debt as fast as we are accumulating funds for its payment. The sinking fund will leave our affairs precisely in the same situation in which it found them. But although we conceive that these provisions respecting the intervention of the war taxes and the sinking fund, might be dispensed with, we do not think that they will contribute in the slightest degree to defeat the great object of the measure, far less will they be attended with ruinous consequences to the finances of the country.

We are aware, indeed, that a contrary opinion has been asserted, and that a great deal of absurd declamation has been poured forth upon this topic, in order to discredit the measure. A series of financial resolutions is said to have been moved in the House of Commons by Lord Castlereagh, in which it was actually pretended, that by the plan of double loans, *i. e.* by borrowing annually 10 *per cent.* on the principal loans, 5 *per cent.* for interest, and 5 *per cent.* for a sinking fund, a loss of twenty-nine millions would be ultimately incurred by the public. Now, it may be asked, how can this happen? By what process, in the mysterious art of borrowing and lending money, can such unheard of results be produced? To borrow annually 5 *per cent.* to be set apart as a sinking fund for the redemption of debt, is, we allow, a nugatory operation. But as long as what is borrowed is neither wasted nor misapplied, we cannot well conceive how money can in this way be either saved or lost. We throw out these plain considerations for the benefit of the noble person alluded to, and of all future calculators. We are sanguine enough to hope, that if they duly attend to them, they will not plod on from blunder to blunder, through a mass of laborious calculations, until their imagination, heated with the prospect of

great discoveries, scorns the sober results of arithmetic, and will be content with nothing short of the marvellous. We will not be so cruel as to annoy our readers with all the idle details of those resolutions. We may however subjoin, as a specimen of their general truth and accuracy, the following calculations, in which the expense of redeeming a principal, by means of a one per cent. annuity, is contrasted with the expense incurred by means of Lord Henry Petty's plan. The sum to be redeemed is twelve millions.

NEW PLAN.

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| Ten per cent. interest and sinking fund on 12,000,000l. for one year - - - - - | L. 1,200,000 |
| A like charge for thirteen years more, at which time the principal is redeemed - - | 15,600,000 |
| Total payments | L. 16,800,000 |

To cover the interest and sinking fund of 1,200,000l. at six per cent., a fund of 72,000l. must be provided in each of the fourteen years; the amount thereof is 1,008,000l.

The latter sum being raised on a one per cent. sinking fund, may be considered as an annuity of forty-three years.

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|---|---|
| Payments on account thereof - - - | 43,344,000 |
| Payments as above - - - - | 16,800,000 |
| Total payments | L. 60,144,000 |

PRESENT SYSTEM.

The interest and sinking fund on a loan of 12,000,000l., at six per cent., amounts, per annum, to 720,000l.

This charge being raised on a one per cent. sinking fund, may be considered as an annuity of forty-three years.

Payments to be made on account thereof till its redemption, 30,960,000l.

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|---|---|
| Payments on new system, upon a loan of 12,000,000l. | L. 60,144,000 |
| Ditto on present system - - - | 30,960,000 |
| Excess of the charge of redemption by new system | L. 29,184,000 |

It is evident that two plans are here compared, which are in all respects totally different from each other; and that, while the expenses of what is called the new plan, are very absurdly exaggerated, its benefits are in a great measure overlooked. The ingenious calculator seems so intent on swelling out the debtor side of the account, that he has omitted the creditor side altogether.

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He has thus committed a mistake of about the same magnitude as that of Sir Francis Wronghead, when he said Aye, instead of saying No. But besides the arithmetical errors into which he has fallen, no sound principle is laid down for comparing the relative advantages or disadvantages of the two different plans. The scheme by which he pretends to estimate the expense of the new plan, is peculiarly unsatisfactory; and even if his calculations were correct, they are quite inconclusive. All consideration of compound interest seems to be wholly excluded, without which, however, it is impossible to enter with any certainty into the complicated details of loans, annuities or sinking funds, on a great scale. The truth of these observations will appear from a more particular consideration of the scheme. The expense of redeeming a debt of 12,000,000l., by means of a sinking fund of 5 per cent., is first considered, and it is estimated at 16,800,000l.; the expense of redeeming 16,800,000l. by an annuity of 1 per cent., is next calculated at 43,344,000l.; and the sum to be redeemed is added (upon what principle we are utterly at a loss to conceive) to the expense of redemption, by which the whole charge is made to amount to 60,144,000l. It is, however, evidently an error, to add the sum to be redeemed to the charge for redemption, as that charge cannot possibly be incurred till the original sum be paid. The 16,800,000l. must therefore be deducted; which will reduce the expense to 43,344,000l. The expense of redeeming 12,000,000l., by a 1 per cent. annuity, is next compared with the expense of redeeming 16,800,000l. by an annuity to the same amount; and it does not require very deep thought to perceive, that it will cost more to redeem the latter sum than the former. The question to be considered therefore is, whether value has been received for the 16,800,000l. It appears that half of that sum has been paid for the interest of the 12,000,000l. during fourteen years; and the other half has been set apart as a sinking fund to redeem the principal. With 16,800,000l., therefore, the interest of 12,000,000l. for fourteen years has been paid, and the principal has been redeemed; and were we to imitate the example of inaccuracy set before us, we should immediately conclude that a great advantage was gained by this plan. But this advantage is merely apparent; and it only shews what a fertile source of error is opened, by adopting such an imperfect mode of calculation.

Indeed, all calculations must be exceedingly lame and inconclusive, from which the consideration of compound interest is excluded. The true nature of the transaction will appear from the following simple considerations. A sum of 12,000,000l. is borrowed, and an annuity of 1,200,000l. is borrowed along with it,

by which, in fourteen years, the principal is redeemed, and the interest is also paid. An annuity of 1,200,000l. for fourteen years is therefore given in exchange for a capital of 12,000,000l., and for the interest of that capital for fourteen years. The value of the interest of 12,000,000l. for fourteen years, is exactly 12,000,000l.; and an annuity of 1,200,000l. for the same period, is worth 24,000,000l.; so that there can neither be loss nor gain on the transaction. Besides the most ridiculous blunder of adding the sum to be redeemed to the expense of redemption, Lord Castlereagh has forgot to credit the plan with the interest of 12,000,000l. for fourteen years, for which it is evident that the 16,800,000l. pays.

Although, however, the labours of the noble Lord do not appear to us to have been, in the present instance, attended with prosperous results, we very willingly allow, that great depth and comprehension of judgment have been displayed in the construction of these formidable calculations. His genius seems peculiarly fitted for arithmetical studies, and we discover with pleasure that it is in the most common, and consequently the most useful, sort of arithmetic, that his talents appear chiefly to shine. In this great crisis of human affairs, it is peculiarly gratifying to reflect, that while the French youth are taught almost exclusively to glory in feats of arms, men of rank in this country, with a virtuous distaste for warlike pursuits, are studious to excel in the more innocent, and certainly not less wonderful talent, of speaking for an hour, and saying nothing.

We cannot conclude our remarks on this subject, without observing, that the great debt of this country, and the difficulty of finding out new sources of taxation, has not only secured to financial discussions that attention which their importance so well deserves; but it has exalted them among a certain class of politicians above all the grand objects of national policy. The state of a nation's finances is now habitually referred to as a sure criterion of her power; and from the language often held on this subject, it might be imagined, that the whole duties of a statesman centred in devising easy methods of raising money. During the last war we were told that France was on the verge, and even in the very gulph of bankruptcy, and our own flourishing finances were at the same time brought very ostentatiously under our review. We still hear on every occasion about our 'proud structure of finance,' &c.; and the praises of Mr Pitt generally bring up the rear of this heavy declamation. Now, if France, since the ruin of her finances, has trampled on the necks of all her enemies, and has risen to unexampled preeminence and power, and if Britain, with her flourishing finances, has been unable to prevent the destruc-

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tion of her allies, and inſtead of attaining for herſelf permanent ſecurity, ſees every day new perils thickening around her, we may well inquire, what fruits have our flouriſhing finances produced? and what has it availed us, that a large revenue has been collected, if it has been laviſhed on futile or diſaſtrous projects? So enamoured are theſe declaimers with taxation, that they ſeem to conſider it as an ultimate object of policy. They do not reflect that it is not ſo much by raiſing a revenue, as by a wiſe application of it, after it is conſigned into his hands, that a ſtateſman can either benefit his country, or acquire laſting renown for himſelf. In illuſtration of theſe obſervations, we might refer to that period of our hiſtory when the glorious fabric of European independence was firſt reared. Thoſe who aſſiſted in bringing about that event were undoubtedly great ſtateſmen; and the wonderful work which they accompliſhed is the charter of their well-earned fame. This fame, however, they acquired, not by raiſing a great revenue, but by working wonders with a ſmall one; and it is a fame in which none need hope to participate, who with far ampler means have failed in the attainment of much humbler ends; and, inſtead of rendering England the arbitreſs of nations, have reduced her to maintain an anxious ſtruggle for her ſecurity and independence.

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ART. VI. *A Portraiture of Quakerism, as taken from a View of the Moral Education, Diſcipline, Peculiar Cuſtoms, Religious Principles, Political and Civil Economy, and Character, of the Society of Friends.* By Thomas Clarkson, M. A. Author of ſeveral Eſſays on the Subject of the Slave-Trade. 8vo. 3 vol. London. 1806.

THIS, we think, is a book peculiarly fitted for reviewing: for it contains many things which moſt people will have ſome curioſity to hear about; and is at the ſame time ſo intolerably dull and tedious, that no voluntary reader could poſſibly get through with it.

The author, whoſe meritorious exertions for the abolition of the ſlave trade brought him into public notice a great many years ago, was recommended by this circumſtance to the favour and the confidence of the Quakers, who had long been unanimous in that cauſe; and was led to ſuch an extenſive and cordial intercourſe with them in all parts of the kingdom, that he came at laſt to have a more thorough knowledge of their tenets and living manners than any other perſon out of the ſociety could eaſily obtain. The effect of this knowledge has evidently been to ex-

cite in him such an affection and esteem for those worthy sectaries, as we think can scarcely fail to issue in his public conversion; and, in the mean time, has produced a more minute exposition, and a more elaborate defence of their doctrines and practices, than has yet been drawn from any of their own body.

The book, which is full of repetitions and plagiarisms, is distributed into a number of needless sections, arranged in a most unnatural and inconvenient order. All that any body can want to know about the Quakers, might evidently have been told either under the head of their doctrinal tenets, or of their peculiar practices; but Mr Clarkson, with a certain elaborate infelicity of method, chooses to discuss the merits of this society under the several titles of their moral education—their discipline—their peculiar customs—their religion—their great tenets—and their character; and not finding even this ample distribution sufficient to include all he had to say on the subject, he fills half a volume with repetitions and trifles, under the humiliating name of miscellaneous particulars.

Quakerism had certainly undergone a considerable change in the quality and spirit of its votaries, from the time when George Fox went about pronouncing woes against cities, attacking priests in their pulpits, and exhorting justices of the peace to do justice, to the time when such men as Penn and Barclay came into the society 'by convincement,' and published such vindications of its doctrine, as few of its opponents have found it convenient to answer. The change since their time appears to have been much more inconsiderable. The greater part of these volumes may be considered, indeed, as a wilful deterioration of Barclay's apology: and it is only where he treats of the private manners and prevailing opinions of the modern Quakers, that Mr Clarkson communicates any thing which a curious reader might not have learnt from that celebrated production. The laudatory and argumentative tone which he maintains throughout, gives an air of partiality to his statements, which naturally diminishes our reliance on their accuracy: and as the argument is often extremely bad, and the praise apparently unmerited, we are rather inclined to think that his work will make a less powerful impression in favour of the 'friends,' than might have been effected by a more moderate advocate. With many praiseworthy maxims and principles for their moral conduct, the Quakers, we think, have but little to say for most of their peculiar practices; and make a much better figure when defending their theological mysteries, than when vindicating the usages by which they are separated from the rest of the people in the ordinary intercourse of life. It will be more convenient, however, to state our observations

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on their reasonings, as we attend Mr Clarkson through his account of their principles and practice.

He enters upon his task with such a wretched display of false eloquence, that we were very near throwing away the book. Our readers will scarcely accuse us of impatience, when we inform them that the dissertation on the moral education of the Quakers begins with the following sentence.

'When the blooming ſpring ſheds abroad its benign influence, man feels it equally with the reſt of created nature. The blood circulates more freely, and a new current of life ſeems to be diffuſed, in his veins. The aged man is enlivened, and the ſick man feels himſelf refreſhed. Good ſpirits and cheerful countenances ſucceed. But as the year changes in its ſeaſons, and rolls round to its end, the tide ſeems to ſlacken, and the current of feeling to return to its former level.' Vol. I. p. 13.

This may serve, once for all, as a specimen of Mr Clarkson's taste, and his powers in fine writing, and as an apology for our abstaining, in our charity, from making any further observations on his style. Under the head of moral education, we are informed that the Quakers discourage, and strictly prohibit in their youth, all games of chance, music, dancing, novel reading, field sports of every description, and, in general, the use of idle words and unprofitable conversation. The motives of these several prohibitions are discussed in separate chapters of extreme dulness and prolixity. It is necessary, however, in order to come to a right understanding with those austere persons and their apologist, to enter a little into these discussions.

The basis of the Quaker morality seems evidently to be, that gaiety and merriment ought, upon all occasions, to be discouraged; that every thing which tends merely to exhilaration or enjoyment, has in it a taint of criminality; and that one of the chief duties of man is to be always serious and solemn, and constantly occupied, either with his wordly prosperity, or his eternal welfare. If it were not for this attention which is permitted to the accumulation of wealth, the Quakers would scarcely be distinguishable from the other gloomy sectaries, who maintain, that man was put into this world for no other purpose, but to mortify himself into a proper condition for the next;—that all our feelings of ridicule and sociality, and all the spring and gaiety of the animal spirits of youth, were given us only for our temptation; and that, considering the shortness of this life, and the risk he runs of damnation after it, man ought evidently to pass his days in dejection and terror, and to shut his heart to every pleasureable emotion which this transitory scene might supply to the unthinking. The fundamental folly of these ascetic maxims has prevented the Quakers from adopting them in their full extent; but all the peculiarities of their manners may evidently be

referred to this source; and the quaifications and exceptions under which they maintain the duty of abstaining from enjoyment, serve only, in most instances, to bring upon their reasonings the additional charge of inconsistency.

Their objection to cards, dice, wagers, horse-races, &c. is said to be, first, that they may lead to a spirit of gaming, which leads, again, to obvious unhappiness and immorality; but chiefly, that they are sources of amusement unworthy of a sober Christian, and tend, by producing an unreasonable excitement, to disturb that tranquillity and equanimity which they look upon as essential to moral virtue.

'They believe,' says Mr Clarkson, 'that stillness and quietness, both of spirit and of body, are necessary, as far as they can be obtained. Hence, Quaker children are rebuked for all expressions of anger, as tending to raise those feelings which ought to be suppressed; a raising even of the voice beyond due bounds, is discouraged as leading to the disturbance of their minds. They are taught to rise in the morning in quietness; to go about their ordinary occupation with quietness; and to retire in quietness to their beds.'

Now this, we think, is a very miserable picture. The great curse of life, we believe, in all conditions above the lowest, is its excessive stillness and quietness, and the want of excitement which it affords: and though we certainly do not approve of cards and wagers as the best exhilarators of the spirits, we cannot possibly concur in the principle upon which they are rejected with such abhorrence by this rigid society. A remark which Mr Clarkson himself makes afterwards, might have led him to doubt of the soundness of their petrifying principles.

'It has often been observed,' he says, 'that a *Quaker boy* has an unnatural appearance. The idea has arisen from his dress and his sedateness, which, taken together, have produced an appearance of age above the youth in his countenance. I have often been surprised to hear young Quakers talk of the folly and vanity of pursuits in which persons, older than themselves, were then embarking in pursuit of pleasure,' &c.

We feel no admiration, we will confess, for prodigies of this description, and think that the world is but little indebted to those moralists, who, in their efforts to ameliorate our condition, begin with constraining the volatile spirit of childhood into sedateness, and extinguishing the happy carelessness and animation of youth, by lessons of eternal quietness.

The next chapter is against music, and is, as might be expected, the most absurd and extravagant of the whole. This is Mr Clarkson's statement of the Quaker reasoning against this delightful art.

'Providence gave originally to man a beautiful and a perfect world. He

He filled it with things neceſſary, and things delightful: and yet man has often turned theſe from their true and original deſign. The very wood on the ſurface of the earth he has cut down, and the very ſtone and metal in its bowels he has hewn and caſt, and converted into a graven image, and worſhipped in the place of his beneficent Creator. The food which has been given him for his nouriſhment, he has frequently converted by his intemperance into the means of injuring his health. The wine, that was deſigned to make his heart glad, on reaſonable and neceſſary occaſions, he has uſed often to the ſtupefaction of his ſenſes, and the degradation of his moral character. The very raiment, which has been afforded him for his body, he has abuſed alſo, ſo that it has frequently become a ſource for the excitement of his pride.

'Juſt ſo it has been, and ſo it is, with muſic, at the preſent day.' I. p. 41, 42.

From which, if it follows that music ought to be entirely rejected and avoided, it must follow also, that we should go naked, and neither eat nor drink; and as to the arguments that follow against the cultivation of music, because there are some obscene and some bacchanalian songs, which it would be improper for young persons to learn, they are just such as might be used against their learning to read, because there are immoral and heretical books, which may possibly fall into their hands. The most authentic and sincere reason, however, we believe, is one which rests immediately upon the general ascetic principle to which we have already made reference, viz. that 'music tends to *self-gratification*, which is not allowable in the Christian system.' Now, as this same self-denying principle is really at the bottom of most of the Quaker prohibitions, it may be worth while to consider, in a few words, how far it can be reconciled to reason or morality.

All men, we humbly conceive, are under the necessity of purſuing their own happiness; and cannot even be conceived as ever pursuing any thing else. The only difference between the sensualist and the ascetic is, that the former pursues an immediate, and the other a remote happiness; or, that the one pursues an intellectual, and the other a bodily gratification. The penitent who passes his days in mortification, does so unquestionably from the love of enjoyment; either because he thinks this the surest way to attain eternal happiness in a future world, or because he finds the admiration of mankind a sufficient compensation, even in this life, for the hardships by which he extorts it. It appears, therefore, that self-gratification, so far from being an unlawful object of pursuit, is necessarily the only object which a rational being can be conceived to pursue; and consequently, that to argue against any practice, merely that it is attended with enjoyment, is to give it a recommendation which must operate in its favour,

even

even with the most rigid moralist. The only consistent form of the argument is that which was adopted by the mortified hermits of the early ages, but is expressly disclaimed for the Quakers by their present apologist, viz. that our well-being in this world is a matter of so very little concern, that it is altogether unworthy of a reasonable being to bestow any care upon it; and that our chance of well-being in another world depends so much upon our anxious endeavours after piety upon earth, that it is our duty to employ every moment in meditation and prayer, and altogether sinful and imprudent to indulge any propensities which may interrupt those holy exercises, or beget in us any interest in sublunary things.

There is, evidently, a tacit aspiration after this sublime absurdity in almost all the Quaker prohibitions; and we strongly suspect, that honest George Fox, when he inhabited a hollow tree in the vale of Beevor, taught nothing less to his disciples. The condemnation of music and dancing, and all idle speaking, was therefore quite consistent in him; but since the permission of gainful arts, and of most of the luxuries which wealth can procure, to his disciples, it is no longer so easy to reconcile these condemnations, either to reason, or to the rest of their practice. A Quaker may suspend the care of his salvation, and occupy himself entirely with his worldly business, for six days in the week, like any other Christian. It is even thought laudable in him to set an example of diligence and industry to those around him; and the fruits of this industry he is by no means required to bestow in relieving the poor, or for the promotion of piety. He is allowed to employ it for self-gratification, in almost every way but the most social and agreeable. He may keep an excellent table and garden, and be driven about in an easy chariot by a pious coachman and four plump horses; but his plate must be without carving, and his carriage and horses (perhaps his flowers also) of a dusky colour. His guests may talk of oxen and broad cloth as long as they think fit; but wit and gaiety are entirely proscribed, and topics of literature but rarely tolerated. His boys and girls are bred up to a premature knowledge of bargaining and housekeeping; but when their bounding spirits are struggling in every limb, they must not violate their *sedateness* by a single skip;—their *stillness* must not be disturbed by raising their voices beyond their common pitch;—and they would be disowned, if they were to tune their innocent voices in a hymn to their great Benefactor. We cannot help saying, that all this is absurd and indefensible. Either let the Quakers renounce all the enjoyments of this life, or take all that are innocent. The pursuit of wealth surely holds out a greater temptation to immorality, than the study

study of music. Let them disown those who accumulate more than is necessary for their subsistence, or permit those who have leisure to employ it in something better than money-getting. To permit a man to have a house and retinue, from the expenses of which fifty poor families might be supported, and at the same time to interdict a fold in his coat, or a ruffle to his shirt, on account of their costliness and vanity, is as ridiculous, and as superstitious, as it is for the Church of Rome to permit one of her cardinals to sit down, on a meagre day, to fifty costly and delicious dishes of fish and pastry, while it excommunicates a peasant for breaking through the holy abstinence with a morsel of rusty bacon. With those general impressions, we shall easily dispose of their other peculiarities.

The amusements of the theatre are strictly forbidden to Quakers of every description; and this, partly because many plays are immoral, but chiefly because, on the stage, 'men personate characters that are not their own; and thus become altogether sophisticated in their looks, words and actions, which is contrary to the simplicity and truth required by Christianity.' We scarcely think the Quakers will be much obliged to Mr Clarkson for imputing this kind of reasoning to them. We would rather hear at once that the playhouse was the Devil's drawing-room, and that the actors paint their faces, and deserve the fate of Jezebel. As to the sin of personating characters not their own, and sophisticating their looks and words, it is necessarily committed by every man who reads aloud a dialogue from the New Testament, or who adopts, from the highest authority, a dramatic form in his preaching. As to the other objection, that theatrical amusements produce too high a degree of excitement for the necessary sedateness of a good Christian, we answer, in the first place, that we do not see why a good Christian should be more still and sedate than his innocence and natural gaiety incline him to be; and, in the second place, that the objection proves Mr Clarkson to be laudably ignorant of the state of the modern drama, which, we are credibly informed, is by no means so extremely interesting, as to make men neglect their business and their duties to run after it.

Next comes dancing.—The Quakers prohibit this strictly; 1st, because it implies the accompaniment of music which has been already interdicted; 2dly, because 'it is useless, and below the dignity of the Christian character;' 3dly, because it implies assemblies of idle persons, which lead to thoughtlessness as to the important duties of life; 4thly, because it gives rise to silly vanity, and envying, and malevolence. The lovers of dancing, we think, will be able to answer those objections without our assistance;

sistance; such of them as have not been already obviated, are applicable, and are in fact applied by the Quakers to every species of accomplishment. They are applicable also, though the Quakers do not apply them, to all money-getting occupations in which there is room for rivalry and competition.

The reading of novels is next prohibited, not so much, Mr Clarkson assures us, on account of their fictitious nature, though that is ground enough for the abhorrence of many Quakers, but on account of their general immorality, and their tendency to produce an undue excitement of mind, and to alienate the attention from objects of serious importance. These are good reasons against the reading of immoral novels, and against making them our sole or our principal study. Other moralists are contented with selecting and limiting the novels they allow to be read. The Quakers alone make it an abomination to read any; which is like prohibiting all use of wine or animal food, instead of restricting our censures to the excess or abuse of them.

Last of all, the sports of the field are prohibited, partly on account of the animal suffering they produce, and partly from the habits of idleness and ferocity which they are supposed to generate. This is Mr Clarkson's account of the matter; but we shall probably form a more correct idea of the true Quaker, from being told that George Fox 'considered that man in the fall, or the apostate man, had a vision so indistinct and vitiated, that he could not see the animals of the creation as he ought; but that the man who was restored, or the spiritual Christian, had a new and clear discernment concerning them, which would oblige him to consider and treat them in a proper manner.' The Quakers, however, allow the netting of animals for food; and cannot well object to shooting them, provided it be gone about for the same economical purpose, and not for self-gratification,—at least in the act of killing.

Mr Clarkson proceeds next to discuss the discipline, as he calls it, or interior government of the Quaker society; but we think it more natural to proceed to the consideration of what he announces as their peculiar customs, which, for any thing we see, might all have been classed among the prohibitions which constitute their moral education.

The first is the peculiarity of their dress. The original rule, he says, was only that it should be plain and cheap. He vindicates George Fox from the charge of having gone about in a leathern doublet; and maintains, that the present dress of the Quakers is neither more nor less than the common dress of grave and sober persons of the middling rank at the first institution of the society; and that they have retained it, not out of any superstitious

tious opinion of its sanctity, but because they thought it would indicate a frivolous vanity to change it, unless for some reason of convenience. Except that the men now wear loops to their hats, and that the women have in a great measure given up their black hoods and green aprons, their *costume* is presumed to be almost exactly the same as it was nearly two hundred years ago. They have a similar rule as to their furniture; which, though sometimes elegant and costly, is uniformly plain, and free from glare or ostentation. In conformity with this principle, they do not decorate their houses with pictures or prints, and in general discourage the practice of taking portraits; for which piece of abstinence Mr Clarkson gives the following simple reason. 'The first Quakers, considering themselves as poor helpless creatures, and as little better than dust and ashes, had but a mean idea of their own images!'

One of the most prominent peculiarities in the Quaker customs, relates to their language. They insist, in the first place, upon saying thou instead of you; and this was an innovation upon which their founder seems to have valued himself at least as much as upon any other part of his system. 'The use of thou,' says honest George Fox, with visible complacency, 'was a sore cut to proud flesh;' and many beatings, and revilings, and hours of durance in the stocks, did he triumphantly endure for his intrepid adherence to this grammatical propriety. Except that it is (or rather was) grammatically correct, we really can see no merit in this form of speech. The chief Quaker reason for it, however, is, that the use of 'you' to a single person is a heinous piece of flattery, and an instance of the grossest and meanest adulation. It is obvious, however, that what is applied to all men without exception, cannot well be adulation. If princes and patrons alone were called 'you,' while 'thou' was still used to inferiors or equals, we would understand why the levelling principle of the Quakers should set itself against the distinction; but if 'you' be invariably and indiscriminately used to the very lowest of mankind,—to negroes, felons, and toad-eaters,—it is perfectly obvious, that no person's vanity can possibly be puffed up by receiving it, and that the most contemptuous misanthropist may employ it without any scruple. Comparing the said pronouns together, indeed, in this respect, it is notorious, that 'thou' is, with us, by far the most flattering compellation of the two. It is the form in which men address the Deity; and in which all tragical love letters, and verses of solemn adulation, are conceived. 'You' belongs unquestionably to familiar and equal conversation. In truth, it is altogether absurd to consider 'you' as exclusively a plural pronoun in the modern English language. It may be a

matter of *history* that it was originally used as a plural only; and it may be a matter of *theory* that it was first applied to individuals on a principle of flattery; but the *fact* is, that it is now our second person singular. When applied to an individual, it never excites any idea either of plurality or of adulation; but excites precisely and exactly the idea that was excited by the use of 'thou' in an earlier stage of the language. There is no more impropriety in the use of it, therefore, than in the use of any modern term which has superseded an obselete one; nor any more virtue in reviving the use of 'thou,' than there would be in reviving any other antiquated word. It would be just as reasonable to talk always of our *doublets* and *hose*, and eschew all mention of *coats* or *stockings*, as a fearful abomination.

The same observations apply to the other Quaker principle of refusing to call any man Mr or Sir, or to subscribe themselves in their letters, any man's humble servant. Their reasons for this refusal, are, 1st, that the common phrases import a falsehood; and, 2dly, that they puff up vain man with conceit. Now, as to the falsehood, we have to observe, that the words objected to, really do not mean any thing about bondage or dominion when used on those occasions; and neither are so understood, nor are in danger of being so understood, by any one who hears them. Words are significant sounds; and it is solely in consequence of the meaning they convey, that men can be responsible for using them. Now, the only meaning which can be inquired after in this respect, is the meaning of the person who speaks, and of the person who hears; but neither the speaker nor the hearer, with us, understand the appellation of Mr, prefixed to a man's name, to import any mastership or dominion in him relatively to the other. It is merely a customary addition, which means nothing but that you wish to speak of the individual with civility. That the word employed to signify this, is the same word, or very near the same word, with one which, on other occasions, signifies a master over servants, does not at all affect its meaning upon this occasion. It does not signify any such thing when prefixed to a man's proper name; and though it might have been used at first out of servility with a view to that relation, it is long since that connexion has been lost; and it now signifies nothing but what is perfectly true and correct. Etymology can point out a multitude of words which have thus come to acquire a variety of significations, and which even the Quakers think it sufficiently lawful to use in them all. A *stage* signifies a certain distance on the road—or a raised platform—or a carriage that travels periodically—or a certain point in the progress of any affair. It could easily be shewn, too, that all these different meanings spring from each

other, and were gradually attributed to what was originally one and the same word. The words, however, are now multiplied to correspond with the meanings; and though they have the same sound and orthography, are never confounded by any one who is acquainted with the language. There is, in fact, the same difference between the word master, implying power and authority over servants, and the word Master or Mister prefixed to a proper name, and implying merely a certain degree of respect and civility. That there is no deception either intended or effected, must be admitted by the Quakers themselves; and it is not easy to conceive how the guilt of falsehood can be incurred without some such intention. Upon the very same principle, they would themselves be guilty of falsehood, if they called a friend by his name of *Walker*, when he was mounted in his one-horse chaise,—or by his name of *Smith*, if he did not happen to be a worker in metal. The most amusing part of the matter, indeed, is, that in their abhorrence of this etymological falsehood, they have themselves adopted a practice, which is liable, on the same principles, to more serious objections. Though they will not call any body Sir or Master, they call every body 'Friend;' although it is evident that, to a stranger, this must be mere civility, like the words they reject, and to an enemy must approach nearly to insincerity. They have rejected an established phraseology, therefore, to adopt one much more proper to fill them with scruples. We have dwelt too long, however, on this paltry casuistry; and must leave our readers to apply these observations to our common epistolary salutations, which are all in the same predicament.

For similar, or rather for more preposterous reasons, the Quakers have changed the names of the months and of the days of the week. Some of them are named, it seems, after the Heathen gods; and therefore the use of them 'seemed to be expressive of a kind of idolatrous homage.' If such a new kalendar had been devised by the original Christians, when March and June were not only named after Mars and Juno, but distinguished by particular festivals in their honour, we could have comprehended the motive of the innovation; but, now-a-days, when Mars and Juno are no more thought of than Hector or Hecuba, and when men would as soon think of worshipping an ape or a crocodile as either of them, it does appear to us the very acmé of absurdity to suppose that there can be any idolatry in naming their names. In point of fact, whatever the matter may be etymologically or historically, we conceive that Wednesday and Thursday are words in modern English, that have no sort of reference to the gods Woden and Thor. They raise no idea connected with these personages; and are never used with the intention

tion of raising any such idea. As they are used at present, therefore, they do not signify days dedicated to these divinities, but merely the days that come between Tuesday and Friday in our kalendar. Those who think otherwise must maintain also, that the English word *expedient*, actually signifies untying of feet, and the word *consideration*, a taking of stars together.

Another of their peculiar customs is, that they will not pull off their hats, or make a bow to any body. This is one of their most ancient and respected canons. 'George Fox,' Mr Clarkson assures us, 'was greatly grieved about these idle ceremonies. He lamented that men should degrade themselves by the use of them, and that they should encourage habits that were abhorrent of the truth.' Honest George! He was accordingly repeatedly beaten and abused for his refractoriness in this particular; and a long story is told in this volume, of a controversy he had with Judge Glynn, whom he posed with a citation from Daniel, purporting, that the three children were cast into the fiery furnace 'with their hats on.' Is it possible however to believe, that any rational being can imagine that there is any sin in lifting off one's hat, or bending the body? It is an easy and sufficiently convenient way of shewing our respect or attention. A good-natured man could do a great deal more to gratify a mere stranger; and if there be one individual who would take the omission amiss, that alone would be a sufficient reason for persisting in the practice.

Mr Clarkson next discusses the private manners of this rigid sect, and admits that they are rather dull, cold, and taciturn. Their principles prohibit them from the use of idle words; under which they include every sort of conversation introduced merely for gaiety or amusement. Their deficiency in classical literature cuts off another great topic. Politics are proscribed, as leading to undue warmth; and all sorts of scandal, and allusion to public spectacles or amusements, for a more fundamental reason. Thus, they have little to talk about but their health, their business, or their religion; and all these things they think it a duty to discuss in a concise and sober manner. They say no graces; but when their meal is on the table, they sit silent and in a thoughtful posture for a short time, waiting for an illapse of the spirit. If they are not moved to make any ejaculation, they begin to eat without more ado. They drink no healths, nor toasts; though not so much from the inconvenience of the thing, as because they conceive this to have been a bacchanalian practice borrowed from the heathens of antiquity. They are very sober; and instead of sitting over their wine after dinner, frequently propose to their guests a walk before tea; the females do not leave the party during this interval. Their marriages are attended

attended with no other ceremony, than that of taking each other by the hand in a public meeting, and declaring their willingness to be united. Notice must be given of this intention at a previous meeting, when the consent of their parents is required, and a deputation appointed to inquire whether they are free from all previous engagements. Quakers marrying out of the society are disowned, though they be again received into membership on expressing their repentance for their marriage; a declaration which cannot be very flattering to the infidel spouse. There are many more women than men disowned for this transgression. The funerals of the Quakers are as free from solemnity as their marriages. They wear no mourning, and do not even cover their coffins with black;—their burying ground receives no consecration;—they use no prayers;—the body is generally carried to the meeting-house, before it is committed to the earth, and a short pause is made, during which any one who feels himself moved to speak, may address the congregation;—it is set down for a little time, also, at the edge of the grave, for the same opportunity;—it is then interred, and the friends and relations walk away. They use no vaults, and erect no monuments,—though they sometimes collect and preserve some account of the lives and sayings of their more eminent and pious ministers.

On the subject of trade, there is a good deal of casuistry among the Quakers. They strictly prohibit the slave-trade, and had the merit of passing a severe censure upon it so long ago as 1727. They also prohibit privateering, smuggling, and all traffic in weapons of war. Most other trades they allow; but under certain limitations. A Quaker may be a bookseller; but he must not sell any immoral book. He may be a dealer in spirits; but he must not sell to those whom he knows to be drunkards. He may even be a silversmith; but he must not deal in splendid ornaments for the person. In no case may he recommend his goods as fashionable. It is much and learnedly disputed in this volume, whether he may make or sell ribands and other fineries of this sort; or whether, as a tailor or hatter, he may furnish any other articles than such as the society patronizes. Mention is also made of a Quaker tailor well known to King James the Second, who was so scrupulous in this respect, that 'he would not allow his servants to put any corruptive finery upon the clothes which he had been employed to furnish;' and of one John Woolman, who 'found himself sensibly weakened as a Christian, whenever he traded in things that served chiefly to please the vain mind, or people.' Apart from these fopperies, however, the Quaker regulations for trade are excellent. They discourage all hazardous speculations, and all fictitious

paper credit. If a member becomes bankrupt, a committee is appointed to inspect his affairs. If his insolvency is reported to have been produced by misconduct, he is disowned, and cannot be received back till he has paid his whole debts, even although he may have been discharged on a composition. If he has failed through misfortune, he continues in the society, though no contributions are received from him till his debts are fully paid.

When Quakers disagree, they seldom scold; and never fight or go to law. George Fox recommended them to settle all their differences by arbitration; and they have adhered to this practice ever since. Where the arbitrators are puzzled about the law, they are to agree on a case, and consult counsel. When a Quaker disagrees with a person out of the society, he generally proposes arbitration in the first instance; if this be refused, he has no scruple of going to law.

We should now proceed to give some account of what Mr Clarkson has called the four Great Tenets of the Quakers; but the length to which we have already extended these remarks must confine our observations to very narrow limits. The first is, That the civil magistrate has no right to interfere in religious matters so as either to enforce attendance on one mode of worship, or to interdict any other which is harmless. In this, certainly, their doctrine is liable to very little objection. Their second great tenet is, That it is unlawful to swear upon any occasion whatsoever. We have not leisure now to discuss this point with Mr Clarkson; indeed, from the obstruction which this scruple has so often occasioned to law proceedings, it has been discussed much oftener than any of the rest. Those who want to see a neat and forcible abstract of the Quaker reasoning on the subject, had better look into Barclay at once, instead of wading through the amplification of Mr Clarkson. Their third great tenet is, That it is unlawful to engage in the profession of arms. This is founded entirely upon a literal interpretation of certain texts of scripture, requiring men to love and bless their enemies, and to turn one cheek to him who had smitten the other, &c. It is commonly supposed, we believe, that these expressions were only meant to shadow out, by a kind of figure, that amicable and gentle disposition by which men should be actuated in their ordinary intercourse with each other, and by no means to be made the formal directors of their conduct through life. In any other sense, indeed, they would evidently amount to an encouragement to all sorts of violence and injustice, and would entirely disable and annihilate all civil government or authority among men. If evil is not to be resisted, and if the man who takes a cloke is to be pressed to a coat also, it is plain that the punishment of thieves and robbers must be just as unlawful as the resisting of invaders. It is remarkable,

markable, indeed, that the Quakers do not carry their literal ſubmiſſion to the ſcripture quite this length. They would ſtruggle manfully for their clokes; and, inſtead of giving the robber their coats alſo, would be very glad to have him impriſoned and flogged. If they can get rid of the letter of the law, however, in any caſe, it does appear to us, that there are occaſionally ſtronger reaſons for diſpenſing with the ſuppoſed prohibition of war than with any of the others. If they would be juſtified in killing a wild beaſt that had ruſhed into their habitation, they muſt be juſtified in killing an invader who threatens to ſubject them and the whole community to his brutal luſt, rapacity, and cruelty. We muſt call it a degrading ſuperſtition that would withhold the hands of a man in ſuch an emergency. The laſt great tenet is, That it is unlawful to give pecuniary hire to a goſpel miniſtry. This, again, is entirely a war of texts, aided by a confuſed reference to the hiſtory of tythes, from which the following moſt logical deductions are made.

'Firſt, that they are not in equity dues of the Church—ſecondly, that the payment of them being compulſory, it would, if acceded to, be an acknowledgment that the civil magiſtrate had a right to uſe force in matters of religion—and, thirdly, that, being claimed upon an act which holds them forth as of divine right, any payment of them would be an acknowledgment of the Jewiſh religion, and that Chriſt had not yet actually come.' III. 141.

After perusing all that we have now abstracted, Mr Clarkson's readers might perhaps have been presumed capable of forming some conclusion for themselves as to the Quaker character; but the author chooses to make the inference for them, in a diſſertation of 150 pages, to which we must ſatisfy ourſelves, for the present, with making this general reference. We must use the same liberty with the miscellaneous particulars, which fill nearly as many pages with an attempt to prove that the Quakers are a very happy people, that they have done good by the example of their virtues, and that those who have thoughts of leaving the society, had better think twice, before they take a step of ſo much consequence.

We come now to say a few words on the subject of their interior government, which appears to us to be formed very much upon the model of the Presbyterian churches established in this part of the kingdom. The basis of the whole system is, that every member of the society is not only entitled, but bound in duty, to watch over the moral and religious deportment of any other whom he has an opportunity of observing, and to interfere for his admonition and correction when he sees cause. Till the year 1698, this duty was not peculiarly imposed upon any individual; but, since

that time, four or five persons are named in each congregation, under the title of overseers, who are expected to watch over the conduct of the flock with peculiar anxiety. The half of these are women, who take charge of their own sex only. Four or five congregations are associated together, and hold a general *monthly* meeting of deputies, of both sexes, from each congregation. Two or more of each sex are deputed from these monthly meetings to the general *quarterly* meeting, which reunites all the congregations of a county, or larger district, according to the extent of the Quaker population; and those, again, send four of each sex to the great yearly meeting or convocation, which is regularly assembled in London, and continues its sitting for ten or twelve days.

The method of proceeding, where the conduct of a member has been disorderly, is, first, by private admonition, either by individuals, or by the overseers; where this is not effectual, the case is reported to the monthly meeting, who appoint a committee to deal with him, and, upon their report, either receive him back into communion, or expel him from the society by a written document, entitled, A Testimony of Disownment. From this sentence, however, he may appeal to the quarterly meeting, and from that to the yearly. These courts of review investigate the case by means of a committee; of which none of those who pronounced the sentence complained of, can be members.

In the monthly meetings, all presentations of marriages are received, and births and funerals registered;—contributions and arrangements are made for the relief of the poor;—persons are disowned, or received back;—and cases of scruples are stated and discussed. They likewise prepare answers to a series of standing queries as to the state and condition of their congregations, which they transmit to the quarterly meeting. The quarterly meeting hears appeals,—receives the reports in answer to these queries,—and prepares, in its turn, a more general and comprehensive report for the great annual meeting in London. This assembly, again, hears appeals from the quarterly meetings, and receives their reports; and finally, draws up a public or pastoral letter to the whole society, in which it communicates the most interesting particulars, as to its general state and condition, that have been collected from the reports laid before it,—makes such suitable admonitions and exhortations for their moral and civil conduct, as the complexion of the times, or the nature of these reports have suggested,—and recommends to their consideration any project or proposition that may have been laid before it, for the promotion of religion, and the good of mankind. The slave-trade has, of late years, generally formed one of the topics

topics of this general epistle, which is printed and circulated throughout the society. In all their meetings, the male and female deputies hold their meetings, and transact their business, in separate apartments, meeting together only for worship, or for making up their general reports. The wants of the poor are provided for by the monthly meetings, who appoint certain overseers to visit and relieve them: the greater part of these overseers are women; and whatever they find wanting in the course of their visits, money, clothes, or medicines, they order, and their accounts are settled by the treasurer of the monthly meeting. Where it happens that there are more poor in any one district than can easily be relieved by their more opulent brethren within it, the deficiency is supplied by the quarterly meeting to which it is subjected. The children of the poor are all taught to read and write at the public expense, and afterwards bound apprentice to trades;—the females are generally destined for service, and placed in Quaker families.

'Such,' says Mr Clarkson, with a very natural exultation on the good management of his favourites, 'such is the organization of the discipline or government of the Quakers. Nor may it improperly be called a government, when we consider, that, besides all matters relating to the church, it takes cognisance of the actions of Quakers to Quakers, and of these to their fellow-citizens; and of these, again, to the state; in fact, of all actions of Quakers, if immoral in the eye of the society, as soon as they are known. It gives out its prohibitions. It marks its crimes. It imposes offices on its subjects. It calls them to disciplinary duties. This government, however, notwithstanding its power, has, as I observed before, no president or head, either permanent or temporary. There is no first man through the whole society. Neither has it any badge of office, or mace, or constable's staff, or sword. It may be observed, also, that it has no office of emolument by which its hands can be strengthened, neither minister, elder, clerk, overseer, or deputy, being paid: and yet its administration is firmly conducted, and its laws are better obeyed than laws by persons under any other denomination or government.' I. 246, 247.

We have nothing now to discuss with these good people, but their religion: and with this we will not meddle. It is quite plain to us, that their founder George Fox was exceedingly insane; and though we by no means suspect many of his present followers of the same malady, we cannot help saying that their doctrines are a little too high-flown for our humble apprehension. They hold that God has at all times communicated a certain portion of the *spirit*, or *word*, or *light*, to mankind; but has given very different portions of it to different individuals: that, in consequence of this inward illumination, not only the antient patriarchs and prophets, but many of the old heathen philosophers,

were very good Christians: that no kind of worship and preaching can be acceptable or profitable, unless it flow from the immediate inspiration and movement of their inward spirit; and that all ordination, or appointment of priests, is therefore impious and unavailing. They are much attached to the Holy Ghost; but are supposed to reject the doctrine of the Trinity; and openly reject the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, with all other rites, ordinances, and ceremonies, known or practised in any Christian church. These tenets they justify by various citations from the New Testament, and the older fathers; as any one may see in the works of Barclay and Penn, with rather more satisfaction than in this of Mr Clarkson. We enter not at present into these disputations.

Upon the whole, we are inclined to believe the Quakers to be a tolerably honest, painstaking, and inoffensive set of Christians. Very stupid, dull, and obstinate, we presume, in conversation; and tolerably lumpish and fatiguing in domestic society: active and methodical in their business, and narrow minded and ill informed as to most other particulars: beneficent from habit and the discipline of the society; but cold in their affections, and inwardly chilled into a sort of Chinese apathy, by the restraints to which they are continually subjected: childish and absurd in their religious scruples and peculiar usages, and singularly unlearned as a sect of theologians; but exemplary, above all other sects, for the decency of their lives, for their charitable indulgence to all other persuasions, for their care of their poor, and for the liberal participation they have afforded to their women in all the duties and honours of the society.

We would not willingly insinuate any thing against the general sincerity of those who remain in communion with this body; but Mr Clarkson has himself noticed, that when they become opulent, they are very apt to fall off from it; and indeed we do not recollect ever to have seen either a Quaker gentleman of fortune, or a Quaker day-labourer. The truth is, that ninety-nine out of a hundred of them are engaged in trade; and as they all deal and correspond with each other, it is easy to see what advantages they must have as traders, from belonging to so great a corporation. A few follow the medical profession; and a still smaller number that of conveyancing; but they rely, in both, on the support of their brethren of the society. It is rather remarkable, that Mr Clarkson has not given us any sort of estimate or calculation of their present numbers in England, though, from the nature of their government, it must be known to most of their leading members. It is the general opinion, it seems, that they are gradually diminishing.

Art.

ART. VII. *The Stranger in America: Containing Observations made during a Long Residence in that Country, on the Genius, Manners, and Customs of the People of the United States; with Biographical Particulars of Public Characters; Hints and Facts relative to the Arts, Sciences, Commerce, Agriculture, Manufactures, Emigration, and the Slave Trade.* By Charles William Janson Esq., late of the State of Rhode Island, Counsellor at Law. 4to. pp. 500. London. Cundee. 1807.

THIS large and most ill arranged volume contains, apparently, whatever Mr Janson could recollect of America, aiding his memory by a few notes and memorandums: for he went thither without any view of becoming an author; made no regular tour; and kept no constant journal of his excursions, or register of his observations. He repaired to the New World to gratify a longing which he had to see it: he was soon tired of it as a sight, and engaged in different speculations;—a land speculation, which failed;—a trading adventure, which shared the same fate;—and, most strange of all, a law speculation,—for he was, in the course of his rambles, called to the bar, and to practice, but found it did not answer. He resided, in this way, above thirteen years in the United States; and on his return, as the custom is, he wrote his book. According to another still more ancient custom, he begins by appealing to the 'persuasions of friends' as an apology for publishing it. 'Year after year, it seems, the desire of communicating to the public the result of his observations respecting our once transatlantic brethren' has been restrained, by 'contemplating the many volumes which have appeared on the subject.' This struggle, however, during successive years, must have happened in America; for as he was above thirteen years there, and left Europe in May 1793, he must have returned to England late in 1806, and his book is in the shops early in 1807. It is indeed a most hasty performance; by a person neither accustomed to laborious composition, nor qualified to write without labour; neither capable of selecting his materials, nor of arranging them; and not very eminent in that acuteness, which enables a man well to observe, or profitably to reflect, on what he has witnessed.

A vast mass of anecdotes, facts, declamations, pictures, quotations from noted works, excerpts from unknown books, songs and other verses, newspaper advertisements, and many other articles, are thrown together by a sort of manual exertion; then made into chapters by the same kind of labour, adorned with preface, index, and title-pages; and then advertised for sale. In

all this the hand is more employed than the head; and the reader's mental fatigue is perhaps nearly equal to the author's. A little amusement he may derive from wading through the volume; a stray fact of some value he may catch here and there; but he must not hope for that average proportion between the number of pages and the amount of instruction, which encourages him in his perusal of ordinary books. We shall endeavour to save our readers a part of this labour, and to communicate a fair and just share of the profit.

Mr Janson left England in a very incommodious merchant vessel, commanded by a captain who treated him ill, and kept him nearly the whole voyage on short allowance; and filled with passengers, for whom he seems to have contracted no great degree of friendship. The voyage presented nothing remarkable, except a visit from a French privateer, and a squall. The former occurrence threw our author into a violent passion; the latter gave him a great fright. The behaviour of the captain, too, kept him in constant bad humour; and one of the passengers, an American, provoked him, by shewing a dislike of England; and Bob, the cook-boy, comported himself rudely;—all which irritations had so visible an effect on Mr Janson, that he obtained the appellation of the '*Grumbler;*' a name which, from the temper of his whole remarks on America, and indeed on every thing he discusses, we must admit to be sufficiently applicable to him, both on shore and at sea. He asserts, it is true, that his present unfavourable opinion of America and the Americans must be founded in justice, because he went over with the strongest prepossessions in their favour. But such prepossessions are as likely to mislead minds of a certain description, as the most violent prejudices of an unfavourable sort. And we cannot help imputing a great deal of the invective against the manners and productions of the United States, which is so prevalent both in English society and in late books of travels, to this very circumstance—that the persons who speak from their own observation, instead of making up their minds, when they left Europe, to a privation of many comforts, for the sake of other advantages, formed ridiculous expectations of enjoying in the New World something superadded to the best of what they had ever tasted in the Old. If a man desires to contemplate the spectacle of an infant community rising to enormous wealth and power, with a celerity distinctly visible, or is curious to see large forests, lakes and rivers, he must not repine at a temporary exclusion from the refined society of London and Paris. If an emigrant seeks the region of cheap land, he must lay his account with finding labour and manufactures costly. What were Mr Janson's motives for visiting America

America we need not inquire. He belongs to one or to both of these classes; and he has committed exactly the error which we formerly pointed out in noticing Mr Parkinson's travels, of expecting impossibilities, and grumbling because contradictions were not reconciled for his convenience or advantage.

In this frame of mind, however, Mr Janson arrived at Boston. He was presently shocked with the vulgarity of the people, and teazed by their familiar way of treating him, and by their perpetual interrogatories. He next suffered from the excessive civilities of his hosts and hostesses; from the heat of the climate, and 'that aggravating and poisonous insect,' the musquito. He walked about, nevertheless, and visited Bunker's Hill, which introduces some anecdotes of the battle, and an apostrophe to those who fell in it, which we shall not quote. From some uninteresting notes, chiefly on the distilleries, theatres, and breweries of Boston, a transition is made to the general subject of America, the statistics of which are rapidly disposed of in four pages, and followed by unconnected notices of its history in a few pages more. After this he observes, 'the reader will doubtless think it high time to return to my narrative.' The heat drives him from Boston to New-London, which he marvels at finding much smaller than the old city of that name. Mention is here made of two different lobsters; one, upon which ten hungry men supped, and left enough for an eleventh; another, on which seven persons dined, yet left sufficient to satisfy a hungry man. Approaching now to the brink of a precipice, he recollects Shakespeare's description of Dover Cliffs, and presents us with the following improvement upon that celebrated passage. 'Ours, however, was a land prospect. The cattle grazing in the plain appeared no larger than sheep. Horses at plough at a further distance, were diminished to the size of a child's toy; the driver to an atom scarcely visible.'

At this part of the narrative is introduced a curious account of the adventures which befel three of Charles the First's judges. Generals Goffe and Whalley, and Colonel Dixwell. They took refuge in Connecticut, and wandered from place to place over other parts of New England, remaining in concealment for many years; the two former frequently in caves and woods; the latter, by changing his name, and getting into the crowd of society. Their story forms one of the oldest and most interesting of the New-England traditions; and our thanks are due to Mr Janson for inserting several particulars, from what he heard, and from some American publications upon the subject. These, and other American books which he quotes, have never, we presume, reached Europe; and there is not, in the bulky volume before us, any thing

thing more curious than the specimens which it contains of transatlantic literature. We shall afterwards extract a few of those passages for the sake of illustrating this point. It may be better, here, to insert one of the passages concerning the judges, in the words of Goffe. The following is a letter from that person, describing his old companion's second childhood. There is something touching in the tenderness which mingles itself with the fanaticism of this piece.

"Your old friend, Mr R. (Whalley) is yet living, but continues in that weak condition of which I have formerly given you an account; and I have not much to add. He is scarce capable of any rational discourse; his understanding, memory and speech, doth so much fail him, that he seems not to take much notice of any thing that is either done or said, but patiently bears all things, and never complains of any thing, though I fear it is some trouble to him that he hath had no letter for a long time from his cousin Rich; but he speaks not one word concerning it, nor any thing you wrote in your last; only, after I had read your letters to him, being asked whether it was not a great refreshment to him to hear such a gracious spirit breathing in your letters, he said it was none of his least comforts; and indeed, he scarce speaks of any thing but in answer to the questions that are put to him, which are not of many kinds, because he is not capable to answer them. The common and very frequent question is, to know how he doth; and his answer, for the most part, is, Very well, I praise God; which he utters in a very low and weak voice. But sometimes he saith, not very well, or very ill; and then if it be further said, do you feel pain any where? to that he always answereth, No. When he wants any thing, he cannot speak well for it, because he forgets the name of it, and sometimes asks for one thing, when he means another, so that his eye or his finger is his tongue; but his ordinary wants are so well known to us, that most of them are supplied without asking or making signs for them. Some help he stands in need of in every thing to which any motion is required, having not been able for a long time to dress or undress himself, nor to feed, nor ease nature either way, orderly, without help, and it's a very great mercy to him that he hath a friend that takes pleasure in being helpful to him. I bless the Lord that gives me such a good measure of health and strength, and an opportunity and a heart to use it in so good and necessary a work; for though my help be poor and weak, yet that ancient servant of Christ could not well subsist without it; and I do believe, as you are pleased to say very well, that I do enjoy the more health for his sake. I have sometimes wondered much at this dispensation of the Lord towards him, and have some expectations of more than ordinary issue. The Lord help us to profit by all, and to wait with patience upon him, till we see what end he will make with us.

"Thus far I write for myself. I will now ask him what he would have me say to his friends concerning him. The question being asked,

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he ſaith, I am better than I was. And being aſked what I ſhould ſay more to his couſin R. or any other friends; after a long pauſe, he again ſaid, the Lord hath viſited me in much mercy, and hath anſwered his viſitation upon me. (I give you his own words.) Being deſirous to draw more from him, I propoſed ſeveral queſtions; and the ſum of his anſwers was, that he earneſtly deſires the continuance of the fervent prayers of all friends for him." p. 49, 50.

The following anecdote is in Mr Janson's own words.

'During their abode at Hadley, the moſt famous and memorable Indian war of New England took place. This was called King Philip's war. Philip was a powerful ſachem, and reſided at Mount Hope, in Rhode Iſland; where he was ſoon after this war put to death by Colonel Church. All the new frontier towns of New England were attacked, and Hadley was then expoſed as a place of that deſcription. The time the ſavages fixed upon to make the aſſault, was while the inhabitants were aſſembled in the meeting-houſe to obſerve a faſt-day; but fortunately it had been ſome time a cuſtom for the men to attend public worſhip, armed. Had the town been taken, the diſcovery of Whalley and Goffe would have been inevitable. The men took up their arms, and attempted a defence, but were ſoon thrown into confuſion, when (as it is related to this day) a ſtranger ſuddenly appeared among them, of venerable aſpect, and different in his apparel from the inhabitants; who rallied, and diſpoſing them in the beſt military manner, led them to the charge, routed the Indians, and ſaved the town. In the moment of victory their deliverer vaniſhed. The inhabitants, unable to account for the phenomenon, believed that they had been commanded by an angel, ſent from heaven for their protection.

'This ſuppoſed angel was Goffe, who never before ventured from his concealment. Whalley was then in a ſtate of ſecond childhood. Such was their caution to prevent a diſcovery of their retreat, that the inhabitants never knew them, or who it was that ſo ably led them againſt the ſavages, until they both had paid the debt of nature.' p. 51.

The next chapter consists of miscellaneous observations on the climate of North America. It is made up of extracts from books, bits of meteorological registers, loose imperfect tables, and proofs that clearing a country affects its atmosphere. A sudden step is then made to the 'multiplication of wild pigeons,' which is prodigious in New England; 'their abundance,' which is great in Carolina; and the 'fecundity of fish,' which is also astonishing. And so ends the eighth chapter, making way for the ninth, which opens with a remark, that 'Nature is exhibited upon a large scale in America,' and is devoted to many well-known statements respecting the size of the lakes and mountains.

Our author now gives us a relation of his excurſion in Connecticut, which preſents nothing at all remarkable, unleſs it be the badneſs of the accommodation for travellers, the familiarity of ſervants, and the general rudeneſs of the inferior claſſes. All this is

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of courſe aſcribed by Mr Janſon to 'republican liberty and equality.' We need ſcarcely remark, that ſuch manners ariſe naturally out of the circumſtances peculiar to thoſe provinces, extenſive tracts of land, a thin population, and the want of great towns. The only feature in the New Englanders' character which cannot altogether be deduced from thoſe circumſtances, is the impertinent curioſity, of which ſo many pleaſing inſtances have been recorded. But this, like the other peculiarities, has as little connexion with republicaniſm as with monarchy.

'An Engliſh farmer, in the north eſpecially, when aſked the price of his grain, will anſwer with modeſt diffidence; nay, will often be abaſhed at the attempt to undervalue the article. In America, the meaneſt planter muſt go through his routine of interrogatories, and perhaps mount his political hobby-horſe, before you receive an anſwer to your queſtion. Should you happen to obſerve that you can purchaſe for leſs than he demands, he will give you the lie, accompanied with a grin and an oath, and tell you to go where you can obtain it cheaper.

'With the other ſex, whoſe curioſity is generally admitted in other countries to be by no means inferior to that of the men, you may naturally expect to fare no better. This I likewiſe found by manifold experience. One inſtance, which occurred during the excurſion deſcribed in this chapter, ſhall here ſuffice. Seeing a pleaſant little cottage on the river Connecticut, and underſtanding that it was to be let, I knocked at the door, which was opened by a woman, of whom I inquired the rent of the houſe—'And where are you from?'—was the reply.—'Pray madam,' I again aſked, 'is this houſe to be let?'—'Be you from New York or Boſton?' ſaid the inquiſitive dame. The place was ſituated about half-way between thoſe two towns. Impatient at this mode of reply —'I'll thank you, Madam,' I repeated, 'to acquaint me with the price demanded for this little place?'—Pray what may you be?' rejoined ſhe, as if fully determined not to ſatisfy my inquiry till I had gratified her curioſity. I was not leſs reſolute than herſelf, and turned my back in diſguſt.

'Among the females, a ſtranger may ſoon diſcover the pertneſs of republican principles. Diveſted, from that cauſe, of the bluſhing modeſty of the country girls of Europe, they will anſwer a familiar queſtion from the other ſex with the confidence of a French mademoiſelle. I would not, however, be underſtood to queſtion their chaſtity, of which they have as large a portion as Europeans; my object is merely to ſhew the force of habit, and the reſult of education.

'The arrogance of domeſtics in this land of republican liberty and equality, is particularly calculated to excite the aſtoniſhment of ſtrangers. To call perſons of this deſcription *ſervants*, or to ſpeak of their *maſter* or *miſtreſs*, is a grievous affront. Having called one day at the houſe of a gentleman of my acquaintance, on knocking at the door, it was opened by a ſervant-maid, whom I had never before ſeen, as ſhe had not been long in his family. The following is the dialogue, word for word, which

which took place on this occaſion:—'Is your maſter at home?'—'I have no maſter.'—'Don't you live here.'—'I *ſtay* here.'—'And who are you then?'—'Why, I am Mr ——'s *help*. I'd have you to know, *man*, that I am no *ſarvant*; none but *negers* are *ſarvants*.'

'I have frequently heard of an *amuſement* in New England, and particularly in the ſtate of Connecticut, called *bundling*. It is deſcribed as being reſorted to by lovers. The young couple retire to bed, with their clothes on, and there the lover tells his ſoft tale. One author ſays, that "*bundling* has not its origin in New England, as ſuppoſed. It has been practiſed time immemorial in Wales, and is alſo a general practice in the Iſle of Portland. I was informed that ſervant-girls in Connecticut demand liberty to do ſo on hiring—they receive their gallants in the night in bed; with their petticoats tied to their ancles. In Holland, too, this is practiſed amongſt the peaſants, who call it *queeſting*."

The XI. Chapter contains ſome curious, but perfectly well-known particulars of the degree in which toleration exiſts in the United States, and ſome anecdotes relating to certain ſects which are leſs known, but not worth attending to. We extract the following inſtance of toleration with peculiar pleaſure.

'In all the other ſtates, Maryland excepted, the principal merchants and men of property are chiefly of the church of England. The Roman Catholics are the moſt moderate and orderly of the other ſects. They have handſome churches in New York and Philadelphia. At Baltimore, a metropolitan cathedral is building, on an extenſive ſcale, under the patronage and protection of Biſhop Clegget, a man of good ſenſe and erudition, who governs the Catholic church throughout the United States with much propriety. To provide funds, he prevailed upon the government to grant a lottery, in which the Biſhop drew the higheſt prize, and magnanimouſly appropriated it to the uſe of the church; affording a brilliant example to the other dignified clergy to "go and do likewiſe." p. 102.

This chapter on Religious Sects is followed by a great deal of bad biography; but there is ſomething pleaſant in the frankneſs of the confeſſion which our author makes of his motive for introducing it. 'The avidity,' he ſays, 'with which the particulars of the lives of conſpicuous characters are in general peruſed by the public, has induced me to devote a portion of my work to the ſubject of American biography.' This *portion*, however, contains nothing either new or intereſting; and we *almoſt* imagine it may prove too much for the avidity above alluded to, inſatiable as that is.

During his ſtay at New York, Mr Janſon collected a number of notes on that city; but, on comparing them with thoſe which he afterwards collected at Philadelphia, he was induced to ſuppreſs much of them; becauſe 'the preference of the latter city in beauty, regularity, architecture and improvement, is ſo decided;' alſo, 'becauſe

'becauſe the former is more viſited by the Engliſh.' Accordingly he gives us a deſcription, and, what is much better, a neat plan of Philadelphia. It is better, were there no other difference, from the neceſſary omiſſion of Mr Janſon's wit, which his deſcription is tinctured with. We muſt really let our readers taſte a little of this; for it is not fair that they ſhould have none of the bitters, with as many of the ſweets as we can gather in the wilderneſs of weeds now lying ſpread before us. Mr Janſon is angry at the Philadelphians for departing in a ſlight degree from the founder's original plan. He ſays, not only ſo, but 'they have even deviated from the original names of the ſtreets. They now call Mulberry, *Arch* Street. There being no *bridge* near, I ſee nothing *waggiſh* in the alteration, if intended for a ſtroke of wit.'

We muſt give our readers a little more of Mr Janſon, and that for the purpoſe of ſhewing, more ſtrikingly than any general deſcription can do, what ſort of a writer he is; what ſort of remarks he makes on men and manners, and how far he is entitled to deſcant at length, on every occaſion, upon the vulgarity of the North Americans. Mr Parkinſon and Mr Janſon are the authors who indulge the moſt in this abuſe. We meet with very little of it in the Marquis de Chaſtilleux and the Duc de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt. We need not ſay who thoſe French travellers were. Mr Parkinſon we formerly introduced to our readers. Now for Mr Janſon.

'In November, in each year, there are horſe-races in the capital of America. I happened to arrive juſt at this time on horſeback at George Town, which is about two miles from the race-ground. After an early dinner, ſerved up ſooner on the occaſion, a great buſtle was created by the preparations for the ſport. It had been my intention to paſs the remainder of the day at the far-famed city, but, ſtimulated by curioſity, I determined to mingle with the ſporting group.' Having paid for my dinner, and the refreſhment for my horſe, I proceeded to the ſtable. I had delivered my beaſt to a yellow fellow, M'Laughlip, the landlord's head oſtler. This name reminds me of an anecdote of Macklin, the Engliſh theatrical Neſtor. It is ſaid that his proper name was M'Laughlin, but diſſatisfied with the harſh pronunciation, he ſunk the uncouth letters, and called himſelf Macklin. Be that as it may, I went for my horſe, to attend the race, and repeatedly urged my dingy oſtler to bring him out. I waited long with great patience at the ſtable-door, and ſaw him lead out a number without diſcovering mine. I again remonſtrated, and ſoon heard a meſſage delivered to him to ſaddle the horſes of Mr A. Mr B. Mr C. and ſo on. He now appeared with the horſes according to the recent order, leading them by their bridles. Previous to this, I had ſaddled my own horſe, ſeeing the hurry of the time; yet I thought it a compliment due to me that the ſervant ſhould lead him to me. I now ſpoke in a more angry tone, conceiving myſelf inſulted by neglect. The Indian ſourly replied, 'I muſt wait upon the gentlemen,'

(that is, the ſporting ſharpers). 'Then,' quoth I, 'a gentleman neglected in his proper turn, I find, muſt wait upon you.' I was provoked to knock the varlet to the ground. The horſes which he led, ſtartled at the ſudden impulſe, ran off, and before the oſtler recovered from the effects of the blow, or the horſes were caught, I led out my nag, and leiſurely proceeded to the turf.

'Here I witneſſed a ſcene perfectly novel. I have been at the races of Newmarket, Epſom, York, in ſhort I have ſeen, for aught I know to the contrary, one hundred thouſand pounds won and loſt in a ſingle day, in England. On coming up to an encloſed ground, a quarter of a dollar was demanded for my admiſſion. Rather than turn back, though no ſportſman, I ſubmitted. Four-wheeled carriages paid a dollar, and half that ſum was exacted for the moſt miſerable ſingle-horſe chaiſe. Though the day was raw, cold, and threatening to rain or ſnow, there were abundance of ladies, decorated as if for a ball. In this year (1803) Congreſs was ſummoned very early by Preſident Jefferſon, upon the contemplated purchaſe of Louiſiana, and to paſs a bill in order to facilitate his election again, as preſident. Many ſcores of American legiſlators, who are all allowed ſix dollars a-day, beſides their travelling expenſes, went on *foot* from the capital, above four Engliſh miles, to attend the ſport. Nay, it is an indiſputable fact, that the houſes of Congreſs adjourned at a very early hour to indulge the members for this purpoſe. It rained during the courſe, and thus the law-makers of the country were driven into the booths, and thereby compelled to eat and pay for what was there called a dinner; while their contemplated meal remained untouched at their reſpective boarding-houſes. Economy is the order of the day, in the Jefferſonian adminiſtration of that country, and the members pretend to avail themſelves of it, even in their perſonal expenſes.' p. 208-210.

It is Mr Janson's conſtant failing, to dwell at the greatest length upon topics neither peculiar to America, nor illuſtrated with any remarkable degree of happineſs by what is to be found there. He devotes a long chapter to the hiſtory of various theatrical companies, and the adventures of ſecond-rate Engliſh performers, who repaired to America in the way of their profeſſion, beſides many ſcattered notices of the ſame kind in other parts of his book. In like manner, almoſt all his drawings are of the leaſt intereſting kind; they are chiefly views of public buildings, as if thoſe could be any thing but bad imitations of ſecond-rate ſtructures in the Old World. Such as the prints are, we certainly do not admire them the more for their confuſed *aquatinta* execution.

The 'nefarious practices' of the land-jobbers, occupy much of his attention, and call down all his indignation. There can be no doubt that ſuch impoſitions as he deſcribes are frequently practiſed upon the credulity of ſanguine perſons in England. But

But we do not conceive either that the extent of those frauds is so great, or their criminality so deep as he assumes. Where the staple article of commerce in a country is the uncleared land, extensive speculation in that article will naturally lead to unfair arts; and the eagerness of some persons to buy, will encourage the sellers to take undue advantage of it, and to spread it among others. The chance of such impositions must be greatly augmented, if the purchasers live at a distance from the commodity; and really, if men are so blindly fond of speculating in land, as to buy it without inspection, and, consequently, more or less upon the word of the seller, they have themselves to blame should they now and then be deceived by him.

The art of 'cooking up' land for the market, is described by Mr Janson as being generally practised; and his statements, we think, prove rather too much; for he tells us, that a traveller seeing some persons planting a few trees on a rocky soil, and inquiring the purpose of so strange an operation, was immediately informed, that it was in order to 'cook up the land a little' for the English market. Was the English purchaser to pay half a guinea an acre (the price demanded in this instance) without seeing the land himself, or sending an agent, or employing at least an American friend to look at it? Then he had no reason to complain; and indeed the trees were so much into the bargain; for he would have paid the same price though they had not been planted. But, in all probability, he was to send some one who might inspect the ground,—otherwise, indeed, the cookery could serve no purpose; and then, how comes it to pass that the American land-cook is cunning enough to carry on his trick, and foolish enough all the time to tell the wayfaring people what he is about? Our author's story of the fraud practised by the new administration of the state of Georgia upon the purchasers of its lands, comes to us under circumstances that require us to pause and suspect. He is one of the sufferers by the transaction; and the best of men will often, without knowing it, give the most erroneous statement of his own case. Upon the whole, we have not met with any proof materially detrimental to the general character of the Americans, from the practices of land-jobbers. The tricks of certain traders, even in England, where the extent of commercial dealings has naturally checked such incorrect proceedings, might just as fairly be quoted against our mercantile character. From what has hitherto been substantiated respecting the land-jobbers, and the share taken by some of the governments in their speculations, we are disposed to guess, that the lottery department of our revenue, brings fully as much blame upon our rulers, and is

attended with as many little tricks on the part, even of the fair traders, in beneficial chances.

A very diſguſting account is given in chapter XXII. of the ſavage amuſements, known in the ſouthern ſtates, particularly Georgia and the Carolinas. Some perſons having denied that theſe are any longer known, our author relates ſeveral inſtances, ſome of which he witneſſed himſelf. We give the following ſpecimen of his anecdotes upon this topic, premiſing, that though we were to admit their accuracy, they by no means diſprove the opinion generally entertained, that the practices in queſtion are gradually wearing out.

'Paſſing, in company with other travellers, through the ſtate of Georgia, our attention was arreſted by a gouging-match. We found the combatants, as Morſe deſcribes, faſt clenched by the hair, and their thumbs endeavouring to force a paſſage into each other's eyes; while ſeveral of the byſtanders were betting upon the firſt eye to be turned out of its ſocket. For ſome time the combatants avoided the *thumb ſtroke* with dexterity. At length they fell to the ground; and in an inſtant the uppermoſt ſprung up with his antagoniſt's eye in his hand!!! The ſavage crowd applauded, while, ſick with horror, we galloped away from the infernal ſcene. The name of the ſufferer was John Butler, a Carolinian, who, it ſeems, had been dared to the combat by a Georgian; and the firſt eye was for the honour of the ſtate to which they reſpectively belonged.

'The eye is not the only feature which ſuffers on theſe occaſions. Like dogs and bears, they uſe their teeth and feet, with the moſt ſavage ferocity, upon each other.

'A brute in human form, named John Stanley, of Bertie county, North Carolina, ſharpens his teeth with a file, and boaſts of his dependence upon them in fight. This monſter will alſo exult in relating the account of the noſes and ears he has bitten off, and the cheeks he has torn.

'A man of the name of Thomas Penriſe, then living in Edenton, in the ſame ſtate, attempting at cards to cheat ſome half-drunken ſailors, was detected. A ſcuffle enſued; Penriſe knocked out the candle, then gouged out three eyes, bit off an ear, tore a few cheeks, and made good his retreat.' p. 301, 302.

Among the various ſubjects introduced, rather than treated of, by Mr Janſon, in order to catch the eye of idle readers, may be mentioned that of '*Advertiſements.*' He has filled a chapter with ſpecimens of this kind of compoſition, collected from the American newſpapers. In none of theſe is there any thing ſtriking; and they furniſh not the ſlighteſt colour for an opinion prejudicial to the taſte of the country. The London newſpapers of a ſingle week, and the provincial papers of England any one day, would ſupply a much longer chapter of 'eccentric advertiſe-

ments' (as our author calls them), and furniſh better reaſons for doubting the good ſenſe or correct taſte of this country, to ſuch as ſhould be thoughtleſs enough to argue upon a general queſtion by examining the ſingle claſs of exceptions. It is ſcarcely neceſſary to add, that we urge this only againſt the inference from the American advertiſements, and by no means as a denial that taſte, in the United States, muſt neceſſarily be at a low ebb.

If a conſideration of the peculiar circumſtances of thoſe communities could leave any doubt reſpecting this point, it would be removed by attending to the few ſpecimens of the finer arts which from time to time come acroſs the Atlantic. The collection of excerpts and anecdotes now under review, furniſhes ſome additions to our previous knowledge of this ſubject. The poetry of Dr Dwight, for example, is evidently the growth of a country where only the coarſer ſorts of induſtry yet flouriſh. We extract the following lines as a ſample.

'Say, muſe indignant! whoſe the hand
That hurled the conflagrative brand,
A foe to human feelings born,
And of each future age the ſcorn;
TYRON achieved the deed malign,
TYRON, the name of every ſin.
Hell's baſeſt fiends the flame ſurveyed,
And ſmiled to ſee deſtruction ſpread;
While Satan, bluſhing deep, looked on,
And Infamy diſown'd her ſon.' p. 163.

Mr Feſſenden, we are told, (p. 200) is the 'Hudibras of America;' and the following are a few of the neat and pointed lines quoted by our author from that great man's lays.

'Few good and great men can be nam'd
Your ſcoundrelſhip has not defam'd;
And ſcarce a rogue who ought to hang
Who is not number'd with your gang.

Doſt thou remember much about a
Droll 'ſcape of thine once at Calcutta;
When erſt invited to a breakfaſt,
In nooſe you nigh had got your neck faſt?' p. 201.

One of the ſpeeches of Mr Randolph is well known in this country. With great force of argument, it abounds in examples of the worſt taſte. Mr Janſon quotes another oration, beginning with theſe words, upon a bill having been rejected, to which Mr Randolph was hoſtile, '*I ſhall live ten years longer.*' The only notice of American painters, contained in this book, is that of Mr Peale and his family. They are all artiſts, and all named after

after eminent painters. We have Mr Rembrandt Peale, and Mr Titian Peale. Mr Titian is 'a celebrated portrait painter;' and he showed our author portraits of several public characters, 'which he immediately recognized.' This art, therefore, whatever some people may think, *has* made a certain progress in America. With the writers of the New World we are rather better acquainted; but the works of Dr Ezra Stiles, president of Yale College, are not sufficiently known and prized in this country. His book on the 'History of the Three Judges,' formerly alluded to, seems in every way deserving of notice. It was published in 1795; and the following specimen of its style is given by Mr Janson.

'What I have before *narrated*, is delivered upon ſure documents. I ſhall now *narrate* what is only conjectural, and leave it to every one's judgement; only obſerving, that if it ever did take place, no one will doubt but that Dixwell was concerned in it. There is ſomehow preſerved, not in univerſal or general, but in particular and ſtrong lineal tradition, at Newhaven, which is to be conſidered more largely hereafter, that another of the regicides, beſides Dixwell, lies buried in our burying-place, and that this other was Whalley. This is particularly preſerved among the ſextons or grave-diggers, who, it ſeems, for many years, and perhaps ever from the time eſpecially of Dixwell's death, have ſhewn the ſtone marked E. W. for Whalley, as they have that marked J. D. for Dixwell. I have not found the leaſt tradition of Goffe, till I myſelf conjectured it, January 1793, inferring in my own mind, without a doubt, that if Whalley, who certainly died at Hadley, was afterwards removed here, Goffe muſt be here alſo. But of this, I mean as to Goffe's being here alſo, I can find no tradition; yet I find it tenaciouſly adhered to, eſpecially in the line of the grave-diggers, that Whalley is here. I have often examined the E. W. ſtone; but conſider the matter without proof; yet poſſible, but by no means certain. Nor do I wiſh, and leaſt of all attempt, to gain any one's credulity to it, leaving every mind perfectly free and unprejudiced. But as I know that whoever takes the pains that I have done, to trace out, and collect, and digeſt the traditions in Newhaven, will find this among others, however it originated among us; ſo, after this precaution and notification, I ſhall proceed.' p. 54, 55.

Unlimited abuse of private characters is another characteristic of the American press; and into this practice, we are sorry to find that Mr Janson has been initiated by his residence in the United States. He drags individuals into notice without scruple or ceremony. Sometimes he tells what he has picked up concerning persons whose names never found their way into print; sometimes he offers, as his excuse, that the American journalists have already told the story, which is, in truth, no justification whatever. As for his endless invectives against Mr Jefferson and

his party, they belong to another class of wrongs, and only obtain their share of the dignified contempt by which that eminently wise ruler has consigned to oblivion all the spoken and written scurrility of his enemies.

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ART. VIII. *A History of Ireland, from the earliest Account to the Accomplishment of the Union with Great Britain in* 1801. By the Rev. James Gordon, Rector of Killegney, &c. 2 vol. London. 1806.

THE author of this book is already known to the public by a geographical work called *Terraquea*, and an account of the late Irish rebellion. He states it to be the object of the present book, to give a 'clear and succinct account of Irish history, divested of all fabulous and nugatory details, and comprehending whatever is really important and interesting, from the first authentic accounts till the late Union.' A history of Ireland upon this plan, if executed by a writer of adequate talents, would certainly prove an useful work. How far Mr Gordon has succeeded in the undertaking, our readers will be able to judge, from the following account of his book.

The author justly observes, that, previous to the invasion of Henry II., there is little authentic in the annals of Ireland, and nothing to give credibility to that splendid antiquity, rising to the first ages of the postdiluvian world, in which the good Irish, instructed by their O'Flahertys and O'Hallerons, so fondly believe. But it must be observed, that while our author professes to reject from his page whatever is fabulous or uncertain, he, at the same time, ventures to entertain his readers with a very misty discussion about the migrations of the Celtæ and Goths, which contributes about as much to the truth of his history as his intrusive philippic against bull-baiting, and recommendatory advertisement of his own *Terraquea*, do to its propriety. In this part of his work, he takes occasion to speak of the Gael, and of the bard of Morven; and he rejects the poems which bear his name, in a manner the most peremptory and consequential. We can, however, give the admirers of the Caledonian bard the comfort of assuring them, that if his fame shall survive the more redoubtable attack of the learned editor of Macpherson, it does not seem to be in great danger from the *telum imbelle* of the good rector of Killegney. The religion of the antient Irish is matter of as great uncertainty as their origin; but our author conjectures it may have been Druidism; and accordingly seizes the opportunity of enlarging upon the tenets

nets and discipline of that antient superstition. He treats also of the manners and literature of the antient Irish. In speaking of the former, he makes a transition to modern times, and communicates, upon his own authority, a piece of information with which we think our readers cannot fail to be highly gratified. 'I have seen,' says our chaste historian, 'when a boy, a family dining on curds and butter, a piece of the butter being laid upon each spoonful of the former, which was *recommended as an antient and most wholesome food by a priest who was one of the company.*' The author speaks soberly upon the subject of literature, not giving much credit to the reality of those losses which some credulous writers believe the world of letters to have sustained from the ravages of Turgesius, the Omar of the Danes, upon the libraries of the Irish. The middle ages, however, according to our author, produced many suns of science, who went forth from this land of *saints and scholars* to enlighten the darker regions of Europe. We are particularly called to notice *Virgilius Solivagus*, a worthy, who, it seems, was persecuted by one Pope, and recompensed with canonization by another; upon which the author thus expresses himself, printing in italics, in order the more securely to mark the dignity, as well of the sentiment as the occasion.

'Thus are, in all ages, men of superior knowledge, benevolence and candour, envied by the ungenerous, traduced by sycophants, persecuted by men contemptible in understanding but formidable in power; and, after their deaths, revered, and followed in opinion by the judicious and well-informed.' I. 50.

Before we leave the subject of literature, we must communicate, from our author, a piece of very pertinent information, which, we greatly suspect, will be as new and interesting to most of our readers, as it certainly was to ourselves, that the old Irish chronicle of the Monks of Innisfallen 'has lately been translated into English by Mr Theophilus O'Flanegan, a literary gentleman, eminent in the knowledge of the Irish tongue, who keeps an academy at Blackrock, near Dublin.' I. 52.

By this time our readers will have discovered, that the Reverend Mr Gordon is not eminently endowed with talents for history, and that his digressive propensities are not very favourable to the composition of a history of Ireland upon the plan which he himself proposes. The account of the English invasion under Henry II. is prefaced, not with a view of the state of England at that time, but with a summary of the whole of its history, beginning with the etymon of the name. We expected that Pope Adrian's bull would, in like manner, have introduced an account of the origin and progress of the Papal power; but the author lets us off, upon this occa-

ſion, with ſome moral remarks, equally juſt and familiar, upon the hypocritical pretexts which ambition makes uſe of to cloke its wicked deſigns. We have, then, a picture of the ſtate of Ireland, which we cannot do better than quote, as a felicitous ſpecimen of that terſeneſs, rythmus, and epigrammatic force, which characterize Mr Gordon's ſtyle.

'In the perpetual fluctuation of power in Ireland, the nominal ſovereignty had fallen from the houſe of O'Brien in Munſter; and Turlogh O'Connor of Connaught, who had commenced his regal claims about the year 1130, was generally acknowledged prince paramount by the Iriſh chiefs. In this period the dominion of the O'Briens, who ruled in Thomond or North-Munſter, was contracted by the warlike ſteps of Mac-Arthy, who exerciſed an independent ſway in Deſmond or South-Munſter: the princes of Oſſory, Decies, and other territories of Leinſter, paid homage to Dermod Mac-Murchard as their provincial king: Meath was in ſubjection to the family of Clan-Colman: in Ulſter O'Loghlan held the chief command: but his authority was diſputed by Dunleve, prince of Doun or Uladh, who affected independence; and in the diſtrict of Breſſnay reigned Tiernan O'Ruarc, a warlike chieftain.' I. 66.

Theſe dread ſovereigns were, at the era of the Engliſh invaſion, buſily ſignalizing their reſpective adminiſtrations, by hereditary acts of robbery, rape and murder. Such were the occupations of degenerate princes, whoſe anceſtors had doubtleſs, through long periods of refinement, often convened at the *Fes* of Tarah, and joined in claſſic games upon the plains of Tuiltean. As the author gives a more ſimple and perſpicuous account than is cuſtomary with him, of the ſituation in which Ireland was left by Henry, when haſtily called away, to appeaſe, by royal penance, the manes of Becket, and the wrath of Rome, we ſhall extract it for the peruſal of our readers.

'By the inſtitutions of Henry, left fatally imperfect by unſeaſonable interruption, the inhabitants of this iſland became ſeverally ſubject to two very different forms of government; the Britiſh coloniſts to the Anglo-Norman, the ancient natives to the Iriſh, under a new ſovereignty. The condition of the Iriſh princes, who had ſubmitted, was no otherwiſe altered than that they profeſſed allegiance to the King of England inſtead of the King of Connaught. Their Brehon laws, their ancient cuſtoms, their modes of ſucceſſion, and their mutual wars, waged as if by independent potentates, remained as much in force after, as they had been before the Engliſh invaſion. The Britiſh coloniſts, on the other hand, were in the ſame political ſituation with their fellow-ſubjects in England, and governed by Engliſh laws. The king, reſerving as his immediate property the maritime towns and ſome diſtricts, parcelled the reſt of the ſurrendered lands among the leaders of his troops, which they were to poſſeſs by military tenure or feudal right, that is, bound to the

the payment of homage to his majeſty with a ſmall tribute, and to the maintenance of certain numbers of knights and inferior ſoldiers for his ſervice; they were otherwiſe each, in his own territory, abſolute and hereditary lords or princes. The territories aquired by himſelf and his Britiſh ſubjects in Ireland were formed by Henry into ſhires or counties, with ſheriffs and other officers, on the Engliſh model; which counties, afterwards enlarged, formed what was called the *Engliſh Pale*, or that diviſion of the iſland within which the Engliſh law was acknowledged. But even within the pale were many ſepts of Iriſh, governed entirely by their ancient laws, as were the inhabitants of all other parts of the country.' I. 108.

The ſtate of Ireland, for centuries after this period, can only be deſcribed by words which expreſs whatever is moſt lawleſs among men. Hiſtory cannot light upon a more unpropitious period. We queſtion if even the plaſtic powers of a Robertſon could communicate any portion of intereſt to the barbarous and deſultory tranſactions of theſe times. When we have ſaid this, we need not talk of the execution of our good Iriſh rector. He would have acted more judiciouſly, both for himſelf and his reader, had he dwelt leſs upon events in themſelves of little intereſt, and which he is ſo little qualified to embelliſh. The proceedings within the Engliſh pale do not afford any grateful relief to the gloomy picture of Iriſh barbarity. Struggling for exiſtence amidſt internal diſſenſions, and preſerved only by the diviſions of the native Iriſh, the Anglo-Iriſh government exhibits an odious mixture of debility and oppreſſion, verifying the opinion of Burke, * that Engliſh dominion had acquired its ſpirit of hoſtility to the Iriſh, before the diſtinctions of Proteſtant and Papiſt were known in the world. It is painful to reflect, that the acts and deeds of a barbarous ſyſtem, have too often found countenance in kindred proceedings of more enlightened times.

The glorious light of the reformation proved to Ireland only a fiery meteor, announcing a long track of future calamities. This people had truly ſome little reaſon to demur, when their converted ſovereigns came to demand acquieſcence in the new doctrines of religion. England had, among her earlieſt acts, ordained a ſtrict and laſting conformity with the Romiſh church; ſhe held a grant of Ireland from the Papal power, to which her ſovereigns and parliaments had often appealed; and ſhe now ſought to overturn by force what ſhe had herſelf eſtabliſhed; and rebelled, as it might ſeem to them, againſt that ſpiritual authority from which ſhe had originally derived her own powers of ſovereignty. The means which England employed to enlighten her Iriſh ſub-



* Letter to Sir Hercules Langriſhe.

jects upon theſe points, and to reclaim them from the errors of Catholic ſuperſtition, were certainly neither evangelical nor wiſe. Inſulting the miniſters and relics of a cheriſhed religion, and perſecuting its believers by penal enactments, were not ſurely very perſuaſive expedients, either to make converts to Proteſtantiſm, or willing ſubjects to government. 'Nihil eſt enim exitioſius civitatibus, nil tam contrarium juri et legibus, nihil minus civile et humanum, quam compoſita et conſtituta Republica, quidquam agi per vim.' *Cic. de leg.*

The name of Sir John Perrot, one of the Iriſh governors of Queen Elizabeth, deſerves particular notice and commendation in the hiſtory of Ireland. Superior to mean prejudices, he took the old natives of the country under his eſpecial protection; addreſſed himſelf in a manner never attempted before to their generous feelings; and aſpired, by mild, but vigorous meaſures, to bring the whole iſland, without diſtinction of perſons, under one protecting conſtitution. But this man, who ſhewed himſelf capable of rebuilding a broken ſtate, was ſoon compelled, by the oppoſition of the Engliſh within the pale, and the want of ſupport from his ſovereign, to abandon his plans, and reſign his authority into the hands of one (Fitzwilliam), as oppoſite in principle, as he was inferior in capacity. We refer our readers to Leland, and other writers, for a full account of Perrot's ſyſtem and proceedings: meanwhile, we ſhall extract the following brief notice of them from our author.

'The ſcheme of Sir John Perrot was that alone, which, if carried into execution, could render this iſland an acquiſition of any value to the Engliſh crown, or, indeed, prevent it from being a waſteful drain of blood and treaſure from the Engliſh nation. By a ſteady, ſtrict and impartial execution, and gradual extenſion of Engliſh law, he wiſhed to reduce all the inhabitants of the iſland into a ſtate of uniform polity, reformation of manners, peace and proſperity. Having publiſhed amneſty and aſſurance of protection to all who ſhould return to their allegiance, and ſent the ſon of the deceaſed Earl of Deſmond to England, to be rendered by education a fit object of royal favour, he proceeded to viſit the ſeveral provinces, to prepare the way for the execution of his plan. Appointing ſheriffs for the counties of Connaught, and marching to the north againſt ſome Scottiſh invaders, who fled to their ſhips at his approach, he was attended with alacrity by the Iriſh chiefs of Ulſter, who teſtified their wiſhes for the acceptance of Engliſh law, and agreed to the payment of an aſſeſſment for the maintenance of eleven hundred ſoldiers without expenſe to the queen. For the carrying of his plan into effect, he petitioned the Engliſh government for the allowance of fifty thouſand pounds a year during three years, repreſenting it as it really would have been, *the cheapeſt purchaſe which England had made* for a great length of time. His requeſt was declined by the economy

nomy of Elizabeth, who was engaged in the aſſiſtance of the Dutch in their war againſt Spain; and even the abſurd and pernicious jealouſy of ſome, leſt the people of this iſland, no longer weakened and impoveriſhed by inteſtine wars, ſhould become independent of the Engliſh crown. Only a ſmall ſum of money was granted by the queen, who had afterwards ample reaſon to repent, as the ſubſequent wars of Ireland, which would have been prevented, were the cauſe of a vaſt and grievous expenditure.' p. 275–6.

The Irish policy of Elizabeth, certainly contributes nothing to her reputation for wisdom and vigour; and in the regards which she bestowed upon her subjects in that country, there never was any great portion of tenderness. Her successor, James, had a passion for improving Ireland; but there was a large mixture of evil in his plans. The nature and tendency of his system of plantations, and other Irish measures, are by no means well delineated by this author. In his account of the great events of the succeeding reign, indeed of all that took place till the final settlement of the island by King William, when the history of Leland closes, our author invariably adopts the sentiments of that writer; sometimes making large quotations, and often borrowing, without any formal acknowledgment. Nothing that the author can call his own in the way of remark, or comment, or reflexion, once intervenes during this long and variegated portion of history, to mark the exercise of independent judgment. Nor is he by any means fortunate in the selection and disposition of the matter which he borrows; and some interesting pieces of information are either altogether omitted, or very inadequately given. Thus, for example, we have no distinct account of the extent and operation of the Catholic forfeitures, which effected such a signal, indeed unexampled revolution, in the landed property of Ireland. The act of settlement, we believe, transferred to English adventurers 7,800,000 acres; and the forfeitures, at the revolution, 1,060,793 acres. *

By the victories of William, and the total loss of their possessions, the Catholics were thoroughly brought under the yoke; but the war of arms was succeeded by the war of penal statutes, in order the more completely to secure the prostration of these rebellious apostates. Under Queen Anne, the system of rigour and abasement received new refinements: indeed, to use the language of Burke, 'the severe and jealous policy of a conqueror in the crude settlement of his new acquisition, was strangely made a permanent rule for its future government.' The author gives a very indistinct view of the provisions and principles of the penal code; and there is nothing of the spirit or philosophy of history in

* See Plowden's Ireland, &c.

in his feeble and scanty reflexions. Our readers know, that, soon after the revolution, the British Parliament began to assume the right of legislating for Ireland, and of forcibly interfering to restrain and regulate Irish industry. We quote the following passage to make our readers acquainted with the author's manner of thinking upon these subjects.

'Since, from the final submission of the Irish to William the Third, in 1691, this island remained, above a century, free from other than external war, the historian of this period has happily little else to record than Parliamentary transactions; but, unhappily, these were sometimes of such a nature as, more permanently than war, to sink the nation in poverty and barbarism. In the peaceful period, since the surrendering of Limerick, this country has been of important service to her sister kingdom, but of vastly less than she would have been, if the English Parliament had acted towards her with a policy guided by common sense, or common justice. The glorious revolution of 1688, which established in England an unparalleled system of civil freedom, was far from extending the benignity of its influence in the same degree to Ireland, where it only secured the administration of internal government exclusively to the Protestant inhabitants, while these same Protestants, the conquerors, or the offspring of the conquerors of this country for the English Crown, were, in common with the Catholics, treated as a conquered people by the English Legislature, whose laws, with equal cruelty and impolicy, precluded them from availing themselves of the fruits of their own industry.' II. 184.

The restraints, to which the author alludes, make, indeed, a long chapter in the history of Irish grievances. Previous to the restoration, we believe, the commercial privileges of the two countries stood on the same footing; but, soon after that period, it seems to have been discovered that the sister states had in this respect very opposite interests, and that the wealth and resources of the one would be greatly enlarged by diminishing those of the other. The restraining system was, as we have already said, grievously extended after the revolution, and continued in full force till the year 1779, when the spirit of the country, boldly and successfully exerted itself in procuring a material relaxation. By the articles of Union, many of the remaining restraints were at length removed, and the commerce of Ireland again replaced on a footing of equality and reciprocity.

In the account here given of the reigns of George the First and Second, there is great lack both of matter and judgment; insomuch, that the author stoops from the dignity of history to to record political toasts, satires, and witticisms. Here, too, Lord Chesterfield's administration is made to introduce the subject of his letters; and we have the authority of the rector of Killegney to say, that this collection of paternal hortatives to fri-

volity and gallantry, attaches no blame whatever to his Lordship's character. We cannot say that the author is more judicious or instructive in his account of the present reign, than in the other parts of his work. His narrative, never very luminous, is, as usual, clumsily broken by frivolous, unmeaning, or inapplicable digressions. The French revolution introduces a long dissertation; in the course of which, the author makes a discovery, which we must communicate to our readers, that Mr Burke's book on that subject was written purely in revenge for the destruction of the Catholic religion in France, to which he avers that statesman had a most heretical affection. Among other impertinences, he moreover introduces a discourse upon the merits and fate of his book on the rebellion; and this notable piece of egotism is quaintly entitled 'the history of a history!' From all this the reader must see, that our author never trifles with his subject; that he faithfully adheres to his plan of noticing only what is important and interesting; in a word, that his notions of history are purely classical.

We should, however, give an unfair review of the book, did we not admit that the account of the rebellion is interesting, and, upon the whole characterized by a benevolent and manly spirit. It would not indeed be difficult to shew, that he occasionally offers inadmissible apologies for that arbitrary system which was adopted upon the recal of Lord Fitzwilliam *; and throws the whole of that blame, which ought to be shared with the authors, upon the immediate agents of the system. But we gladly relinquish strictures, which we could not pursue, without recurring to transactions but little accordant either with British magnanimity or British justice.

We must also remark, in favour of the author's liberality, that he is very decided for Catholic emancipation; and as his opinion has the sanction of local knowledge and experience, we quote his words.

'A more kind-hearted and obliging people than the Catholics of Ireland, I am perfuaded, can no where be found; and I muft confefs that I feel for them a ftrong affection: Nor can I entertain a doubt of their inviolable attachment to the Britifh government, if they were once fully admitted to an unqualified participation of its benefits.' Vol. II. P. 507.

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* We believe, that the kind of proofs which the conful Pliny requires of a good governor of a province, were never more abundantly produced than upon that occafion. 'Volo ego qui provinciam rexerit, non tantum codicillos amicorum, nec urbana conjuratione eblanditas preces, fed decreta coloniarum, decreta civitatum alleget.' *Panegyr. Traj.*

We have nothing further to say of this book, but that it is as defective in composition as it is in all the higher attributes of history. The style is tame and loose, full of conceits, heavy expletives, and uncouth inversions. In short, we would exhort the reverend author to think no more of writing *history*, but to bestow his labour, where we hope he will reap more success, upon the cultivation of his vineyard in the church.

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ART. IX. *Speech of Mr Deputy Birch in Common Council.* March 5. 1807. London, 1807.

*Speech of the Right Honourable Lord Hawkesbury, in the House of Lords, on Friday, the 10th of May 1805, on the Subject of the Catholic Petition.* 2d Edition. London, 1805.

*Cursory Reflections on the Measures now in Agitation, in favour of the Roman Catholics of the United Kingdom.* By a Loyal Irishman. London, 1807.

WHEN Sir John Throckmorton's publication on the subject of the Catholic claims came before us, * we were certainly impressed with an opinion, that, unless in an incidental manner, the subject would not again challenge our attention for some time to come. Since, however, circumstances, at that time unforeseen, have called a new host of pamphleteers into play, and given the enemies of what we deem sound and liberal policy another triumph, we will not be wanting to our duty, nor suffer the errors which we think have beguiled the multitude, to pass without refutation or reproof. What we shall offer will be little. Plain reasoning commonly lies in narrow compass; and though we are no orators, as Deputy Birch is, we are still inclined to think, that some little effect may be produced by sober reasoning, even opposed to his eloquence, though it flow more sweet than the macaroon, and more ardent than turtle-soup.

It would be very foolish to contend, that all who oppose the pretensions of the Roman Catholics, are narrow and fanatical bigots, actuated by an intolerant hatred of those who dissent from their own creed. They comprehend, unfortunately, too large a portion of the public, to be reviled, or turned into ridicule. We may very possibly, in the present state of British opinion, belong to a minority; no good reason, we presume, for concluding us to be in the wrong; but certainly a very proper inducement

* Vol. VIII. p. 311.

inducement to keep us within bounds, and prevent the retaliation of such indiscriminate charges as are for ever in the mouths of our adversaries. There are, in fact, so many sensible and judicious, as well as conscientious men, who hesitate about the propriety of such a bill, as was lately brought into Parliament, for the purpose of admitting the Catholic subjects of the King to military and naval command, that it is worth while to attempt winning them over, by somewhat a more legitimate sort of logic than the writers on their side are wont to adopt. And though we remember the words of Montesquieu, 'lorsqu'il s'agit de prouver des choses claires, on est sûr de ne pas convaincre;' we are not without hope, that some such men may retire from the discussion with less unfavourable impressions than before.

As we are desirous to address our observations to such men as these only, we assume it as an admitted point, that, *provided* such relaxation of our laws can be proved not to endanger the established church, it ought, on a double account, to be granted; both for the sake of the individuals, to whose industry and fair ambition it gives encouragement; and for the sake of the nation, whose effectual strength it tends greatly to augment. If any man denies this conditional position, we wish him to read no farther; his is *insanabile caput*, and argument will be of no use to him. Of the advantage which the nation would derive from opening, as it were, a fresh mine of labour and talents, by admitting the Catholics into those stations from which we exclude them, we have said enough in our review of Sir J. Throckmorton; * and, certainly, the military and naval professions would afford the most striking illustrations of our general remarks. And to this, when we join the consideration, that such measures would conciliate many, and probably silence all of those whose disaffection we dread in Ireland, it is inconceivable, that any really temporate man can avoid wishing at least to be persuaded, that no evil would be felt, where so much good would certainly be effected. 'Primum ita esse velim,' says an ancient of the soul's immortality; 'deinde, etiamsi non sit, persuaderi mihi velim.' We do not recommend this anxiety to believe a proposition as very philosophical; yet when we see how the judgement of men is ever cheated by their inclinations, we cannot help suspecting, that those who are so quick of alarm at the Catholic claims, have never appreciated the undeniable benefit of admitting them. It is unlike all we know of the human mind, that men should put the most strained suppositions, and the most improbable cases, to defeat their own wishes, and to withdraw their assent from measures, which they sincerely desire to approve. Let us begin by

* Vol. VIII. p. 312.

by feeling for the Catholics of Ireland, as for men and fellow-citizens, entitled, upon each account, to every benefit which we can securely bestow; and unless we are much deceived, the dangers with which we are threatened by Lord Hawkesbury and Mr Deputy Birch, will not make much impression on the most anxious and zealous well-wisher of our establishment.

To such zeal and such anxiety, we offer no violence. We readily admit, that the Protestant church is, at all events, to be maintained in every civil right, with which it is invested by law. The question is thus reduced within due limits. We have only to inquire whether a certain great improvement can be made in our situation, without risking a certain definite mischief, which is agreed to be more than commensurate with it. We have nothing to do with the merits of the Protestant and Catholic persuasions, relatively to their intrinsic truth. We have as little to do with the advantages or disadvantages of a religious establishment. A Protestant establishment is taken for granted in the discussion; as it has been by every eminent person who has taken up the cause of the Catholics; though certain people have not scrupled to borrow from Lord George Gordon the senseless imputation of attempting *to bring in Popery*, and cast it on the most conspicuous characters of which our country can boast. Nor shall we condescend to answer those, who charge the Catholics with averseness to civil liberty, and with principles of arbitrary power. This calumny is never propagated, but among the populace; not that it is more palpably gross than many others which pass muster; but perhaps, because, in some very anticatholic circles, it might look like panegyric. What then are the arguments, by which the request of one fourth part of the people, to fight the battles of the rest, has hitherto been resisted? It is, of course, unnecessary for us to do more, than to answer the reasons adduced by the opposite side. They have the *onus probandi*, and let us see how stoutly they undergo it.

1. 'To admit Papists to hold certain commissions in the army, is a proposition more inimical to our glorious constitution, than ever was attempted by any minister to obtain the sanction of parliament: for Popery, when introduced through a military channel, takes its most tremendous and relentless shape; and, when once introduced, will be irrevocable; it will be impossible to retrace the fatal and false steps with which it is in this case attempted to delude you.' Deputy Birch's Speech, p. 9.

Now, what is it that Deputy Birch is afraid of? Is it that the King (we use the word, of course, generally) may send half a dozen regiments, commanded by Catholics, to dissolve the Parliament? Or that these officers may conspire to do the same of their own accord, and

and turn both King and Parliament out of doors? It is necessary to come close to the point, if we would avoid being imposed upon by words without meaning: all generalities must be resolved into particulars, before their value can be estimated; and the Protestant alarmists are bound to state precisely what it is they would have us apprehend. One of these two alternatives they must take. And can they seriously conceive, that the constitution can be *violently* overturned (for any thing but violence is out of the question, when we speak of danger resulting from military command) by a few Catholic officers and privates, while the mass of the army, and of the people, are Protestant? Let us ask, is there no motive but religion, which can lead an officer to betray his trust, or a king to entertain ambitious views? Yet, which of these alarmists dreams of such a transaction occurring with a Protestant king and a Protestant army? Suppose the army to consist of a hundred regiments, and that ten colonels of these are Catholics, by what process are the smaller number to overbalance the greater? But the king may cashier all the Protestant colonels in a moment, and replace them by Catholic creatures of his own. This is really too ridiculous to be answered; and yet very sensible men have been talking and acting, as if it was their real expectation. For, unless something of this kind be done, it is morally impossible that a Catholic army can set their yoke upon us.

2. 'It is well known that his Majesty enjoys the Crown in virtue of certain limitations. Shall the Royal Family be the only one in the kingdom liable to such restrictions? Can it be highly reasonable, for the sake of public good, to limit the capacity of succeeding to the Crown; and highly unreasonable, *though there be the like occasion for it*, to limit the capacity of private men to be captains and colonels.' Deputy Birch's Speech, p. 11.

Not at all unreasonable, if *there be the like occasion for it.* There is an odd fallacy here, which has misled more intelligent men than Deputy Birch. It is represented as an absurdity, to leave a restraint on the King, which we would take off from the subject. But, on the same principle, Protestants and Papists should be prohibited from intermarrying; or at least the husbands of Catholic women should be excluded from offices of trust, which has never been contended. There is, it should seem, a very plain reason for the distinction. We are not called upon to take off the restriction from the inheritance of the Crown, as we are from the Catholics of Ireland. No benefit is likely to accrue from repealing that part of the Act of Settlement, equivalent to the popular outcry which it would occasion; nor while the succession continues in its present course, is it likely that any King of England should desert

ſert the ſyſtem in which he was educated. But we are free to admit, that circumſtances may be conceived, in which that conformity to the eſtabliſhed church, which the Act of Settlement requires, might be found extremely perplexing. Let us ſuppoſe that William III., or the Houſe of Hanover, had refuſed the crown upon thoſe terms. Let us ſuppoſe that all foreign princes had, at that time, been as zealouſly attached to their own forms, as ſome of the church of England are to theirs. Would it have been worth while to have aboliſhed the monarchy, or to have ſuffered a civil war among our domeſtic claimants, for the ſake of retaining this proviſion? The caſe, we admit, is very improbable; but thoſe who ſtrive to urge us with the moſt unlikely caſes, muſt not complain of them in return.

3. 'The Catholics refuſe the oath of ſupremacy to our Moſt Gracious Sovereign; this, evidently, would be a palpable contradiction to the oath already taken by them of the ſupremacy of the Pope.' Dep. Birch, p. 10.

There is *no* oath of ſupremacy *to our Gracious Sovereign* in exiſtence; if there were, our Scottiſh nation would refuſe to take it. We acknowledge no earthly head of the Chriſtian church. The real oath is merely negative; and only excludes all *foreign* authority and juriſdiction, eccleſiaſtical and ſpiritual. A French Catholic would refuſe ſuch an oath; and why ſhould a King of England expect more undivided allegiance than Bonaparte?

4. 'The Catholics do not believe the obligation of oaths taken to heretic princes, or, which is the ſame thing, they believe that the Pope can diſpenſe with ſuch oaths.'

Why, then, do they not take every oath you impoſe? Either they are excluded at preſent by a ſyſtem of oaths, or they are not. If they are not, the battle is about repealing a nugatory law; if they are, the imputation is plainly calumnious. But this charge may be repelled more directly, as we ſhall ſee, before the cloſe of the article.

5. 'The Catholics did not tolerate us when they were in power; why ſhould we be more indulgent to them? Have we forgotten Guy Faux, and bloody Queen Mary?'

Thoſe who perſecuted Proteſtants are not the ſame individuals who would derive advantage from repealing the teſts; and, if they were, what a mean-ſpirited vindictiveneſs would there be in retaliation! But, a word more about perſecution. The church of Rome, we admit, in the middle ages, was as intolerant as worldly ambition and religious bigotry could render her; but this was not ſo much the natural conſequence of her tenets, as the reſult of the ſtate of the human mind in thoſe times. She perſecuted the Albigenſes in the twelfth century, becauſe it was the twelfth century; becauſe toleration had not been proved in theory,

and tried in practice, to be the beſt means of preſerving quiet, and ſecuring truth. Proteſtants were burned in the reign of Mary, becauſe ſhe was furious and fanatical. Elizabeth was wiſe and temperate, and not diſinclined to the Catholics by principle: her reſtrictions on them, accordingly, though ſometimes very ſevere, were founded on political conſiderations; yet perſecution was not at an end. Are our opponents aware, that two perſons were burned for hereſy in the reign of Elizabeth, and two others in that of James I.? However, it muſt be allowed, that the Roman church has always been more ſlow to admit principles of toleration than our own. All this, however, is beſide the main point, which is, not what are the faults of popery, but what are the dangers of letting in a few Catholic officers, among a great majority of Proteſtants, into our army and navy.

'6. If this conceſſion be made, more will be aſked in future; as you recede, they will advance. The penal code was repealed; the civil reſtrictions mitigated; the elective franchiſe granted: All theſe have been ſteps to new demands. It is neceſſary to ſtop ſomewhere; and no point can be better than this.'

If you diſpoſſeſs a man of his ſeat in the gallery of the Houſe of Commons, will he be ſatisfied if you give him back three inches to ſit down upon? Will he not naturally encroach, and edge on further and further, till he has got back as much as you took from him? But, having done this, is it ſo certain that he will proceed further, and become the aggreſſor in his turn, though by rather a fair retaliation? Whoever has witneſſed ſuch a tranſaction as this, muſt have obſerved that peace was ſure to be reſtored by doing full juſtice to the injured party; but never till then. It is the ſame in public affairs. We inſtanced, formerly, the contests of ancient Rome, which were only terminated by a fair partition of privileges between the Patrician and Plebeian orders. An orator, not leſs eloquent than Deputy Birch or Lord Hawkesbury, has ſagaciously remarked with what difference, in point of earneſtness, men contend for their rights, and for their ambition. ὐχ ὁμοιως ουδεις ὑπερ τε τυ πλεονεκτεῖν πολεμησειεν αν, και των ἐαυτου· αλλ' ὑπερ μεν ὠν ελαττουνται, μεχρι του δυνατου παντες πολεμουσιν, ὑπερ δε του πλεονεκτεῖν, ουχ ουτως· αλλ' ἐφιενται μεν, ἐαν τις ἐχ· ἐαν δε κωλυθωσιν, ουδεν ἠδικηκεναι τυς ἐναντιωθεντας αυτοις ἡγυνται. Dem. π. τ. P. 1. p. 193. edit. Reiske.

But, ſetting this aſide, will they be more enabled to obtain further demands, by having gained theſe? Either theſe are reaſonable in themſelves, or they are not. If they are, it is ridiculous to pretend that they can afford a pretext for unreaſonable conceſſions. If they are not, let that be proved, and there is an end of the diſcuſſion. Or is it conceived that they will gain

more political strength, by being admitted into the army, and thus compel what they wish? This comes to what we have considered already,—the folly of imagining a Catholic Colonel Pride, issuing out of the mass-house, and purging the walls of St Stephens of those who have rendered it any thing rather than a house of prayer. A former House of Commons withstood, with courage and dignity, the menaces of a fanatical mob in 1780; the present, we are sure, would display equal firmness. We trust, however, that those who, to gratify their own ambition, swell the same war-whoop at this day, will instruct their agents to check the populace in time, and save our Senate from insult, and our capital from conflagration.

7. 'The King, at his coronation, swears to maintain the rights and privileges of the Protestant church: to admit Catholic officers into the army would violate that oath.'

If no other argument against the measure is found, this must fall to the ground of course; for, unless the rights and privileges of the Protestant church can be proved to be put in danger by the concessions in question, it is idle to talk of the coronation oath. But, even if we admitted that danger, we utterly deny the pertinence of the present objection. The coronation oath has no sort of relation to the King's acts, as part of the Legislature; it binds his conscience as an executive magistrate only. All the clauses of the oath bear no other construction; and no other, indeed, is consistent with the nature of such an obligation. While the sallies of the prerogative were justly feared, every check, whether of religion or law, was naturally imposed on the monarch. To bind his hands from consenting to the advice of his Parliament, was surely far from the intention of those who framed that solemn oath, and was indeed so considered, when a modification of it was proposed soon after the revolution; as may be seen in Grey's Debates, vol. 9. Even a distinct oath, not to grant favours to the Catholics, as it must be imposed by the people of England, might be released by their representatives. No moralist considers a promise as obligatory, which is released by the promisee; and an oath is but a more solemn promise.

The speech of Mr Deputy Birch is such as might be looked for from one of his calling; it surfeits the understanding, without substance or nourishment. Indeed, we owe some apology to our readers, for noticing such a performance at all; but, in truth, the arguments of greater men, in greater assemblies, are, at bottom, little better than his; and we thought it fit to take hold of an *author*, if we may apply the word so laughably, who had not the art to varnish over his absurdities with that loose verbiage, which our limits would not permit us to transcribe and detect.

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The speech of Lord Hawkesbury, on the Catholic Petition in 1805, is more decorous, though not much more profound, than that of Mr Birch. As we have no leisure for a detailed comment upon it, we shall only note, that he dwells on the incompatibility of a Protestant King, and Catholic advisers; on the foreign jurisdiction which those of the church of Rome necessarily acknowledge; and upon the little likelihood that the concessions then requested would satisfy the claimants. These topics we have touched upon already; and, when we add to these, the common praise of the revolution and William III. on one hand, and of the church of England on the other, we have mentioned every thing, we believe, that the speech of this eminent statesman contains. One assertion struck us as rather singular.

'In the beginning of the reign of Charles II., when the tide ran high in favour of monarchy, the only resistance which was made to that Prince for some years, was made by the church party; and to their opposition, at that time, we were indebted for the preservation of any part of our political liberties.' p. 36.

The Presbyterians of that age, his Lordship doubtless imagines to have been slaves of the Court, of which the distinguished favour that was shewn them, especially in Scotland, would have afforded him a cogent proof. But we, who are of course not so well read in history as Lord Hawkesbury, had taken it into our heads that no opposition at all was made to the arbitrary conduct of Charles II. by the Church party, and especially in the beginning of his reign.

The cursory reflexions by a Loyal Irishman, are the effusion of some furious bigot of the Orange faction, who founds his claim to public estimation on traducing such men as the Duke of Bedford and Sir John Newport. The Irish administration of the former, it is asserted, had formed a compact for a change of the religion of the state. 'England was to be *Protestant*, Scotland *Presbyterian*, and Ireland *Catholic*.' (p 5.) Such is the ignorance of a man who affects afterwards to talk of bulls and councils, of canon law and casuistry. The disturbances occasioned by the Thrashers, though their depredations were notoriously as much levelled at the Catholic clergy, as at the Protestant, are ascribed by this writer to the effect of the system adopted by administration; nor has he any scruple to assert, that Government, in order to repress them, had recourse to the same measures of coercion as were adopted in 1798, and that 'the reign of terror recommenced.' (p. 10.) A gross and palpable misrepresentation; as it is perfectly well known, that no measures, beyond the legal course of proceedings, were resorted to by the administration of the Duke of Bedford. It was reserved, we believe, for this

writer to maintain, that Catholics might have been admitted with more pretence into the Irish Parliament before the Union, than into that of the empire. 'She might have introduced popery into her legislature, and not have infected the British constitution *with that foul pestilence.*' There is, indeed, a scurrility and intemperance which runs through this whole pamphlet, hardly paralleled even by the writings of Dr Duigenan; and, were it not for the grossness of the ignorance occasionally displayed, we should suspect that classical pen to have been employed. But we have that to complain of, which is continually the case with these loose pamphleteers. There is no assertion made, which it is worth while to contest, because there is none which any other man would maintain; there is no argument for us to attack, because there is none advanced; there is no fact to examine, because, with hardly an exception, none are brought forward. The only part of this pamphlet which has a semblance and speciousness about it, is what relates to the supposed refusal of the English Catholics to renounce the dispensing power of the Pope.

'In an encyclical letter from the four vicars apostolic in England, dated January the 1st, 1791, it is asserted and maintained, that the authority to determine on the lawfulness of oaths, declarations, and other instruments whatever, containing doctrinal matters, resides exclusively in the bishops, they being, by divine institution, the spiritual governors in the church of Christ, and the guardians of religion. In conformity with this fundamental and eternal dogma of the church, these vicars apostolic condemned, in the fullest manner, the attempt of offering to Parliament an oath, including doctrinal matters, to be there sanctioned, which had not been approved by the bishops. They exhort all good Catholics, in their respective districts, to oppose the attempt, and to prevent such an oath from being carried into effect.

'A protestation had been signed by all the bishops and clergy, and all the laity, of any consequence, of the Roman Catholic communion in England, disavowing the five following propositions.

'1st, That princes, excommunicated by the Pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other.

'2d, That the Pope can absolve subjects from their allegiance.

'3d, That the Pope hath a civil jurisdiction within the realms of other princes.

'4th, That the Pope is infallible.

'5th, That a breach of faith with a person may be justified, under pretence that such a person is an heretic, or an infidel.

'This protestation was followed by a proposed oath, framed on the precise terms of the protestation, and renouncing, in an immediate appeal to God, what the subscribers had before renounced by their protestation; and this oath it was, as I have said, that provoked the anathema pronounced by the Catholic vicars, against all who should concur in the measure of proposing such an oath to Parliament, to be sanctioned there,

there, and to be impoſed upon the Catholics, as it contained doctrinal matters, of which the biſhops alone were, by divine inſtitution, to judge.

'Now, what will our profound parliamentary caſuiſts ſay to this authentic document? Here we find what are the doctrinal matters, propoſed and maintained by the church of Rome to this day, and with which its biſhops forbid all good Catholics to interfere. Will theſe caſuiſts ſay, that the propoſitions contained in the proteſtation, and to be included in the oath, do not contain the identical opinions and tenets, on the profeſſion of which the principle of excluſion, at the periods of the revolution, and of the acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover, was grounded? Will they ſay that theſe are not the principles which originally created the political neceſſity of excluding all who profeſſed them from all political power under a Proteſtant ſtate? Yet they are the principles which the Catholic biſhops declare to be doctrinal, and to contain religious opinions, on which none but the guardians of religion are to decide.

'But this is not all. This proteſtation was ſigned by ſix biſhops, and 218 of the inferior clergy, and almoſt the whole laity of that perſuaſion in England, diſclaiming the doctrines, againſt which it proteſted, as "dangerous to ſociety, and totally repugnant to political and civil liberty." It was preſented to both Houſes of Parliament as "the pledge of the honour of Engliſh Catholics, and the public monument of their uprightneſs." Yet a year had not elapſed before this inſtrument, thus declared to have been conſecrated on the altar of Catholic honour and uprightneſs, was, on a communication with the court of Rome, and, in conſequence of its injunctions, officially condemned, when propoſed to be changed into the form of an oath, by four of the biſhops who had ſigned it. With the very ſame pen that had ſet their names to the proteſtation, thus ſolemnly and deliberately laid before Parliament, they declared the oath, which was to follow as a thing of courſe, to be unlawful; and, as unlawful, they interdict it to all good Catholics.'

It is by such disingenuous statements as these, that the credulous and indolent are misled into prejudices against the Catholic body in Great Britain and Ireland. Would any man doubt, from reading the extract which we have laid before him, that the English clergy of that persuasion had actually refused to renounce the deposing power of the Pope, and the doctrine of keeping no faith with heretics? Yet it is certain that the act for the relief of Roman Catholics, which passed in 1791, 31. Geo. III. c. 32, contains an oath, conceived in as full terms as can well be framed, expressly renouncing those tenets, 'on the profession of which, according to this writer, the principle of exclusion, at the period of the revolution, and of the accession of the House of Hanover, was grounded.' *Habemus confitentem reum.* If they were excluded on no other principle, let the gates be thrown wide open to receive them; for the oath imposed in 1791, *has*

*been taken* by every priest and layman of any eminence throughout Great Britain. *The infallibility of the Pope* is not indeed disclaimed by the existing oath, whatever may have been the case with that to which objections were made; and certainly it seems inconsistent with the spirit of the act, to make any theological point a condition of toleration. What were the actual grounds of objection to the proposed oath, made by the English bishops in 1790, we do not know; probably they would have appeared to us, as they did to Lord Petre and Sir John Throckmorton, very unwarrantable. But be they what they might, they were recognized by the Legislature, and the oath was actually modified in conformity to their wishes. Upon this point, we shall take the liberty of quoting a passage from an unpublished tract of Sir John Coxe Hippisley, on the Catholic Petition.

'If any blame attaches to the apostolic vicars in England, from the objections raised by them, as he observes, in 1791, they must bear it in common with the Legislature, which sanctioned their scruples, by adopting the amendments proposed by them. A right reverend prelate (the Bishop of St Asaph) of the Established Church, must also submit to bear his share of the learned gentleman's censure, as that prelate has so recently said in his place, "That it was very true that the apostolic vicars forbade the taking the oath, not that they were unwilling that their people should swear to maintain the Protestant succession, but that the oath, as framed in the Lower House, contained some theological dogmata which they deemed, and in my judgment" (observes his Lordship) "rightly deemed, as impious and heretical." The dogmata I allude to, is an abjuration of the legitimate authority of the priesthood; abjurations which I, as a Protestant bishop, could not make; and I should impute great blame to any priest of mine who should condescend to make them. It was on account of these abjurations that the apostolic vicars reprobated the oath as it stood in the first bill; and when it was amended in that part, as it was in this House (House of Lords), they made no further objection. On the contrary, when the bill had passed, they exhorted their people, clergy as well as laity, to take the oath as it now stands; and they have, as I believe, themselves taken it." p. 19.

The tract of Sir John Hippesley, from which we have made the above extract, hardly falls within our province as reviewers, as it has not hitherto been exposed to public sale; yet we cannot refrain from giving another passage, illustrating the nature of that papal supremacy, of which such terrific notions are entertained by the vulgar class of thinkers, and have too often been studiously inculcated by men, whose rank and reputed talents have given currency to the assertion.

'In forming a judgment on this material question of ecclesiastical supremacy, we find the case too frequently tried by rules which do not apply

apply to it,—by a fancied analogy which has no relation to it. The powers exerciſed by our clergy, though denominated eccleſiaſtical, involve principally civil and temporal rights. Of this deſcription are tithes, glebes, &c. of material churches. Excommunication itſelf, in the eſtabliſhed church, is inflicted as a mere civil puniſhment.

'The ſupremacy of Rome, the exerciſe of which may be regulated by the modes I have on other occaſions ſuggeſted, and to which I ſhall again preſently advert, as ſanctioned by the inſtitutions of other ſtates, can militate againſt no civil or temporal rights, and cannot trench on the duties of civil allegiance; in fact it is confined to a ſubordination purely ſpiritual; a ſupremacy which is conſidered inherent in other churches as well as that of Rome. If the power be purely ſpiritual, it little imports the ſtate, as far as its temporal intereſts are concerned, where that power is lodged,—whether with the Patriarch of Moſcow, or the Pope of Rome,—provided the ſtate is ſatisfied with ſuch pledges as Catholics are called upon to give, in the oaths of 1791 and 1793, in which they declare, "that they do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, ſtate or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil juriſdiction, power, ſuperiority or preeminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm." It is contended, therefore, that the independency of this purely ſpiritual ſupremacy, admitted in the perſon of a foreign prelate, or rather in the church of which he is conſidered as the chief organ, can, in no manner whatever, interfere with the duties of allegiance to a temporal ſovereign. The Kirk of Scotland maintains a ſupremacy equally independent of the temporal juriſdiction of the Crown. The General Aſſembly conſiders itſelf paramount in its definitions of doctrine and decrees of diſcipline, and convokes and diſſolves itſelf. The King's commiſſion is not allowed to poſſeſs any authority or controul over the acts of the Aſſembly. This power claimed by the Church of Rome, as diſtinct and independent of all temporal authority, we have ſeen admitted by the moſt jealous legiſlatures; and not inconſiſtently with this acknowledgement, we know that Catholic princes have waged war againſt the Pope himſelf, and reduced him to the ſtate of a priſoner in his capital. * * * * * But in admitting the exiſtence of this ſpiritual ſupremacy of the ſee of Rome, Catholics do not even admit that the Pope ſhall himſelf elect and nominate all biſhops, as in ſome ages pontiffs have aſſumed a right to do, in the ſame manner as they exerciſed other powers which have not even by human authorities been conſidered as legitimately inherent in them." p. 19.

The candid and well-informed author of this tract, which we conſider as highly deſerving of actual publication, is much diſpoſed even to controvert the heinous imputations which have been thrown upon the Church of Rome, in the darker ages of modern hiſtory. Yet charges of ambition and intolerance have been ſo invariably brought againſt her by all Proteſtant writers, and even by many of her own communion, that we cannot avoid

a suspicion that he has sometimes strained this a little too far. The tyrannical domination of papal Rome, forms one of the leading features of civil history during several centuries, and certainly one of the most interesting and curious phenomena which the philosophical reflector upon past times can contemplate. We certainly would not chuse, therefore, to rest the cause upon this ground; let us pare the claws of 'the panther,' without vouching for the milk-white purity of 'the hind.' It is fair, however, to observe, that the canon of the fourth council of Lateran, which seems to sanction the deposition of princes, is suspected of spuriousness by many learned men, and, at all events, involves no matter of faith, to which the Catholics of the present day can hold themselves bound to subscribe. Thus the argument, which has been sometimes brought forward in the guise of a syllogism,—The Catholic church once maintained the deposing power; but, according to the Catholics themselves, what their church once maintained, it maintains still; therefore, it still maintains the deposing power,—is easily repelled. The major proposition is universally denied by the Catholics at this day; but if any Protestant think that there are historical proofs of that, he may securely deny the minor of the premises; since it is clear, that at present no such tenet is held by that church, either in Great Britain or on the Continent. The oath of 1791 refutes the charge as to the former; the answer of six eminent universities in 1788, to certain queries proposed at desire of Mr Pitt, is satisfactory, as to the principal repositories of Catholic theology in Europe. These answers are printed in the Appendix to Sir John Coxe Hippisley's tract, and they may be found in Mr Plowden's history of Ireland.

We have only to add, that in discussing this most important question, either now, or at any other time, no considerations of *party* shall ever enter into our views. If this great national improvement is brought to pass, it matters little to us by what hand it shall be carried into execution. Although recent changes in government have revived the public feeling upon this theme, the abstract merits of the question have no reference to any political connexions. Among those who regret the late administration, there are many who would have refused their aid in breaking down the restrictive laws against the Catholics; among those who are most engaged in the present, there are many whose assent to the justice of the cause which we have espoused has never been withheld or concealed. But if it seem a solecism to write on political matters, without appertaining to some political sect,—if we are to chuse the divinities of our own idolatry,—we must declare ourselves to belong, upon this subject, to the party of Mr Burke, Mr Fox, and Mr Pitt.

ART.

ART. X. *Notice de la Vie et des Ecrits de George Louis Le Sage de Geneve, Membre de l'Academie et de l'Institut de Bologne,* &c. &c. Redigée après ses Notes, par Pierre Prevost. A Geneve, chez Paschoud. 1805.

THE biographical sketch here announced, has more than an ordinary claim to the attention of the reader. The subject of it is a philosopher, who, beside the peculiarities incident to genius, had several that belonged exclusively to himself. These he was careful to study and explain; and the notes which he has left behind him, seem to entitle him to the rare eulogy, of having given an accurate and candid delineation of his own character. His biographer, too, had the advantage of being intimately acquainted with the person whom he has undertaken to describe, and has been attentive to mark whatever appeared singular in the constitution or progress of his mind.

George Lewis Le Sage was born at Geneva in 1724, to which city his father, a native of France, had for some time retired, and lived by giving private lessons in mathematics and natural philosophy. The son was early initiated in these studies; receiving, at the same time, in all the branches of literature, as liberal a course of education as his father's limited income would allow. A marked opposition, however, in their tastes and intellectual propensities, prevented the son from reaping from his father's instructions all the advantage that might have been expected. The old man was well informed; but his knowledge was very much confined to facts, and was accompanied with little tendency to reason, or to generalize. His son, again, even when a boy, delighted in connecting his ideas by general and abstract principles, and was not more inquisitive about facts, than about the relations in which they stood to one another. This propensity arose, in some measure at least, from the weakness of his memory, which forced him to study the most just and constant connexions among things, in order to prevent both words and ideas from escaping his recollection entirely. 'It was thus,' says M. Prevost, 'that we saw him, in his maturer years, and particularly in his old age, avoiding, with the greatest care, whatever could trouble the order of his thoughts, and substituting, with much art, a logical series of mental operations to the effort which the recollection of a single unconnected fact would necessarily have cost him.'

The history of Le Sage does indeed illustrate, in the clearest manner, the relation between the faculties of memory and abstraction, and the power which each has to supply the deficiencies

of the other. Generalization gives us a command over our ideas more complete than we can ever derive from the mere efforts of memory: It holds in its hand the clue by which this latter faculty must be guided through the labyrinth of things; and there is room to doubt, whether the power thus given to the mind is not the main source of the delight arising from abstract and philosophic speculation. Were the memory in itself to become so perfect, as to be independent of connecting principles, generalization would not be necessary, and perhaps would rarely be attempted.

Two minds, both disposed to the acquisition of knowledge, could hardly be constituted with less conformity to one another, than those of Le Sage and his son. When the young man was labouring to classify his ideas, and to reduce them under general heads, the father was perpetually starting objections to his rules, and bringing forward the instances most difficult to be reduced to any general principle of arrangement. This seemed to proceed, not from any desire to embarrass or distress his son, but from a dislike which he had conceived (singular, doubtless, in a mathematician) to general methods, and to all systems whatsoever. The education, therefore, which he gave his son, was truly antiphilosophic, and certainly had no tendency to produce that love of order, system and method which characterized him through his whole life. But the mind may be constituted with some powers so weak, that discipline cannot improve them; and with others so strong, that discipline, when most perverse, cannot destroy them. Nothing could give to young le Sage a memory nearly equal to that of ordinary men; and nothing could take from him a delight and skill in generalization, which were vastly superior.

We must not imagine from this, that the whole plan of the old man in the education of his son, was as perverse as in the case here mentioned: the information he communicated, even with so little of method and arrangement to connect the parts together, was of great value to his son, who, through his whole life, used to speak with much gratitude of his father's attention to his instruction, and of the pleasure and advantage he derived from his conversation.

The inquisitive turn of Le Sage soon displayed itself in questions, to which he did not always receive the kindest or most satisfactory answers, especially from his mother, who appears to have had none of the gentleness and patience necessary for the instruction of children. This led him to think of having recourse to trial and experience, and to interrogate nature rather than any other instructor. One of his first attempts of this sort has

has been recorded in his notes, and, from the singularity of it, deserves to be remembered.

At the time we are now speaking of, the Sabbath was observed at Geneva, with a gloom and austerity of which we in Scotland can probably form a more correct notion than the inhabitants of any other country in Christendom. Le Sage felt some curiosity to know whether the Author of Nature still continued to impose on himself the same law that originally marked the institution of the *day of rest.* It would have puzzled the first philosopher in Europe to think of any method by which this question could be brought to the decision of experiment; but the ingenuity of our young inquirer soon suggested an expedient. He measured, with great care, the increase of a plant, day after day, in order to discover whether it would cease growing on the Sabbath. The result could not fail to solve the difficulty, and to convince the young man, that though the work of creation might terminate, the work of Providence is never interrupted.

The pensive and contemplative turn of Le Sage was increased by the circumstance of his health being delicate, and his temperament too weak, to allow him to join in the fatiguing exercises which amused and occupied his companions. Great modesty, sensibility, and reserve, added, as far as his mother was concerned, to the want of comfortable society at home, condemned him almost to continual solitude, and rendered the acquisition of knowledge his only enjoyment. Thus, from circumstances apparently unfortunate, much of his intellectual excellence may be supposed to have arisen.

It is material to observe every circumstance that gave a determination to a mind that has in any thing attained celebrity; but it is very rarely that this can be done so well as in the instance we have now before us. The father of our young philosopher had but few books; and almost the only entire work on physics, which he possessed, was that of Bernard Palissy. The writings of a man who was self-instructed,—who had paid no regard to authority, when not supported by experience,—who had made valuable discoveries, and reached some very sublime and just notions concerning the structure and the revolutions of the globe, could not fail to make a strong impression on a young mind already inspired by the love of knowledge. However, though Le Sage became a great cosmologist, it does not appear that geology, of which Palissy was in some measure the founder, ever attracted much of his attention.

When he was not much more than thirteen, his father put into his hands the *Antiquité Expliquée* of Montfaucon, in order to excite in him a curiosity about researches into antiquity. It was the fate

fate of this young man, however, to derive, from the means used for his instruction, advantages very different from those that were intended, and often of far greater value. The weakness of Montfaucon's conjectures, concerning the use of many of the instruments he has described, did not escape the observation of Le Sage; and he began even then to try to establish some general and certain rules for discovering the end of a workman from the inspection of his work. Such extent of view, at so early a period of life, has rarely occurred, and must be considered as a decided mark of genius and originality. Some years after this period, connecting the pursuit just mentioned with one closely allied to it, namely, the rules that must guide us when, in the works of nature, we would trace the marks of the wise design of the Creator, he formed the idea of a treatise, entitled Teleology, and of which an account will afterwards be given.

The perusal of Lucretius is one of the events that did most determine the objects of Le Sage's researches, and indeed the whole colour and complexion of his future speculations. The precise time when this happened does not appear, though it was certainly very early, and before he had attained the age of twenty. It was then that he conceived the notion of a mechanical explanation of gravity, and of the reduction of all the motions observed in nature, to the principle of impulsion. This was suggested by the atoms of Lucretius; and the invention of a system by which such an explanation could be given, even with tolerable plausibility, must be considered as a work of great merit by all who know the difficulty with which it is attended, and its importance to philosophy. The system by which Le Sage proposed to effect this great object will be by and by considered.

Le Sage had the good fortune to study mathematics under Cramer, and philosophy under Calendrini, two eminent professors, who then adorned the University of Geneva. When it became necessary for him to make choice of a profession, he gave the preference to that of medicine. The pursuit of this study led him first to Basle, and afterwards to Paris. At the former place, he became acquainted with Daniel Bernoulli, from whom, however, his merit seems to have been completely concealed, by his awkwardness and diffidence. He says of himself, when he entered at this University—'Ill dressed, timid, and expressing myself with difficulty, I was quite neglected in the first months of my stay at Basle; insomuch, that they did not even think it worth while to speak French before me.' He undertook the study of the German, but the weakness of his memory did not permit him to succeed.

The

The same awkwardness could not fail to have effects at Paris yet more unfavourable, as the narrowness of his income must likewise have had; yet he persevered not only in pursuing medicine, but in applying to his favourite objects in philosophy. At last he returned to Geneva; but not having the freedom of a burgess of the city, he was refused the privilege of practising as a physician; and saw himself, in the end, forced to relinquish every other view of fixing himself in life, but that of following the business of his father, and giving lessons in mathematics and natural philosophy.

For this he appears to have been well qualified. He says of himself, that the structure of his mind was such, as had fitted him for understanding the mathematics *well*, but not *extensively*. 'Propre à bien savoir les mathematiques, mais non a en savoir beaucoup.' The first part of this assertion, we imagine, may be understood more literally than the last; though it is probably true that he was not quite master of all the modern improvements of the *calculus*. Some of his remarks on the state of the mathematical sciences in France, are worth attending to. In a letter to the Duke de Rochefoucault, whom he had had the honour to instruct in the mathematics, dated in 1778, he has this observation.

'In their elementary treatises of mathematics and physics, the French writers take so little trouble about the foundations of those calculations which they accumulate without end, that it seems as if they wanted to make all their pupils mere clerks in a banking house, or assistants in an observatory. They treat geometry the least geometrically possible, under the pretence that algebraic demonstrations are the shortest: as if the only object were to get to the end, and as if the road leading to it were of no importance. They are in haste to give a few notions, rather grammatical than intellectual, of the sublimer parts, before they have sufficiently developed the elements. They seem desirous of reducing astronomy, the science of motion, and chemistry, to be nothing but the humble attendants on navigation, gunnery, and the arts; as if all the world was destined for inspectors of the marine, of artillery, or manufactures; and as if the cultivation of reason was nothing in comparison with the art of getting wealth. This was not the proceeding of Descartes or Newton.' p. 272.

This character of the French elementary writers, though, in certain respects, just, evidently has something of the air of satire, and must not be received as perfectly correct. Of too little regard to the methods of pure geometry, and too much haste to reach the more profound parts of the calculus, they may certainly be accused. But a general preference of the methods of algebra and analysis, cannot be regarded as an error, if the foundations of those methods are carefully and accurately explained.

explained. Analytical reaſonings are ſo much preferable to ſynthetical, and the art of inveſtigation is ſo much more eaſily learned in the ſchool of algebra than in any other, that, in a ſyſtem of mathematical inſtruction, this latter ſcience is undoubtedly of the firſt conſideration. It is true, on the other hand, that the methods of analyſis are not confined to algebra. Geometry has its analytical reaſonings, not ſo extenſive, nor ſo general, as thoſe of algebra, but poſſeſſing a degree of ſimplicity and beauty that is not excelled, or rather, we think, not equalled in any other branch of ſcience. It is a ſtronger proof of the neglect of geometry, among the French mathematicians, than any thing that Le Sage has alleged, that in the *Encyclopedie*, intended to exhibit a complete picture of the knowledge of the eighteenth century, the article *geometrical analyſis* is not to be found.

The love of accurate and preciſe knowledge, which Le Sage poſſeſſed eminently, probably qualified him well for a teacher of the mathematical ſciences. He had ſeveral illuſtrious pupils, and none, certainly, who does him more credit than the preſent profeſſor of mathematics in the univerſity of Geneva. M. S. L'Huilier was his relation, and was inſtructed by him in the ſcience which he now profeſſes with ſo much credit both to his maſter and himſelf. He is one of the few mathematicians equally verſed in the ſimple and elegant methods of the ancient geometry, and in the profound reſearches of the modern analyſis.

Le Sage, through his whole life, had to ſtruggle with a feeble conſtitution, as well as the mental defects which have been already mentioned. He was particularly afflicted with ſleepleſsneſs, which, at times, uſed greatly to affect his intellectual powers, and reduce them to a ſtate of extreme debility. Notwithſtanding this, by employing every moment when his mind was clear and active, preſerving ſuch order and regularity as ſupplied the want of memory, committing every thing to writing, and having his papers in a ſtate of the moſt complete arrangement, he was able to accompliſh a great deal, and to devote much time to philoſophical purſuits.

His ſtudies, however, were rendered leſs uſeful than they might have been with the originality of his turn of thinking, the preciſion of his knowledge and the extent of his views, by the number of objects to which he directed his attention, and by his frequent changes from one purſuit to another. Though he came back eaſily to the ſame object, yet this did not entirely make up for the want of the continued application neceſſary in all great undertakings.

Accordingly, though few men wrote ſo much, and ſo accurately, he publiſhed nothing in his lifetime but mere *opuſcula*, and has

has left few, if any, of his numerous manuſcripts completely ready for the preſs.

One of the principal pieces which appeared in his lifetime ſhared the prize propoſed by the Academy of Dijon in 1758, on the cauſe of chemical affinities. He entitled it *Eſſai de Chimie Mechanique*, and endeavoured to explain the whole of chemical action on the principle of impulſe. He ſuppoſed the impelling fluid to be compoſed of particles of two kinds, the one greater, and the other leſs; and he demonſtrated, in virtue of that ſingle ſuppoſition, that homogeneous bodies muſt attract one another more than heterogeneous. This, however, it muſt be confeſſed, comprehends but a ſmall part of the phenomena of chemiſtry. It was connected with the work on gravity, which was the great buſineſs, and the favourite occupation of his life.

An eſſay, '*Sur les Forces Mortes*,' which he ſent to the Academy of Sciences at Paris, was never publiſhed.

In the hiſtory of the ſame Academy for 1756, a remark is inſerted from Le Sage, containing the detection of an error committed by Euclid, in the 11th book of his Elements, on the ſubject of ſolid angles. It is remarkable, that nearly about the ſame time, Dr Simſon of Glaſgow made a ſimilar detection, with reſpect to the manner in which equal ſolids are treated by the Greek geometer.

The tract, entitled, '*Lucrece Neutonien*' was publiſhed in the Berlin Memoirs for 1782.

Beſides theſe, he publiſhed a few other occaſional pieces, and ſeems to have kept up a pretty extenſive correſpondence with ſeveral of the firſt philoſophers of the age. His manuſcripts are, a large treatiſe, '*Sur les Corpuſcules Ultramondains*;' ſubordinate to which is '*Hiſtoire Critique de la Peſanteur.*' This contains much learning, and treats of all the notions that have been entertained on the ſubject of gravity, and all the theories contrived for explaining it. A treatiſe on Coheſion, intended to ſhow that it cannot be explained by the Newtonian attraction, is recommended by M. Prevoſt as a work of great merit, written during the full activity and vigour of the author's mind.

To theſe muſt be added the following;—on Elaſtic Fluids, on General Phyſics, on Logic, on Moral Philoſophy, and on Final Cauſes; alſo, *Melanges Dystactiques*, &c. Among the latter was an Eſſay on Punctuation, concerning which he had a ſyſtem of his own; to this ſyſtem he adhered rigidly; and it is ſaid to be very philoſophical; but, perhaps for that very reaſon, it has never come into uſe.

It may be thought extraordinary, that ſo much ſhould have been done, and yet ſo little completed. The habit of continually

amaſſing materials, without reducing them into form, had grown on Le Sage to an exceſſive degree; and he uſed to apologize for it by ſaying, 'that as long as he could find any thing new to put on paper, he grudged the time that muſt be employed in poliſhing old materials, or caſting them over again.'

The ingenuity of his mind, and the original turn of his thoughts, added to a character of great probity and worth, procured him eſteem and reſpect wherever he was known. M. Prevoſt has given extracts from a number of very intereſting letters, which paſſed between him and ſeveral of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons of the age: Among theſe are Madame Necker, the Ducheſſe d'Enville, Earl Stanhope, the Duke de Rochefoucault, M. M. d'Alembert, Euler, Turgot, Boſcovich, Lambert, &c.

Though his conſtitution was originally weak, and his health always infirm, he reached the age of eighty, and died in 1803. His biographer has given a ſketch of his intellectual character, from which we ſhall extract a few paſſages.

'It is impoſſible not to recognize, in the works of Le Sage, and his manner of thinking, a ſtrong character of originality; and, if a cautious and regulated invention be characteriſtic of genius, this philoſopher muſt be numbered with thoſe whom nature has particularly diſtinguiſhed. All who knew him, were at the ſame time ſenſible of his peculiarties, which he himſelf did not indeed attempt to conceal, but endeavoured to explain. He acknowledged that two of his faculties were weak,—attention and memory. He was unable to fix the former on one object for any conſiderable length of time; and, as he could not attend, without great difficulty, to more than one thing at the ſame moment, he was very eaſily interrupted. "I ſuppoſe," ſaid he, "the want of *extent* in my attention by great order and regularity: and its want of *continuance*, by frequently returning to the ſame ſubject." From this methodical proceeding it aroſe, that few men were ever more perſevering than Le Sage in directing their reſearches to the ſame objects.

'His memory was unmanageable and capricious in a high degree. He had no power over it; and, in order to direct it, was obliged to have recourſe to all ſorts of artifices. He ſeized, with avidity, the moments when his ideas were cleareſt, and his faculties moſt active. "I have," ſays he, "extreme difficulty in connecting my thoughts, ſo as to make an aſſemblage at all ſupportable; and am like a painter who would work in the night, without any other illumination than what was derived from ſudden and unexpected flaſhes of lightning."

'His method and order, in ſome reſpects, ſupplied ſo well the weakneſs of his memory, that, in converſation, no defect of that faculty was at all diſcernible. It was, accordingly, one of his conſtant ſources of complaint, that he could not convince his friends of the badneſs of his memory. They who converſed with him, heard him perpetually relate, with preciſion, the dates, and even the moſt minute

circumſtances, of very inconſiderable events. They believed his memory to be tenacious; whereas, the truth was, that he kept notes of every thing, and was every now and then conſulting his repertories.

'Such being the weakneſs of his intellectual organization, he often aſked himſelf, how he had ever been able to do any thing at all? To this queſtion, his own manſuctipts afford many anſwers; one of the beſt of which is in a note, entitled, "*Clef de Mon Tour-d'Eſprit.*" I have been born with four diſpoſitions well adapted for making progreſs in ſcience, but with two great defects in the faculties neceſſary for that purpoſe. 1. An ardent deſire to know the truth. 2. Great activity of mind. 3. An uncommon *(juſteſſe)* ſoundneſs of underſtanding. 4. A ſtrong deſire for preciſion and diſtinctneſs of ideas. 5. An exceſſive weakneſs of memory. 6. A great incapacity of continued attention.'

By using the resources which nature had bestowed, and compensating, by much skill and labour, the want of the qualities she withheld, he was able to make no small progress even as an inventor in science. He used to apply to himself the saying of Bacon,—*Claudum in via cursorem extra viam antevertere.*

One of the principal causes that retarded the publication of his works, was the difficulty of making his favourite system be relished in the scientific world. The conviction which he himself had of its truth, and the complete persuasion that it must ultimately prevail, could not prevent him from perceiving, that though all acknowledged the ingenuity, yet few were prepared to admit the truth of his theory. He was perfectly aware, that his own way of thinking on this, as well as many other subjects, was peculiar, and not readily adopted by other men.

This is strongly marked by the title of one of his parcels of notes; 'On the immiscibility of my thoughts with those of others.' He has investigated, in his usual way, the causes of this immiscibility, and has divided his readers into different classes, according to their greater or less fitness to judge of the principles of his philosophy. He has applied to himself a line of Ovid, with much truth—

*Non ego cessavi, nec fecit inertia serum.*

Without entering on this discussion, we shall endeavour to give the best idea we can of the system so often mentioned, as far as we have been able to collect it from his letters, and from the very ingenious tract, *Lucrece Neutonien*, which Mr Prevost has introduced into his Appendix.

The object of this system was to explain the law of gravity, both as it prevails on the earth and in the heavens, by the principle of impulse. The causes of all the motions we perceive in the material world, may be reduced to three—Impulse, Attraction, and Repulsion. Impulse acts by contact; one moving body communicates motion to another body; and the rule by which this change

change is produced, is, that the motion communicated in any given direction, and that which is lost in the same direction, are precisely equal. The motions that we ourselves impress on the bodies around us, are of this nature.

Again, when a stone falls to the ground, or when iron approaches a magnet, motion is produced without contact; both the bodies acquire motions which are equal, but in opposite directions. The motions ascribed to repulsion are of the same kind with these last, in as much as there is no contact, and as the motions acquired in opposite directions are equal. The only difference is, that the bodies, instead of approaching, recede from one another. Whether attraction and repulsion may not be regarded as one and the same law, acting under different circumstances, we do not at present inquire: the object of Le Sage was to reduce them both to impulse; and, could this be done, it would no doubt be a great advance in science, and we might seem, in one quarter at least, to have pushed our researches to their legitimate and proper termination. Our idea of the communication of motion by impulse, is not without difficulty; but it is clearer and more familiar to us than any other, and is that with which the mind is most disposed to remain satisfied.

The chrystalline spheres of the ancients may be regarded as the first attempt to explain the motion of the heavenly bodies by impulse; the vortices of Descartes is the next; the ether of Newton is the third. The first is known to be without foundation; the second is a vague and gratuitous supposition; and the third is, at best, far from being satisfactory.

Le Sage has certainly been more fortunate than any of his predecessors; and his hypothesis has this undoubted superiority above all the others that have been proposed for explaining gravitation, that it assigns a satisfactory reason why that force varies inversely as the square of the distance.

Suppose that, through any one point of space, innumerable straight lines are drawn in all different directions, each making a very small angle with those that are nearest it; and let a torrent of particles, or *indivisible atoms*, move continually in a direction parallel to each of these lines, the section of each torrent, in a transverse direction to its motion, being equal to the section of the sensible world in the same direction. Thus, there will be an indefinite number of torrents of atoms intersecting one another in every possible direction, much like the streams of light which issue from all the points of the surface of a luminous body. The analogy between the emanation of light and the motion of those corpuscles, is so close, that an imagination which is familiar with the one, will not experience much

much difficulty in becoming familiar with the other. Like light, also, the atoms, of which these torrents are composed, must be supposed to move with inconceivable rapidity, and to be of such extreme minuteness, that, though flowing continually in all directions, they do not obstruct or interfere with the motions of one another.

If, now, it be supposed that these atoms are unable to penetrate the solid and indivisible particles of bodies, and, when they enter bodies, can only pass through the intervals or vacuities between their particles, it is evident that they must strike against those particles, and must therefore communicate a certain degree of motion to them, or to the bodies of which they are composed.

If, then, there were but a single body in the universe, with whatever force the torrents of atoms struck against its particles, the body would remain at rest, the impulses in opposite directions being perfectly equal. But if there be two bodies; then, since each of them, by intercepting a part of the atoms of the torrents, will shelter the other from the action of so much force, it is evident that the bodies will be both impelled toward one another, and that each of them will receive fewer shocks on the side where the other body is, than on the opposite. Further, if we suppose the bodies spherical, the intensity of this force, *cæteris paribus*, will be proportional to the angular space included within a cone, which has for either base the transverse section of the bodies. Now, it is easy to prove that this angular space is proportional to the square of the distance of the bodies inversely. Therefore, the force with which the bodies will be urged toward one another, will be inversely as the square of the distance, which is the law followed by gravity.

This will be true if the bodies are equal in quantity of matter, so as to intercept equal quantities of the atoms. But if their quantities of matter are unequal; then, at an average of all the chances, each will intercept a number of particles proportional to its quantity of matter, and so the forces with which the bodies are impelled toward one another, will be as the quantity of matter directly, and the square of the distance inversely. This is precisely the law of gravitation; and the particles by which this effect is brought about, are called by Le Sage the gravific, or the ultramundane atoms.

This hypothesis, as already observed, must be confessed to have done what no other attempt to account for gravity can boast of, that is, to have assigned a reason why that force is inversely as the square of the distance, and directly as the quantity of matter. It has, then, the precision which belongs to truth, and

which, though it does not amount to a proof of a hypothesis where it is found, is an abundant reason for rejecting one, where it is wanting.

The vortices of Descartes, and the ether of Newton, do neither of them give any reason why gravity should be supposed to obey one law more than another; why it should be inversely as the squares, any more than the cubes, or any other power, nay, any other function, of the distances. The extreme vagueness of such hypotheses is an unsurmountable objection to them, and, even were they true, it renders them of no use whatsoever. Concerning a cause so imperfectly understood, we can never reason at all; and we derive, therefore, no advantage from knowing it to be true. The knowledge of the fact without the cause is just as valuable.

The above is the outline of Le Sage's theory; to follow it into all its detail, and all the variety of its applications, is a task for which we are not prepared, and one quite foreign from our purpose. It is enough, if we can in any degree awaken a curiosity which the works of the author are afterwards to gratify.

Some objections to this theory have been stated in the letters that Le Sage received from his correspondents. Boscovich, who had a system concerning the different forces which are the cause of motion, the very opposite of what has now been laid down, one in which all contact and immediate impulse are denied, could not possibly admit the theory of gravific atoms, and has stated an objection to it, which appears to us of considerable weight. The action of these atoms supposes a vast superfluity of matter, and an infinity of corpuscles, created, each, to give, at most, only a single blow, and many of them never to have any effect whatsoever. An immense multitude of atoms, thus destined to pursue their never ending journey through the infinity of space, without changing their direction, or returning to the place from which they came, is a supposition very little countenanced by the usual economy of nature. Whence is the supply of these innumerable torrents; must it not involve a perpetual exertion of creative power, infinite both in extent and in duration? The means here employed seem greater than the end, great as it is, can justify; and Le Sage must be allowed, if his system is rejected, to have had the merit of imagining a species of machinery more powerful and extensive than even the preservation of the universe can be supposed to require.

Another objection which, we understand from the author himself, had been made to his hypothesis is, that, were it true, a body enclosed on all sides, ought to gravitate less to the earth, than if it were in the open air. The roof or vault over head, would

would of course diminish the action of the *gravific* atoms that had to pass through it, and would make the body fall to the ground with less velocity than it would have done in the open air. To this it was easy to reply, that the effect here stated is real on every supposition; but is so small, that it cannot be measured in our experiments. The gravitation of a heavy body, in a room, to the roof above it, must, on the common hypothesis of attraction, diminish its weight just as much as it would be diminished by the roof's obstructing some of the gravific atoms. In both cases, the effect would be precisely the same, but too small to make any sensible diminution of the gravitation toward the great mass of the earth.

The obstruction which the gravific atoms would give to the motion of bodies, by producing a kind of resisting medium, was also objected to the doctrine of Le Sage. This might no doubt be answered, by alleging that the same effect may as well be ascribed to light, which, in this respect, is in circumstances very similar to the gravific atoms. Indeed the analogy between those atoms and the particles of light as emitted from bodies, affords the means of refuting the greater part of the objections alleged against the existence of the former. This, however, supposes that the phenomena of light are interpreted in the Newtonian manner, or by an emanation from luminous bodies. If light is considered as an elastic fluid, the vibrations of which communicate to the eye the impressions which give rise to vision, the analogy referred to has no place. Accordingly Euler, in his letters to Le Sage, observes, that this analogy had no weight with him, as he did not believe in the emanation of light. He inclines to account for gravity from the pressure of a subtle matter composing a vortex. He is not very explicit, however, and has left us much in the dark as to his opinions on this subject. His letters are, nevertheless, very interesting, particularly that dated from Berlin, 16th April 1763.

It is a good remark of Le Sage, speaking of the analogy between light and the gravific atoms, that if all bodies were transparent, so that light was never stopped in its course, it (light) would not be perceived by us, nor apprehended to exist any more than the corpuscles to which he ascribes the cause of gravity. We are, in truth, indebted to darkness, or the absence of light, for our idea of the latter, as a separate and independent substance. Without the information thus afforded, we might be induced by reasoning to believe that there was something necessary to vision, beside the eye and the object; but we would have no proof of its existence from immediate perception, any more than we now have of the cause of gravitation.

Le Sage certainly did not borrow his notions concerning the cause of gravity from any one; but he was not the first to whom such notions had occurred. Fatio de Duillier had, in some respects, anticipated the doctrine of gravific atoms; at least he had conceived a mechanical explanation of gravitation, which agreed in several particulars with that which has been described above.

The name of Fatio is well known to those who have studied the controversy between Newton and Leibnitz. He was a mathematician of considerable eminence, though noted for a strange departure from the character of a philosopher, by joining himself to a set of fanatics, who carried their extravagance so far as seriously to undertake the raising of the dead. Fatio, however, never published any thing on the cause of gravitation; and his treatise on it remains still in manuscript. Mr Le Sage was first informed of this in the year 1749 by Professor Cramer, not till after his essay *sur les Forces Mortes*, in which he treated of this subject, was communicated to the Academy of Sciences at Paris. Le Sage left nothing undone to rescue the work of Fatio from oblivion, taking much interest in the fate of a theory founded on the same principles with his own, and invented by a man of acknowledged ability. Fatio died in England in the year 1753, in Worcestershire, at the age of ninety. His manuscripts had fallen into the hands of his neighbours, and of the people with whom he lodged. Some friends of Le Sage's, in London, had the good fortune to procure them for him. He soon after deposited them in the library at Geneva, where they still remain.

It is worth observing, that this theory of Fatio must have been known to Newton, with whom he lived in friendship, not merely from a resemblance in their philosophic, but also, as has been alleged, from an agreement in their religious sentiments. Yet it is no where hinted at by Newton, even when he is engaged in inquiries on this very subject. It is probable that he did not approve of the system of his friend, who does not appear to have had the same clear views of the matter with Le Sage, nor to have had the same ingenuity in removing the objections to his theory.

A prejudice of a very unphilosophic nature, has lately prevailed in this country, against attempts of the kind made in the writings of Le Sage. It has been represented as impious, and savouring of irreligion, to offer any physical or mechanical explanation of the force of gravity.

This, we must observe, is quite a new doctrine. Newton, who was a man of true and sincere piety, thought that he was doing nothing more inconsistent with his duty, when he was endeavouring to explain the action of gravity by that of an ethe-

rial

rial fluid, than when he demonstrated that the planets revolve in ellipses, and describe round their common focus areas that are proportional to the time. Dr Clarke was of the same opinion, and has admitted, that a mechanical explanation of gravity would be of great importance in philosophy. Such an attempt is undoubtedly attended with difficulty; and perhaps we are destined to remain for ever ignorant of the cause which produces the phenomena of attraction. There can, however, be no impropriety in endeavouring, while there appear to be two kinds of causes that produce motion, to try to reduce them to one. If this is maintained to be impious, it must be on the same principle that Anaxagoras was charged with irreligion, for affirming that the planets are bodies like the earth. The same mistaken zeal has in every age opposed the same obstacles to the advancement of true philosophy.

We had almost forgot to mention the particular drift of Le Sage in the tract on the gravific atoms, which he calls *Lucrece Neutonien.* He endeavours to show, that Epicurus, with a little attention to geometry, and the possession of no more physical knowledge than was to be found among some of his contemporaries, might have been led, by the atomical system, to the discovery of gravitation, and of the laws of the planetary motions. The tract is very ingenious and interesting.

The subject of Teleology, or the doctrine of final causes, was one which occupied the thoughts of Le Sage, at intervals, during his whole life. Of his speculations on this subject, we are presented with a few fragments, that are in no small degree curious and interesting. The publication is by M. Reverdil, who had assisted in the composition of the work, and to whom Le Sage, in his will, left the charge of this manuscript. About the year 1740, Le Sage formed the plan of a *Theory of the Ends of Nature and of Art.* Wolff, who at that time taught the philosophy of Leibnitz in Germany with great reputation, in his treatise on logic, recommended the theory of ENDS to be treated under the name of Teleology; and this term was adopted by Le Sage. M. Reverdil informs us, that Le Sage was confirmed in his design, by finding that some men of great celebrity had about that time conspired to combat the doctrine of final causes; some of them on a principle of universal scepticism; others to give weight to the proofs of the existence of God derived from other sources; and many, struck no doubt with the weak and childish arguments that had been often maintained on this subject. Le Sage wished to oppose all these, and in particular the latter, by showing that the theory of final causes

was not necessarily of the vague and unsatisfactory nature just alluded to.

'The greater part of the works,' says he, 'that have made their appearance on this subject, contain principles so vague and unsupported, observations so puerile and detached, and reflexions so common-place and declamatory, that it is not wonderful if they produced an effect the direct opposite of that which was intended. A theory of ENDS, or FINAL CAUSES, might be given, exempt from these great defects; embracing the objects both of nature and art; furnishing, first, rules of synthesis for the composition of a work, when the ends and means were both given; and, next, rules of analysis for discovering the intention of an artist, from the examination of his works.'

M. Reverdil has given us only a few fragments from the treatise which had been drawn up conformably to this plan. Those that follow will show in what manner Le Sage had endeavoured to avoid the faults which he has reprobated in others.

'A wise cause must have respect to the smallest degrees of good, because, if they are not infinitely small, the amount of the whole may be of importance; so that, if they were neglected, a considerable quantity of evil might arise.

'There is nothing incongruous, therefore, in supposing the Divine Wisdom exercised in determining the curvature of the wing of a scarabæus, or in planning the cells of a bee-hive. It may be true, that it imports little to the universe, whether a scarabæus fly, with more or less ease, or a bee, employ its wax with the greatest possible frugality. It imports much, however, to the scarabæus or the bee, and, on that account, is an object not unworthy of the attention of the Creator. If the precision in the structure of the wings or cells of these insects is useful for any purpose, however small, that utility, multiplied by the number of all the scarabæi, and all the bees which have been, which are, and which are to be, may become of a considerable amount.

'When the execution of any purpose gives rise to inconvenience which admits of remedy; of all the remedies that can be applied, that is the best which rises out of the evil itself, because it is always at hand when wanted, and is sure to possess the necessary strength. Such remedies are sometimes to be met with in the arts. It was thus that a hint of Monsieur the Prince of Conti, furnished Reaumur with the means of admitting the necessary quantity of air into his furnaces for hatching chickens, by making the heat of the furnace open the door of a register. The girdiron pendulum of Graham, is an instance of the same kind.

'In nature, the contraction and dilatation of the pupil of the eye, is a most remarkable instance of an inconvenience corrected by its own operation.

'When all the accidents which happen to a work derange it; and when all those that can happen to it have a tendency to do the same,

ſame, that work is the beſt poſſible. For it is evident, that it either cannot be improved, or that the improvement of it is highly improbable.

'When all the good of a ſyſtem can eaſily be traced to general principles; and when all the evils appear to be exceptions cloſely connected with ſome good, the exceſs being evidently, though perhaps but in a ſmall degree, on the ſide of good, the contriver muſt be regarded as beneficent.

'Hypothetical reaſonings (whether concerning final or efficient cauſes) are ſuſceptible of the higheſt degree of evidence when two conditions are fulfilled; when the given hypotheſis explains many phenomena, and contradicts none; and when every other hypotheſis is inconſiſtent with ſome of the phenomena.

'As it is very rare that one is able to reckon up all the *hypotheſes* imaginable, in order to ſhew that only one of them can be received, the beſt philoſophers, and the moſt ſcrupulous, have contented themſelves with leſs, and have thought it ſufficient if the hypotheſis which they adopt explains many phenomena with preciſion. The more numerous the phenomena, and the greater the degree of *preciſion*, with the more confidence do they conclude, that no other ſuppoſition will account for the appearances. It is on ſuch a foundation as this, that the theory of gravitation is eſtabliſhed.'

On the whole, we conceive that this treatise on Teleology is written on more philosophical principles than most of those that have appeared; and we cannot but regret that it has not been given to the public entire, or with such alterations as the changes in the state of science might seem to require. The date of the MS. is 1756, and, since that time, the discoveries in philosophy must have, no doubt, added considerably to the examples that might be brought to illustrate the doctrine of final causes; a doctrine which we cannot help thinking might be so treated, as to form one of the most beautiful and interesting branches of human knowledge. Indeed, we should be glad to think that more of the works of our learned and ingenious author were destined to see the light. M. Prevost, who, in the biographical sketch before us, has so judiciously consulted the reputation of his friend, and the information of the public, has it still in his power to render an important service to both.

ART.

ART. XI. *Modern Geography. A Description of the Empires, Kingdoms, States and Colonies, with the Oceans, Seas and Isles, in all parts of the World, including the most recent Discoveries and Political Alterations, digested on a New Plan.* By John Pinkerton. The Astronomical Introduction by the Reverend S. Vince, A. M. F. R. S. &c. &c. with numerous Maps revised by the Author. To the whole are added a Catalogue of the best Maps and Books of Travels and Voyages in all Languages, and an ample Index. A new Edition, greatly enlarged. 3 vol. 4to. pp. 2800. London, Cadell & Co., Longman & Co. 1807.

IN a former Number of this Journal *, we bestowed considerable attention upon the first edition of Mr Pinkerton's work. We commended him for several beneficial changes which he had introduced into the manner of treating the subject; and we gave him credit for a great degree of labour in the collection of his materials. As the new edition which lies before us has been increased more than one half in bulk, and is presented rather as a new work, than a republication, we are called upon to consider in what manner the alteration has been effected,—how far the purchasers of the first work have been fairly treated,—and whether the favourable judgment pronounced on that edition may be extended to the one now offered to the public.

The first edition was given as a finished work. No allusion was made to a continuation. It pretended to be such a system of geography as the existing state of the science enabled the author to compile. We were told that it had been the favourite object of his study, from his earliest years, and that it was accomplished at the period of all others the most appropriate for giving such a present to the world. 'No period of time' (said Mr Pinkerton in his preface, 1st edition) 'could be more favourable to the appearance of a new system of geography, than the beginning of a new century, after the elapse of the eighteenth, which will be memorable in all ages from the gigantic progress of every science, and in particular of geographical information; nor less from the surprising changes which have taken place in most countries of Europe, and which, of themselves, render a new description indispensable. Whole kingdoms have been annihilated; grand provinces transferred; and such a general alteration has taken place in states and boundaries, that a geographical work, published five years ago, may be pronounced to be already antiquated.'

* No. V. Art. VI.

ed.'—'After a general war,' he continues, 'of the most eventful description; after revolutions of the most astonishing nature; Europe, at length, reposes in universal peace. The new divisions and boundaries no longer fluctuate with every campaign, but are established by solemn treaties which promise to be durable, as at no former period has war appeared more sanguinary or destructive, and at the same time more fruitless, even to the victors.'

It soon appeared, however, that all these reasons for publishing geography in 1801, were susceptible of an extended application,—nay, that the attempt was then premature, the first edition incomplete, and the true epoch for unfolding the system,—not during the permanent 'repose' secured by the 'universal peace' of Amiens, but the profound tranquillity of the present day,—when several states have been destroyed and others created, during the printing of our author's volumes! Accordingly, the prefatory advertisement to this new edition begins with an unmerciful abuse of the former one, 'in which, it seems, a great portion of Asia, and the whole of America and Africa, had been treated with such brevity, that there was no space even for the most important and interesting geographical information.' 'The striking brevity and deficiency' of half the second volume, we are told, had been 'perceived at home and abroad.' 'In a general system of geography,' Mr Pinkerton observes, 'it is indispensable that there be a harmony of the parts; and the author must be an impartial cosmopolite, without predilection for particular portions.' Moreover, 'after long reflection and experience, the author has discovered, that an exact system of geography, of whatever size, ought to be divided into three parts;' one for Europe, another for Asia, because it 'teems with civilized empires and states, not to mention its vast extent;' and he has further discovered, that of the remaining third part, 'two thirds must ever be allotted to America,' and one to Africa, on account 'of the harmony of proportions, importance, and materials.' For all which reasons, and because Mr Pinkerton had procured some Spanish books, and because a few new volumes of tracts have been published, the two volumes of the first edition are now worked up into three, by such means as we shall presently describe. The additions which are made, in order to supply the acknowledged defects of the first edition, are so incorporated with the present, that they cannot be procured separately; and the unlucky purchasers of that complete system have now the satisfaction of hearing its manifold imperfections proclaimed by the author himself, who will furnish no remedy but the purchase of this 'new work.' He adds, however, in case of further

ther alarms, that this is to be the last demand; but the only security which he gives, is an appeal to his discovery of 'harmony' above noticed. It would be impossible, he says, to add another volume without destroying 'this harmony.' He boasts, therefore, that '*at length* he has been able to complete his favourite plan of presenting to the public a system of modern geography, duly proportioned in all its parts, and such as to offer harmony and uniformity in its various divisions and arrangements.' We shall not tire our readers with quoting the other praises which he bestows upon himself, and quotes from others in the course of his work. We shall merely proceed to justify ourselves for differing very widely from him on those topics. Referring to the former article for an account of his plan, the most 'noble, scientific and luminous, of any before projected,' (vol. I. p. 22.) we shall endeavour to shew in what manner the additions now made have been executed; and we greatly deceive ourselves, if our readers shall not agree with us, before the close of the detail, in the opinion, that these additions, where they are not mere insertions of other mens writings, betray unpardonable carelessness and ignorance, augmenting the bulk, and not the value of the original work. In order to illustrate this position, we shall consider, successively, the principal improvements for which Mr Pinkerton takes credit. The additions made to the geography of Asia and the Asiatic Islands, of Africa, of the United States, Spanish America, and the West Indies, are, as we have already observed, the bulk of the new matter which has swelled the book to its present size. But the changes which have happened in Europe since 1802 are at least equally important; and we shall begin by examining how far the author has kept pace with these. It would be endless to point out the mistakes into which he has fallen in the first volume, devoted to European geography 'according to the harmony.' We shall therefore take Germany as a fair specimen of the rest. No country abounds so much in statistical writers. It has been most frequently visited by Englishmen during the late wars. Its language is pretty generally understood. Its importance to the rest of the world never was more striking than in these times. Our author had, therefore, every facility, as well as every inducement, for exerting himself to exhibit a just picture of the German states, according to their appearances after the treaty of Presburg. Let us see how he has succeeded.

To the geography of the Prussian monarchy in its zenith, he has allotted no more than twenty-three pages; a proportion not too scanty for the dominions which now remain to that unfortunate power. Yet even in this short sketch of so vast a subject, the

the number of his inaccuracies and defects is altogether unaccountable. By following him through these with some minuteness, we shall be able to judge of his claims to the highest rank among laborious and skilful compilers.

The extent and boundaries of the country are given in a most negligent manner. The length and breadth of the body of the state, exclusive of detached provinces, are first noted; and the boundaries are then described as follows.

'On the eaſt and ſouth, Pruſſia now borders on the dominions of Ruſſia and Auſtria, and the weſtern limits adjoin to the biſhoprick of Hildeſheim, if ambition have not extended them ſtill further.' I. 404.

Here is no mention of Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and the Baltic on the north, or of Saxony, which bounds a considerable part of the southern frontier; and for the western limit of a country which extends over more than four degrees of latitude, we are referred to a line of about eleven miles in length, 'if ambition have not already extended it further.' That the treaty of indemnities did extend it further, above four years ago, appears in a supplementary note, attached, not to this article, but to the description of the German states. But even in this misplaced supplement, the changes effected by the treaty on the Prussian limits are most imperfectly stated. Of the acquisitions made by Prussia, Hildesheim, Paderborn and Munster only are named; Erfurt, Blankenhayn, Untergleichen, Eichsfeld, Muhlhausen, Nordhausen, Quedlinburg, Essen, Werden, Elten, and Ihrford, are omitted. Nor is any mention made of Cleves, Gelders, and Mœrs, which were ceded by her; or of the mutual cessions which took place between Bavaria and her in 1803.

The passage above extracted is immediately followed by a statement of the population, in which the extent of the country, the subject in hand, occurs incidentally. 'Before the recent acquisitions in Poland, the number of Prussian subjects was only computed at 5,621,500, in a total extent of 56,414 square miles, that is, about 99 to the square mile. At present, they probably amount to about eight millions, including the Margraviate of Anſpach and Bareuth, computed at 400,000, and the last acquisitions in Poland estimated at 2,100,000 inhabitants.' A note, however, is subjoined, stating that Prussia has recently ceded the Margraviate, together with Neufchatel and Wallengin, 'to the French arrangements in Germany.'

Now, the sum of what we learn from all this, respecting the actual extent of Prussia, proves to be, that it is a country composed of many contiguous provinces, and of some detached pieces of territory; but the proportion of the mass to these parcels

is

is not stated; that the greatest length and breadth of the former is so and so, from which no conjecture can be formed of its magnitude, and still less of the size of the detached parts, which form, however, more than a tenth of the body of the state. * We learn, moreover, that there was a time when its territory amounted to 56,414 square miles; that since that time it has acquired certain provinces, some of which have been ceded again; but no other measure is given of their magnitude, than the number of inhabitants which they contain; and if, by dividing this number by 99, (the average number upon a square mile in the rest of the kingdom), we attempt to estimate the extent of the new acquisitions, we shall be led into an error of nearly *one third* of the whole. † Such and so enlarged are Mr Pinkerton's talents for statistical inquiries.

The historical epochs are necessarily complex, and the earlier ones not very interesting. But an event of such importance as the partition of Poland, should not have been omitted in noticing the reign of Frederic II. There is an inaccuracy, too, in calling the prince who began his reign in 1713, Frederic William II. He was the first king of that name; for his father, though the third elector of the name of Frederic, was the first monarch, and is accordingly styled invariably Frederic I. In a work of less overbearing pretensions than the present, such things would signify comparatively little. But a few mistakes of this sort will greatly damage its reputation among the elaborate men of Germany, whose unseemly volumes it is intended to supplant.

We come next to the chapter upon *political geography*, which begins with 'religion.' 'The ruling religion of Prussia,' says Mr Pinkerton, 'is the Protestant, under its two chief divisions of Lutheran and Calvinistic. But after the recent acquisitions in Poland, it would *seem* that the greater number of the inhabitants must be Roman Catholic.' *Seem* is a favourite word with Mr Pinkerton, and he may fancy that it has its convenience. He is mistaken, however, if he expects such a veil to keep a cunning reader from guessing at the real dimensions of his information. A little inquiry would have enabled him to tell us what the

* Krug estimates the superficial extent of the contiguous provinces at 80,800 square miles, and that of the detached territories at 8,800.—(*Abriss der Neusten Statistic des Preuss-Staats.* 1805.)

† Hassel gives the extent of the Prussian acquisitions in Poland, 1793 and 1795, at 31,824 square miles. Computing from Mr Pinkerton's *data*, we should make them only 21,212.—(*Statistischer Umriss*, 1805.)

the proportion in question really is; or, at least, what it is calculated to be by Prussian writers. Hassel reckons that of a population of 9,856,000 persons, 5,187,900 are Protestants, 4,352,000 Roman Catholics, the remaining 316,100 being Jews, Greeks, &c. And Krug, who computes the population at 9,700,000, reckons 4,800,000 *Lutherans* alone; so that the Protestants *seem* to be considerably more numerous, not only than the Catholics, but than all the other sects put together.

As under the title of 'Extent,' we were referred to the population of the country; so, upon the subject of its population we are now referred back again to its extent. 'Before the acquisitions in Poland, this kingdom was supposed to contain only about five millions and a half of inhabitants, including one million and a half in Silesia. But the late great acquisition in Poland has greatly enlarged the number of inhabitants, which may be about eighty to the square mile.' But as we are not informed of how many square miles this acquisition consisted, the average of eighty to the square mile is of little service in computing the aggregate population; and we are indebted to a note which refers us to another note, for an estimate of what the population was in 1801. In the two following years, Prussia gained, by different territorial arrangements, 400,000 subjects; and this augmentation, together with other causes, has so increased the number of inhabitants since 1801, that the same author, who is cited by Mr Pinkerton as in that year computing them at 8,021,149, reckoned them at 9,500,000 in 1804.—(See Hoeck's Appendix.) Hassel gives 9,856,000, and Krug 9,700,000.

The above mentioned note differs also from the text, to a considerable amount, in the statement of the Prussian army. Upon points which are so variable, it must often happen that an author, anxious to furnish the latest information, will be compelled to correct in a note, errors discovered too late for the alteration of the text. But this excuse cannot apply to corrections drawn from documents published five years ago.

This objection is applicable to almost every part of the present work, where attempts are made to follow the changes which the subject has undergone. In those cases, the old statement is retained; sometimes a note is inserted in the same page, alluding to a change having happened; and sometimes we have to correct the passage by another note in a supplement, or under a different head altogether. But to go on with the specimen of statistics now under examination.

The article on the Prussian revenues begins thus. 'Before the additions of Polish territory, the revenue was estimated at 3,880,000l. Sterling;' and, after enumerating some heads of ex-

penditure, Mr Pinkerton proceeds to say, that 'the entire revenue of Poland was not computed to exceed 439,546l. Sterling. If we even suppose half of this added to the Prussian revenue, the result would not be important,' &c. This unfortunate partition of Poland is a constant source of doubt and perplexity to Mr Pinkerton; and when he applies to Hoeck for more recent information, he finds him computing the revenues 'sometimes in dollars, sometimes in florins, and in such minute subdivisions, that the calculation would be very laborious.' He therefore lays him aside, and has recourse to 'the intelligent author of *La Prusse & sa Neutralité*, who puts the revenue at above five millions Sterling.' Now, the difference between this sum and the calculation made above, which would amount only to 4,099,773l., is so very considerable, that it is surprising he was not led to inquire whether any other event had occurred since this partition of Poland, which could so materially affect the Prussian revenue. He might then have learnt, that other provinces have in the mean time been acquired, the amount of whose revenue equals that of the new Polish provinces. He seems indeed to have been aware, that the entire revenue of Poland, that is to say, its revenue under a different form of government, and more than thirty years ago, might be an imperfect criterion of its present value.

It might give some relief to this tedious detail of mistated facts, to examine a little the consistency of the speculations which are offered under the title of 'political importance and relations.' Five years ago, the arms and influence of Russia were our author's great terror; but he is now so alarmed from the other side, that, in addition to a strict alliance with Denmark and Sweden, he would put Prussia in possession of Hanover, of all the north of Germany, of the whole dominions formerly belonging to Poland, and of Holland as far as the Rhine, to enable her to oppose the preponderance of France. But as these are points, for the discussion of which we never thought Mr Pinkerton peculiarly qualified, we shall pass them over, and continue our inquiry into those which are more open to the efforts of that habit of laborious investigation for which we had given him credit.

In

* Hoeck, in an appendix to that work, where the calculations of dollars and florins were so inconvenient to Mr Pinkerton, reckons the revenue at 36,000,000 dollars, or about 6,000,000l. Sterling. And Hassel, who quotes him and many other writers upon the subject, computes it at from 38 to 40,000,000 dollars, or about six millions and a half.—(*Statistischer Umriss*, 1805.)

In the literary history of Prussia, the name of Leibnitz, under whose auspices the Academy of Sciences at Berlin was first established, ought to have found a place; as well as that of Wolff, who, besides the persecutions which he underwent, and the distinctions which he afterwards obtained in the University of Halle, has the additional claim of having been born in what is now a Prussian province: those of Humboldt, Klaproth and others, might also have been added to the list of men of genius and learning.

In the account of the universities, the principal ones * Halle and Erlangen are omitted; and Posen, which is mentioned as a university, is only a royal school. That of Frankfort on the Oder is attributed, by the author of the Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg, to John Cicero, the father of the prince whom Mr Pinkerton names as its founder.

The rapid increase of population in the Prussian dominions, must have rendered the account, which was before given, of the number of inhabitants of the principal towns, very inaccurate; and, accordingly, we find very considerable differences between Mr Pinkerton's estimates and those of the later German authors; a comparative statement of some of which is given below. † The assertion, that, excepting Breslaw, there are only three towns in Silesia which contain more than 6000 inhabitants, is contradicted by Hassel, who enumerates eight others whose population exceeds that number. There are likewise five other towns besides Warsaw, in South Prussia alone, which contain, according to Hassel, above 6000 persons, though Mr Pinkerton asserts, that no

* The number of students in the principal universities are given by Hassel, in 1805, as follows. Halle, in 1802, 634; Erlangen, 1801, 300; Konigsberg, 1802, 300; Frankfort (no date) 180.

† 

| According to *Mr P.* | | *Hassel.* | | *Krug.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Berlin - - | 142,099 | 1803 | 153,128 | 1803 | 153,000 |
| Breslaw - | 52,000 | 1803 | 60,950 | 1803 | 60,000 |
| Warsaw - | 66,572 | 1803 | 63,358 | 1803 | 64,000 |
| Dantzick - | 36,000 | 1801 | 46,213 | 1802 | 47,000 |
| Magdeburg | 26,000 | 1798 | 30,611 | 1802 | 32,000 |

The numbers which Mr Pinkerton reckons for Berlin, are taken from the tables of 1798, when, upon an average taken from the two preceding years, the number of inhabitants was increasing at the rate of 3726 yearly.

no other of the towns recently acquired in Poland even equal this population.

The inland navigation is spoken of more contemptuously than it deserves. The most important canals, indeed, are not remarkable for their extent; but, by joining the Elbe, the Oder and the Vistula, they form an uninterrupted line of navigation of six or seven hundred miles in length; and the traffic upon them, though a good deal fettered by the difference of duties in different provinces, by extravagant tolls and other impediments, is nevertheless very considerable.

The subjects treated of in the fourth chapter, under the title of Natural Geography, not being of a variable nature, no great alterations are to be looked for in this part of the work. But Mr Pinkerton has overlooked one of the principal mineral productions, that of salt, which is calculated to bring in to the state above 300,000l. yearly. The salt springs at Halle are said to be the most productive in the known world, and, on this account alone, deserved to have been particularly mentioned.

It would be tedious, as well as unnecessary, to bestow as much time upon the other states of Germany as has been done upon Prussia. No fairer specimen could have been selected, as no part of that book-making country is more fertile in sources of information upon the subjects which we have been examining; and without having to boast, like Mr Pinkerton, of 'communications from many diplomatic men, and men of science of all countries,' we have only applied to printed books, open to any one who would take the pains of looking at them. The few observations to which we must confine ourselves, in turning over the pages relative to Austria and the other parts of Germany, will be founded upon documents equally accessible to all.

After giving Boetticher's statement of the number of inhabitants on a square mile in the Austrian dominions, Mr Pinkerton adds, 'But since he wrote, the Netherlands, a populous region, *seem* to be withdrawn from the House of Austria.' (I. 360.) Has Mr Pinkerton, who pretends to give, in the same page, the stipulations of the treaty of Presburg, as far as they affect the House of Austria, not yet ascertained whether that House is actually mistress of the Netherlands or not?

Again, if Boetticher, or even Hoeck's work of 1801, are his latest authorities, all the estimates contained in his two first chapters upon historical and political geography, must now be nearly useless; for although, from subsequent treaties, he may furnish us with the names of many of the territories ceded or exchanged since that time, he cannot attempt to state either their population or revenue. We shall therefore pass over these

these pages, and only notice a whimsical circumstance which occurs in p. 362. Mention is there made of the 'map of Hungary by the *Artarian Society*' at Vienna. Having never had the advantage of hearing of this learned body, we were a good deal at a loss, till we discovered that Messrs Artaria & Co. are map and print-sellers in Vienna; and concluded, that Mr Pinkerton, who, in another place, exults greatly, because, 'on the Continent, venders of maps are not styled geographers,' has here inadvertently erected a firm of them into a society.

Nothing can be more imperfect than his account of those parts of the German empire the situation of which has been altered by the late treaties. The changes are neither fully admitted into the text, nor yet entirely confined to the supplement: so that the whole presents a confused medley of the past and the present state of those countries, without giving us any accurate idea of either. Thus Manheim and Heidelberg, are mentioned amongst the towns belonging to the electorate of Bavaria, though Baden, to which they were ceded when that principality was raised to the electoral dignity, is mentioned as an electorate. In the account of Hanover, the bishopric of Hildesheim is said to be in the possession of its own bishop, though, at the conclusion of the same chapter, it is placed among those which have been secularized. In speaking of Saxony, the singularity, of the people and the court having different religions, should not have been passed over. Under the title of Mecklenburg, we find a strange blunder. It is said to be 'divided into two parts, known by the additions of 'Schwerin and Gustro' (Güstrow). If this latter division is to be mentioned at all, then Mecklenburg must be stated to consist of three, and not of two parts, viz. Schwerin, Güstrow and Strelitz. But the truth is, that only those of Schwerin and Strelitz are preserved, the dutchy of Mecklenburg Güstrow having fallen to the House of Schwerin, become incorporated with it, and lost its distinctive name. In like manner Wismar, which was purchased from the King of Sweden, and now belongs to this branch of the House of Mecklenburg, is omitted in its proper place, and ranked among the King of Sweden's German possessions.

Before leaving this part of the subject, we shall notice Mr Pinkerton's inaccuracy in matters where still less exertion is necessary in order to be right. He is beyond all belief careless, even in copying over numbers; witness his abstract of the population tables of England and Wales (I. 23.), where the population of the West Riding (563,953) is set down for the population of all Yorkshire, instead of 858,892; the inhabitants of Herefordshire are stated at 81,191, instead of 89,191; those of Brecknockshire

nockshire at 33,633, instead of 31,633. In p. 55, also, the number of females is given at 4,433,490, instead of 4,343,499; and the total of the inhabitants at 9,343,178 instead of 9,343,578. Errors of no great importance in themselves, but indicative of unbecoming carelessness in one who freely confesses his superiority over all his fellow labourers, and whose fame must rest on his close attention to many little things.

We are now to look at another department of the improvements which this republication presents, and are to see how the defects in the former edition have been supplied. This has evidently been accomplished in two ways:—when the subject, before left out, could be found ready treated in an English book, a due portion of this book was just *printed into* Mr Pinkerton's volumes:—when the book did not happen to be in English, about as much pains was bestowed in extracting a sufficient quantity of the contents, and putting it into paragraphs, as might have enabled Mr Pinkerton to translate the requisite portion. The success with which each of these *most laborious efforts* of the *mind* has been accomplished, can only be estimated by a number of examples; and, first, let us attend to the method of reprinting, so happily practised by our author, and alluded to, we should imagine, in the words 'long, sedulous and painful researches.' (I. xx.)

The first edition was peculiarly deficient in its account of those new quarters of the world which Mr Pinkerton, after the President De Brosses, calls Australasia and Polynesia. Accordingly, in the present edition, a space of eighty pages is allotted to Australasia. After the short general description of New Holland, objected to as defective, our author finds, that, as the subject is very interesting, and as Mr Collins has treated it fully, 'the reader may not be displeased with his details,'—'more especially as they are very striking to the philosophical reader.' Whereupon, above thirty whole pages are printed over from the work of 'that intelligent writer;' and an apology is added, not for the extent of the excerpt, but for the length at which the subject has been treated. The reason it seems is, that, 'in the year 1900 or 2000, New Holland (or Notasia, as he will have us call it) may require a large volume of 'Geography from a learned and precise pen.' He then comes to New Guinea; and, after a little more extract, says, 'Here follows Valentyne's account of the birds of paradise;' accordingly it does follow,—and through more than eight pages. He now breaks off the excerpt to say, 'The same voyager gives the following account of the natives;' so his account of the natives follows. But Mr Walckenaer's notes to his French translation of the first edition, are 'excellent good:'

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He is likewise 'a man of property and information, far superior to the usual pretensions of translators,' (I. xvii.); therefore he is made to club his share like other people. Then Mr Collins is so intelligent and so recent, that he must not be let off for the thirty pages on Notasia. 'He gives the following account of discoveries in the south of Van Dieman's Land.' In fine, by the contributions of all these writers, Mr Pinkerton has inserted about fifty-five pages into the eighty, which 'just proportion and harmony of parts' has required him to set apart for Australasia.

Polynesia is treated of in 105 pages. In discoursing of the Pellew Islands, we have, first, a detail in Mr Pinkerton's own words (II. 668.); but that not being long enough, a long passage from Keate is inserted, comprehending, among others, the very points which Mr Pinkerton had gone over in the preceding pages. The voyage of Cantova, in the *Histoire Generale*, 'retains its merit;' and the Carolines are therefore described by extracts from that collection. Mr Pinkerton's work has been blamed for not giving sufficient descriptions of manners; therefore, *seventy* pages are taken at once from the missionary voyage; so, about eighty pages, in 105, devoted to Polynesia, are fairly reprinted from those excellent authors.

Under the head of the Asiatic Islands, we meet with more examples of the same method of 'writing.' After giving a short account of Sumatra, in his own language, our author remarks (II. 526.), that Mr Marsden's large and interesting work enabled him to give those details; but 'that the account of the other islands must be more restricted.' Instead of this, the account of the two islands which follow, viz. Java and Borneo, is much more extensive; being reprinted from the voyages of Barrow, Valentyne, and Thunberg, with scarcely a paragraph of Mr Pinkerton's own.

North America, and the West Indies, are treated of in the same manner. The state of religion in the United States 'may prove extremely interesting to many readers;' and Dr Morse's account of it 'is very particular and instructive:' and 'because the sentiments of an American, on a subject of such delicacy, have a claim to superior attention,' therefore, twenty-six pages are taken from his book, including a good deal of what he has himself taken in the same way from other writers. Almost the whole of the article on Canada is copied over from Boulton and Weld. Then comes Halifax. But 'the late excellent Mr Pennant has given a capital sketch of arctic geography in general; and, as the work has become rare, the following extract may not be unacceptable.' (III. 312.) So Halifax is discussed, and makes

way for Newfoundland. But it is discovered again, that 'Mr Pennant, in his valuable work, entitled, Arctic Zoology, gives the following account of the fisheries.' (317.) After one page devoted according to the preestablished 'harmony' to the Bermudas, we reach Greenland. Once more, 'a celebrated naturalist (Mr Pennant still) gives the following account of the animals.' (324.) We get at last to Hudson's Bay; but we only go deeper into Mr Pennant; in praise of whose work the very same sentence above quoted is reprinted from our author's own words; and, because of the scarcity of the arctic zoology, the 'following extract may not be unacceptable.' (p. 331.)

The West Indies, having been scantily treated of in the first edition, are now copiously described by Bryan Edwards and Dr Pinckard, and Mr Mackinnon. As a specimen of this, we may just observe, that after giving the meagre account of Jamaica, from the former edition, our author says, its brevity was complained of, and he 'will give some amplifications from Mr Edwards, in his own words,' for a reason not easily guessed,—'for the sake of greater authenticity.' So there follows an excerpt of thirty pages from Mr Edwards's well known book; then fourteen pages on the Caribs; and twenty-three on the Caribbee Islands; besides various excerpts of different sizes from the travellers formerly alluded to, and Dr Anderson. And this is Mr Pinkerton's way of supplying the defects of his first edition, and of increasing its bulk above one half, by 'long, sedulous and painful researches.'

Where the books which he wishes to incorporate are written in a foreign language, he has somewhat more work; but does not come off as well. The acquisitions from Spanish writers, with which he has enriched his account of America, are the parts he boasts chiefly of. Our limits do not permit us to follow him closely over this part of his additions; but we shall give a few specimens of his manner of reading Spanish books, for the purpose of shewing how much care he has bestowed on his subject, and how safely his new edition may be trusted, as containing an accurate description of the Spanish colonies.

Vol. III. p. 160.—'The oidor, or chief judge, is an officer of great importance.' The oidor is not the chief judge, but one of the inferior or puisne judges. The chief judge is called *Regente*, or Regent of the Audience. *Viager. Univ.* xxvi. 283.

*Ibid.*—'There are also several inferior tribunals, among which that of the acordada judges small causes without expense, and with great promptitude.' The acordada, instead of resembling the small debt court of Edinburgh, as Mr Pinkerton gives us to understand in this passage, is the most formidable criminal court in

in Mexico. The judge of the acordada, or as he is otherwise called, the Captain of the Holy Brotherhood, has 8 or 10,000 men under him; and formerly there was no appeal from his sentence, even in capital cases; but, at present, they are reviewed by the viceroy and two or three oidores. The particular province of the acordada is to maintain order and tranquillity throughout the kingdom, and to punish robbery, murder, and other acts of violence. *Viag. Univ.* xxvi. 280.

P. 167.—'Assignments on the Windward Islands.' It should be, 'Assignments (*i. e.* on the treasury of Mexico) for the use of the Windward Islands.' *Viag. Univ.* xxvii. 217.

P. 168.—'All which are under the management of the minister of state.' It should be, 'though the last is under,' &c. *Viag. Univ.* xxvii. 217.

*Ibid.*—'The whole of the passage, beginning 'The branch of tributes,' is nonsense, from ignorance of the Spanish.

P. 190.—'The College of St Mary of all Saints, is the only one of the first rank in the Spanish American possessions.' *Colegio Mayor*, is not, college of the first rank, but, college for young nobles.

P. 206.—'There being no money of bullion as in Spain.' This has evidently no meaning; and shews clearly, that Mr Pinkerton does not use his mind, but his hand, when he writes geography. All money is made of bullion; and all bullion ceases to be so called when it is coined into money. The original is, '*Moneda de Vellon*,'—'copper coin.'—Vellon never, by any chance whatever, means bullion.

P. 211.—Another example of Mr Pinkerton's haste, and want of thought when he writes. He tells us gravely, that 'the religious women of Vera Cruz are occupied in teaching *grammar* to the parrots of Alvarado.' The original is, 'Hay en esta cuidad unas beatas que ganan su vida ensenando à *hablar* a los loros,'—*i. e.* by teaching parrots to *speak*. Mr Pinkerton has probably seen *hablar* in the title-page of some spelling book, and supposed that it meant grammar.

P. 230.—The passage beginning 'The imposts,' is absolutely unintelligible from the mistranslation of *Viag. Univ.* xxvii. 209.

P. 267.—'They (the inhabitants of California) imagine, that, after death, they are changed into owls, *which is not improbable!*'

P. 387.—'In 1792, the products of cotton were computed at six thousand arrobas, while that of *fruits* amounted to the surprising sum of 25,600,000 pecas; but under this article he includes coffee, chocolate,' &c. In this short sentence there are three blunders; 1. *Frutos*, in Spanish, does not mean fruits, but

all share in the following heavy charge which he brings against the literary journals of this country. 'Their eulogy of the style' (says he, speaking of the notice taken of his first edition) 'does credit to their own judgment.' The reason is certainly unexpected. 'As in the opinions of *foreigners* eminently versed in the English language, such is the purity of the grammar and expression, that they were as seldom obliged to refer to a dictionary as in any other production whatever of the English language; and the voice of foreigners must in this respect be regarded as an infallible test.' Those who dispute the perfections of his style after this, are likened 'to the Scotch schoolmaster in Smollet, who came to London to teach the pronunciation of the English language,' which, to be sure, is not quite so whimsical as making a French critic's taste the standard of English style. Now, for our own parts, as we are called upon to choose, we have no hesitation in siding with the Scotch schoolmaster, rather than the French critics, being verily persuaded that the discovery of a worse style than Mr Pinkerton's is reserved for some distant age. The specimens which we have been obliged incidentally to give of this 'pure and perfect' manner of writing, are sufficient to make the reader acquainted with its merits. But Mr Pinkerton will have 'numerous examples of bad style' from all who presume to censure him. (I. xxiv.) So we must comply, and briefly indicate some passages of peculiar note.

'The first *visitation* of Greenland.' (III. 3.) 'The love of glory like the vast mechanical force of steam, *another vapour.*' (*Ibid.* 86.) 'Even their authors cannot advance in the direct road to the temple of fame, but stray into thickets and devious paths of quaint expression, where they often lose their health and reputation. They also often die of bombast and obscurity.' (III. 181.) We venture to doubt the accuracy of this last assertion. 'The lake of Titica now *ascribed* to the viceroyalty of La Plata.' (*Ibid.* 504.) 'The *conjunct flood.*' (513.) 'Barbaric civilization.' (586.) 'The soil displays a great variety of barrenness.' (267.) 'The brilliant plumes of the royal goose do not save it from destruction.' (608.) 'Conspiracy *timeously* discovered.' (647.) 'Numerous are our edible sea-fish.' (I. 133.) 'Dependant on the secretaries of state is the state paper office at Whitehall.' (*Ibid.* 50.) The pastoral effect of the following description is striking. 'The cows seem to have been originally from Holstein, and the utmost attention was paid to warmth and cleanliness, so that, even in summer, the animals appeared in the meadows clothed with ludicrous care.' (I. 511.) The sublime is cultivated in the following high wrought passage. 'The Moskoestroem,

Moskoestroem, or Malstroem, is a remarkable whirlpool off the shore of Norland,* which will involve boats, and even ships; nay, the bellowing struggles of the whale have not always redeemed him from the danger.' (I. 549.) The following sketch of the domestic occupations of a venerable patriarch well known to every critic, is rapid, but masterly. 'Mistakes multiply, and an old *hallucination* becomes the father of a numerous progeny.' (I. xii.)—'This edition has gained in perfection what it lost in delay.' (xvi.) With many other instances of one thing being said for the sake of sound, while a perfectly different thing is meant.

Such are a very few of the specimens which every page of these volumes furnishes, to make us dissent from 'those foreigners eminently versed in the English language,' who rate so high our author's 'purity of grammar and expression.' Something more than a journey to Paris, and an unshaken faith in his own perfections, is requisite to make Mr Pinkerton worthy of half the praises he lavishes upon his book, and its style. In truth, it was long ago observed by a shrewd judge, that good sense is the source of good writing; and with that our author does not appear to be 'considerably imbued.'

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ART. XII. *An Account of the Life and Writings of James Beattie, LL.D. late Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logic in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen: Including many of his original Letters.* By Sir W. Forbes of Pitsligo, Baronet, one of the Executors of Dr Beattie. 2 vol. 4to. pp. 840, Edinburgh and London. 1806.

WE cannot transcribe this title without some feelings of sadness, which we think will be participated by most of our readers. Nothing can be more melancholy than the closing scene of Dr Beattie's life; and his amiable biographer had scarcely given to the world this account of the sufferings and virtues of his friend, when he, too, was called away from this scene of separations, and left society to lament a loss at least as irreparable. The author of the Minstrel will of course be further known, and longer remembered; but the moral fame of his friend will not be circumscribed, either by a narrow sphere, or a short duration. Over all this country, at least, his exemplary probity, and unwearied

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* It is off the shore of *Norway*. Norland, *in prose*, is a province situated, not on the North Sea, but on the Gulph of Bothnia.

wearied beneficence, will not soon be forgotten; and if this were the proper place for such a record, it would be easy for us to collect from facts, which are both recent and notorious, the materials of an eulogium, for which poets and philosophers would be gainers by exchanging their laurels.

It is not, however, with the personal merits, either of the author or the biographer, that we are now concerned, but with the writings which they have given to the public; and of these, we are sorry to say, that our judgment is by no means so favourable. For what Sir William Forbes has written in these volumes, we can easily forgive him; but he cannot escape censure for much of what he has published. In his own person he has said little; and that little he has delivered with so much apparent candour, such a natural partiality, and such a total absence of all sort of offensive pretension, as would disarm a more ungentle criticism than any which we profess to exercise:—but he has filled two quarto volumes with the correspondence of his friend; and protesting, as we have always done, against the multiplication of needless quartos, and the publication of ordinary epistles, we cannot avoid saying, that his book is a great deal larger, and a great deal duller, than we are bound to tolerate.

The life of Dr Beattie is a tale that is soon told; and could excite, perhaps, no great interest in the telling. His letters, again, which occupy at least nine tenths of the work, can scarcely be considered as letters at all. With the exception of those very dull ones which relate to the business in which he was immediately engaged,—the printing of his books, and the advancement of his fortune,—they appear to us to be mere bits of dissertation, and fragments of criticism; and might almost be mistaken for college exercises, or portions of lectures on rhetoric and belles lettres. In this point of view, they certainly are not altogether without merit; for they are often neat, lively, and ingenious; but they are totally destitute of the familiarity, simplicity, and confidential directness of a private correspondence; and, at the same time, are too trifling, superficial, and unconnected, to be of any value, when considered as miscellaneous speculations. In short, they contain no anecdotes or sallies of wit,—no traits of character,—and no play of natural humour or fancy, to recommend them as letters; and it is needless to say, that there can be no duller, or more unprofitable reading, than two thick quartos of slight criticism and broken dissertation. There are other faults in the letters, too, which would have gained concealment from a more impartial editor. There is a good deal of paltry conceit and animosity towards his literary opponents, and something too like adulation towards bishops and pious noblemen, and old ladies of rank and fortune.

Though

Though we have thus discharged our conscience, by saying all the ill we think of this publication, we do not despair of being able to interest our readers by a pretty full account of its contents. The life and opinions of Dr Beattie, though they cannot vivify two vast quartos, may still serve to animate a few of our humbler octavos, and are really worth all the time we shall require our readers to bestow upon them. We shall endeavour, therefore, to make a short abstract of the biography, and then to give some specimens of the letters which fill these volumes; subjoining, if we can find room, a few observations on the general merits and character of Dr Beattie's productions.

This eminent scholar was born in Kincardineshire in 1735. His father kept a small shop in the village of Laurencekirk, and rented a small farm in the neighbourhood. He was the youngest of six children; and, after acquiring some Latin at the parish school, was sent to the university of Aberdeen in 1749. Here his expenses were in part defrayed by a bursary or exhibition, to which he was preferred upon public trial by the masters, and remained four years studying philosophy and divinity, with a view to the Scottish church. When his course of study was finished, however, no appointment of this kind was in prospect for him; and he was glad to accept of the office of schoolmaster and parish clerk in the parish of Fordoun in 1753, where he continued for four solitary years, extremely poor, and utterly unheard of in the world, though he had begun to write verses, and had been personally introduced to two of our Scotish Judges, who resided occasionally in his neighbourhood. In 1758, he was appointed one of the ushers to the grammar school of Aberdeen, and began to obtain some distinction among the men of letters who composed that university. In 1760, he was appointed professor of philosophy, and continued to discharge the duties of that situation till within a short time of his death. Aberdeen had at this time to boast of Dr Campbell, Dr Reid, Dr Gerard, and Dr Gregory, among its professors; and the benefits which their new associate must have derived from their society, were rendered still more invaluable, by the harmony in which they all lived with each other, and the openness and familiarity with which they communicated their sentiments. In a kind of literary club, which met twice a month, they discussed freely all the topics of literature and philosophy that occurred to any of them; and it was in this society that all those speculations took their rise, which have since made their names so familiar to all who read for instruction. In 1760, he published a small collection of poems, the greater part of which were left out of the subsequent editions; and, in 1763, made his first visit to London, where he

he does not seem to have had any acquaintance, except with his bookseller, and some nameless Caledonians from his own district. In 1765, he formed an acquaintance with the poet Gray, who was at that time on a visit to the Earl of Strathmore, and became his dear friend and admirer for the short period of his after life. In 1767, he married, and appears to have begun his Minstrel, and his Essay on Truth. On the subject of the latter, there is an immense deal of epistolary dissertation between Dr Beattie and his literary friends; and certainly there never was a work on which so much preparation and getting up were expended. It made its appearance in 1770; and as it had been diligently extolled and anticipated by all the orthodox enemies of scepticism, it speedily acquired a greater reputation than any metaphysical work had attained, since the days at least of Bishop Berkeley. It took amazingly with the bishops and masters of academies throughout England; and prepared for the author a most gracious reception among all who had conceived a dread and detestation of the Scottish philosophy. In 1771, he published the first canto of the Minstrel, which rose also into a rapid and less unaccountable popularity. There is something ingenious, we think, though rather scholastic, in his own remarks upon this poem, which we extract from a letter to Lady Forbes in 1772.

'Again, your Ladyship must have observed, that some sentiments are common to all men; others peculiar to persons of a certain character. Of the former sort, are those which Gray has so elegantly expressed in his 'Church-yard Elegy;' a poem which is universally understood and admired, not only for its poetical beauties, but also, and perhaps chiefly, for its expressing sentiments in which every man thinks himself interested, and which, at certain times, are familiar to all men. Now the sentiments expressed in the "Minstrel," being not common to all men, but peculiar to persons of a certain cast, cannot possibly be interesting, because the generality of readers will not understand, nor feel them so thoroughly, as to think them natural. That a boy should take pleasure in darkness or a storm—in the noise of thunder, or the glare of lightning; should be more gratified with listening to music at a distance, than with mixing in the merriment occasioned by it; should like better to see every bird and beast happy and free, than to exert his ingenuity in destroying or ensnaring them—these, and such like sentiments, which, I think, would be natural to persons of a certain cast, will, I know, be condemned as unnatural by others, who have never felt them in themselves, nor observed them in the generality of mankind. Of all this I was sufficiently aware before I published the "Minstrel," and, therefore, never expected that it would be a popular poem.' I. 205. 206.

What follows, however, as it partakes of anecdote, will probably be more interesting to most readers.

'I find you are willing to suppose, that, in Edwin, I have given only

only a picture of myſelf, as I was in my younger days. I confeſs the ſuppoſition is not groundleſs. I have made him take pleaſure in the ſcenes in which I took pleaſure, and entertain ſentiments ſimilar to thoſe, of which, even in my early youth, I had repeated experience. The ſcenery of a mountainous country, the ocean, the ſky, thoughtfulneſs and retirement, and ſometimes melancholy objects and ideas, had charms in my eyes, even when I was a ſchool-boy; and at a time when I was ſo far from being able to expreſs, that I did not underſtand my own feelings, or perceive the tendency of ſuch purſuits and amuſements: and as to poetry and muſic, before I was ten years old, I could play a little on the violin, and was as much maſter of Homer and Virgil, as Pope's and Dryden's tranſlations could make me.' I. 207.

Dr Beattie, it ſeems, had beſtowed ſuch intenſe labour in the compoſition of his Eſſay, that his health was impaired by the exertion; and he now found it neceſſary to take a journey to the South, with a view to repair his exhauſted ſpirits. He paid a ſecond viſit to London, accordingly, in ſummer 1771; and having been introduced by his friend Dr Gregory to the particular notice of Mrs Montagu, immediately made his way to all the diſtinguiſhed literary ſociety which the metropolis could then afford. As he was ſufficiently learned, and free from moſt of the prejudices for which Scotchmen are uſually diſliked by the ſcholars of the South, he proved very generally acceptable in the circles to which he was introduced; and was received into diſtinguiſhed favour by all the pious churchmen and orthodox nobility, who had been taught to ſhudder at infidels and ſceptics. Theſe honourable connexions he took care to retain, by an aſſiduous and complimentary correſpondence; and having reaſon to think, that, through their intereſt, ſome conſiderable addition might be obtained to his fortune, he returned again to London in 1773, with a view to ſolicit a penſion, or ſome ſinecure place under government. Here he lived fine with biſhops and dutcheſſes for ſeveral months; had his picture painted in allegorical triumph by Sir Joſhua Reynolds; was admitted an honorary Doctor of Laws at Oxford; and obtained the King's warrant for a penſion of 200l. a year. He had alſo the honour of a private interview with their Majeſties, of which he has left a long and moſt minute account in his Diary. As few are permitted to look ſo near upon royalty, it may be amuſing to ſome of our readers to ſee a part of this record.

'At twelve, the Doctor and I went to the King's houſe, at Kew. We had been only a few minutes in the hall, when the King and Queen came in from an airing, and as they paſſed through the hall, the King called to me by name, and aſked how long it was ſince I came from town. I anſwered, about an hour. "I ſhall ſee you," ſays he, "in a little." The Doctor and I waited a conſiderable time, (for the King was

was buſy), and then we were called into a large room, furniſhed as a library, where the King was walking about, and the Queen ſitting in a chair. We were received in the moſt gracious manner poſſible, by both their Majeſties. I had the honour of a converſation with them (no body elſe being preſent but Dr Majendie) for upwards of an hour, on a great variety of topics, in which both the King and Queen joined, with a degree of cheerfulneſs, affability and eaſe, that was to me ſurpriſing, and ſoon diſſipated the embarraſſment which I felt at the beginning of the conference. They both complimented me, in the higheſt terms, on my "Eſſay," which, they ſaid, was a book they always kept by them; and the King ſaid he had one copy of it at Kew, and another in town, and immediately went and took it down from a ſhelf. I found it was the ſecond edition. "I never ſtole a book but one," ſaid his Majeſty, "and that was yours (ſpeaking to me); I ſtole it from the Queen, to give it to Lord Hertford to read." He had heard that the ſale of "Hume's Eſſays" had failed, ſince my book was publiſhed; and I told him what Mr Strahan had told me, in regard to that matter. He had even heard of my being in Edinburgh, laſt ſummer, and how Mr Hume was offended on the ſcore of my book. He aſked many queſtions about the ſecond part of the "Eſſay," and when it would be ready for the preſs. I gave him, in a ſhort ſpeech, an account of the plan of it; and ſaid, my health was ſo precarious, I could not tell when it might be ready, as I had many books to conſult before I could finiſh it; but that if my health were good, I thought I might bring it to a concluſion in two or three years. He aſked, how long I had been in compoſing my "Eſſay?" praiſed the caution with which it was written; and ſaid, he did not wonder that it had employed me five or ſix years. He aſked about my poems. I ſaid, there was only one poem of my own, on which I ſet any value (meaning the "Minſtrel"), and that it was firſt publiſhed about the ſame time with the "Eſſay." My other poems, I ſaid, were incorrect, being but juvenile pieces, and of little conſequence, even in my own opinion. We had much converſation on moral ſubjects; from which both their Majeſties let it appear, that they were warm friends to Chriſtianity; and ſo little inclined to infidelity, that they could hardly believe that any thinking man could really be an atheiſt, unleſs he could bring himſelf to believe that he made himſelf; a thought which pleaſed the King exceedingly; and he repeated it ſeveral times to the Queen. He aſked, whether any thing had been written againſt me. I ſpoke of the late pamphlet, of which I gave an account, telling him, that I never had met with any man who had read it, except one Quaker. This brought on ſome diſcourſe about the Quakers, whoſe moderation, and mild behaviour, the King and Queen commended. I was aſked many queſtions about the Scots univerſities, the revenues of the Scots clergy, their mode of praying and preaching, the medical college of Edinburgh, Dr Gregory (of whom I gave a particular character), and Dr Cullen, the length of our vacation at Aberdeen, and the cloſeneſs of our attendance

during the winter; the number of ſtudents that attend my lectures, my mode of lecturing, whether from notes, or completely written lectures; about Mr Hume, and Dr Robertſon, and Lord Kinnoull, and the Archbiſhop of York, &c. &c. &c. His Majeſty aſked what I thought of my new acquaintance, Lord Dartmouth? I ſaid, there was ſomething in his air and manner, which I thought not only agreeable, but enchanting, and that he ſeemed to me to be one of the beſt of men; a ſentiment in which both their Majeſties heartily joined. "They ſay that Lord Dartmouth is an enthuſiaſt," ſaid the King; "but ſurely he ſays nothing on the ſubject of religion, but what every Chriſtian may, and ought to ſay." He aſked, whether I did not think the Engliſh language on the decline at preſent? I anſwered in the affirmative; and the King agreed, and named the "Spectator" as one of the beſt ſtandards of the language. When I told him that the Scots clergy ſometimes prayed a quarter, or even half an hour, at a time, he aſked, whether that did not lead them into repetitions? I ſaid, it often did. "That," ſaid he, "I don't like in prayers; and, excellent as our liturgy is, I think it ſomewhat faulty in that reſpect." I. 268-71.

While honours and emoluments were thus accumulating around him, it is rather amuſing to notice the tone in which the worthy Doctor ſpeaks of the perſecutions and ſufferings he has to undergo from the malice of his enemies. Some of Mr Hume's admirers had ſpoken contemptuously of his metaphyſics; and others had found fault with the needleſs acrimony and invective with which he had enlivened his argument. This, we think, is the full extent of the calamities which his zeal in the good cauſe had brought upon him; and yet he ſpeaks as if no martyr of old had ever encountered more dreadful injuries; and ſpirits himſelf up to endure them, with an air of magnanimity which is really ludicrous.

'I have always foreſeen,' ſays he, 'and ſtill foreſee, that I ſhall have many reproaches, and cavils, and ſneers, to encounter; but I am prepared to meet them. I am not aſhamed of my cauſe,' &c.

And in another place,—

'What I have avowed, I am ſtill ready to avow in the face of any man on earth, or any number of men; and I ſhall never ceaſe to avow, ſo long as the Deity is pleaſed,' &c.—'As to obloquy, I have had a ſhare of it as large as any private man I know; and I think I have borne it, and can bear it, with a degree of fortitude of which I need not be aſhamed.'

In the end of the year 1773, there was a proposal for transferring Dr Beattie to the University of Edinburgh, which he declined, chiefly from the dread of his infidel enemies, whoſe head quarters, he ſeems to have ſupposed, were eſtabliſhed in that devoted city, and from whoſe machinations he really ſeems to have imagined that he would not have been perfectly in ſafety. There

are about thirty pages of anxious elaborate correspondence on this subject, which illustrate, more than any thing we have lately met with, the importance of a man to himself, and the strange fancies that will sometimes be engendered between self-love and literary animosity. With no better grounds of apprehension than we have already mentioned, Dr Beattie writes—

'Even if my fortune were as narrow, &c. I would ſtill incline to remain in quiet where I am, rather than, by becoming a member of the Univerſity of Edinburgh, *place myſelf within the reach* of thoſe who have been pleaſed to let the world know that they do not wiſh me well,—not that I have any reaſon to mind their enmity,' &c. 'My cauſe is ſo good, that he who eſpouſes it can never have occaſion to be afraid of any man.'

If he had actually been in danger of poison or stillettoes, he could not have used other language. He proceeds afterwards,

'As they are ſingular enough to hate me for having done my duty, and for what I truſt (with God's help) I ſhall never ceaſe to do, (I mean for endeavouring to vindicate the cauſe of truth, with that zeal which ſo important a cauſe requires), I could never hope that they would live with me on thoſe agreeable terms on which I deſire to live with all good men,' &c.

And in another epistolary dissertation on the same subject, he adds, with some reference to the members of the Edinburgh University, which we are persuaded was without foundation,—

'I ſhould diſlike very much to live in a ſociety with crafty perſons, who would think it for their intereſt to give me as much trouble as poſſible; unleſs I had reaſon to think that they had conſcience and honour ſufficient to reſtrain them from aſperſing the innocent.'

These are among the things which a more judicious partiality would have led an editor to suppress, but which are of use to the reader, as they enable him both to estimate and to balance the unqualified praises which it is in the nature of that character to bestow.

In a short time after this, however, Dr Beattie declined another offer, upon principles which do him more honour than those assigned for his refusal to come to Edinburgh. Several hints had been given him of the advantage he might expect from taking orders in the Church of England; and in 1774, an offer was made him of a small living in Dorsetshire, with the prospect of speedy promotion. This benefice was only worth 160l.; and it is not to be wondered at that the offer was rejected. In the same year, however, Dr Porteus intimated to him, that one of the Episcopal Bench had a living worth 500l. at his service, which should be kept vacant till he had made up his mind. This offer, also, with all the prospects of further preferment which it implied, Dr Beattie resolved to decline; and as the motives which he

he has assigned for his refusal, though somewhat tinctured with vanity and timidity, are upon the whole extremely creditable to his character, we think it but justice to lay the greater part of them before our readers, in his own words. After quite as much gratitude and compliment as the occasion required, he goes on to say,

'I wrote the "Essay on Truth," with the certain prospect of raising many enemies, with very faint hopes of attracting the public attention, and without any views of advancing my fortune. I published it, however, because I thought it might probably do a little good, by bringing to nought, or at least lessening the reputation of, that wretched system of sceptical philosophy, which had made a most alarming progress, and done incredible mischief to this country. My enemies have been at great pains to represent my views, in that publication, as very different; and that my principal, or only motive was, to make a book, and, if possible, to raise myself higher in the world. So that, if I were now to accept preferment in the church, I should be apprehensive that I might strengthen the hands of the gainsayer, and give the world some ground to believe, that my love of truth was not quite so ardent, or so pure, as I had pretended.

'Besides, might it not have the appearance of levity and insincerity, and, by some, be construed into a want of principle, if I were at these years (for I am now thirty-eight), to make such an important change in my way of life, and to quit, with no other *apparent* motive than that of bettering my circumstances, that church of which I have hitherto been a member? If my book has any tendency to do good, as I flatter myself it has, I would not, for the wealth of the Indies, do any thing to counteract that tendency; and I am afraid that tendency might in some measure be counteracted, (at least in this country), if I were to give the adversary the least ground to charge me with inconsistency. It is true, that the force of my reasonings cannot be *really* affected by my character; truth is truth, whoever be the speaker: but even truth itself becomes less respectable, when spoken, or supposed to be spoken, by insincere lips.

'It has also been hinted to me, by several persons of very sound judgment, that what I have written, or may hereafter write, in favour of religion, has a chance of being more attended to, if I continue a layman, than if I were to become a clergyman. Nor am I without apprehensions (though some of my friends think them ill-founded) that, from entering so late in life, and from so remote a province, into the Church of England, some degree of ungracefulness, particularly in pronunciation, might adhere to my performances in public, sufficient to render them less pleasing, and consequently less useful.' I. 360—362.

In 1774, he had the honour to be attacked by Dr Priestley, along with Dr Reid; and no doubt consulted his own ease, as well as most effectually disappointed that restless controversialist, by making no answer to his attack. We cannot approve, how-

ever, of the style of orthodox contempt and asperity, with which he is pleased to speak of a man, at least his equal in point of sincerity and good intention, and unquestionably his superior in science.

'All my friends here,' he says, 'have been urging me not to answer him; and have told me, what I know is true, that his work cannot possibly do me any harm; that it has been little read, and will soon be forgotten; and that he is a man of that sort, that it is even creditable (on moral and religious subjects at least) to have him for an adversary.'

After this, there is but very little incident of any sort in Dr Beattie's life. He published one volume of Essays in 1776, and another in 1783; a little treatise on the evidences of Christianity in 1786; and the outlines of his academical lectures in 1790. He was very unfortunate in his family. His wife became the victim of the most dreadful of all distempers, hereditary insanity; and his two sons, who were all his children, died successively after they had attained the age of manhood. The eldest, to whom he was extremely partial, had been conjoined with him in his professorship; and he never effectually recovered the shock which his spirits sustained from this disaster. Even before this, however, the situation of his wife, and his own precarious state of health, had sunk him into an habitual depression, which he strove to dissipate by frequent excursions in the country, and visits to those friends by whom he was regarded with the greatest partiality. A good part of the second volume is filled with the history of these journeyings, and of the feelings which they were intended to relieve. To Sir William Forbes he writes—

'The smallness of my house, and the delicacy of Mrs B.'s nerves, which cannot bear the least noise, will not allow me to have any company with me; and the consequence is, that there are only two houses in the town to which I am ever invited. In fact, I have not dined abroad more than twice these three months. Now that I am able to go to the college again, my business there gives me some amusement through the day; but all the long evening I sit alone, trying sometimes to read and sometimes to write, except now and then when I give my son a lesson in Virgil. This must in the end have very bad effects upon my health and spirits; and, therefore, it is no wonder that I long to be from home, and to sojourn for some little time in a land of friendship, tranquillity, and cheerfulness.' II. 68.

In the course of these peregrinations, he paid a visit to his friend Dr Porteus, then Bishop of Chester, at his residence of Hunton in Kent, and has so well described both the situation, and the decorous establishment of the family, that we think it will be gratifying to most readers to peruse his account of them.

'The house is delightfully situated about half-way down a hill fronting

ing the ſouth, about a mile from Coxheath. My windows command a proſpect, extending ſouthward about twelve miles, and from eaſt to weſt not leſs, I ſuppoſe, than forty. In this whole ſpace I do not ſee a ſingle ſpeck of ground that is not in the higheſt degree cultivated; for Coxheath is not in ſight. The lawns in the neighbourhood, the hop-grounds, the rich verdure of the trees, and their endleſs variety, form a ſcenery ſo pictureſque and ſo luxuriant, that it is not eaſy to fancy any thing finer. Add to this the cottages, churches, and villages, riſing here and there among the trees, and ſcattered over the whole country; clumps of oaks, and other lofty trees, diſpoſed in ten thouſand different forms, and ſome of them viſible in the horizon at the diſtance of more than ten miles; and you will have ſome idea of the beauty of Hunton. The only thing wanting is the murmur of running water; but we have ſome ponds and clear pools that glitter through the trees, and have a very pleaſing effect. With abundance of ſhade, we have no damp nor fenny ground: and though the country looks at a diſtance like one continued grove, the trees do not preſs upon us; indeed, I do not at preſent ſee one that I could wiſh removed. There is no road within ſight, the hedges that overhang the highways being very high; ſo that we ſee neither travellers nor carriages, and indeed hardly any thing in motion; which conveys ſuch an idea of peace and quiet, as I think I never was conſcious of before; and forms a moſt ſtriking contraſt with the endleſs noiſe and reſtleſs multitudes of Piccadilly.' II. 142.

'Our hour of breakfaſt is ten. Immediately before it, the biſhop calls his family together, prays with them, and gives them his bleſſing: the ſame thing is conſtantly done after ſupper, when we part for the night. In the intervals of breakfaſt, and in the evening, when there is no company, his lordſhip ſometimes reads to us in ſome entertaining book. After breakfaſt we ſeparate, and amuſe ourſelves, as we think proper, till four, the hour of dinner. At ſix, when the weather is fair, we either walk, or make a viſit to ſome of the clergy or gentry in the neighbourhood, and return about eight. We then have muſic, in which I am ſorry to ſay, that I am almoſt the only performer. I have got a violoncello, and play Scotch tunes, and perform Handel's, Jackſon's, and other ſongs, as well as I can; and my audience is very willing to be pleaſed. The biſhop and Mrs Porteus are both fond of muſic. Theſe muſical parties are often honoured with the company of the accompliſhed and amiable Lady Twiſden, of whom I gave you ſome account in my laſt.'

'So much for our week-days. On Sundays, at eleven, we repair to church. It is a ſmall but neat building, with a pretty good ring of ſix bells. The congregation are a ſtout, well-featured ſet of people, clean and neat in their dreſs, and moſt exemplary in the decorum with which they perform the ſeveral parts of public worſhip. As we walk up the area to the biſhop's pew, they all make on each ſide a profound obeiſance; and the ſame as we return. The prayers are very well read by Mr Hill the curate, and the biſhop preaches. I need not tell you now,

becauſe I think I told you before, that Biſhop Porteus is, in my opinion, the beſt preacher, in reſpect both of compoſition and of delivery, I have ever heard. In this capacity, indeed, he is univerſally admired, and many of the gentry come to hear him from the neighbouring pariſhes. After evening ſervice, during the ſummer months, his lordſhip generally delivers from his pew a catechetical lecture, addreſſed to the children, who for this purpoſe are drawn up in a line before him along the area of the church. In theſe lectures, he explains to them, in the ſimpleſt and cleareſt manner, yet with his uſual elegance, the fundamental and eſſential principles of religion and morality; and concludes with an addreſs to the more advanced in years. This inſtitution of the biſhop's I greatly admire.' II. 145–148.

Such society, and such occupations, must unquestionably have been medicinal to a mind wounded as Dr Beattie's now was; but after the death of his favourite son, even those remedies were unable to sooth him. He went to London indeed afterwards; but was unable to interest himself in any thing but devotional exercises. He talks a good deal about his distresses in these letters; but his style is so correct and apparently elaborate, that he says little that is interesting. Almost the only passage that struck us was, where he mentions that his ill health prevented him from attending Handel's commemoration; and adds, in allusion to his son's musical performances—'But perhaps this was no loss to me. Even the organ of Durham was too much for my feelings. It brought too powerfully to my remembrance another organ, much smaller indeed, but more interesting, which I can never hear any more.' He bore up, however, tolerably well, till the sudden death of his only remaining child in 1796. He has given a plain and very affecting account of this calamity, and the effect it produced upon him, in a letter to Dr Laing.

'His delirium, which was extremely violent, ended in a ſtate of ſuch apparent tranquillity, that I was congratulating myſelf on the danger being over, at the very time when Dr ***** came, and told me, in his own name, and in that of the other two phyſicians that attended Montagu, that he could not live many hours: this was at eleven at night, and he died at five next morning. I hope I am reſigned, as my duty requires, and as I wiſh to be; but I have paſſed many a bitter hour, though on thoſe occaſions nobody ſees me. I fear my reaſon is a little diſordered; for I have ſometimes thought of late, eſpecially in a morning, that Montagu is not dead, though I ſeem to have a remembrance of a dream that he is. This you will ſay, what I myſelf believe, is a ſymptom not uncommon in caſes ſimilar to mine, and that I ought by all means to go from home as ſoon as I can. I will do ſo when the weather becomes tolerable. Inclination would draw me to Peterhead; but the intolerable road forbids it, and I believe I muſt go ſouthward, where the roads are very good: at leaſt I hear ſo.

'Being

'Being now childleſs, by the will of Providence, (in which I truſt I acquieſce), I have made a new ſettlement in my ſmall affairs; the only particular of which that needs to be mentioned at preſent is, that the organ, built by my eldeſt ſon and you, is now yours.

'I am much obliged to the kind friends who ſympathize with me. Montagu was indeed very popular wherever he went. His death was calm, reſigned, and unaffectedly pious; he thought himſelf dying from the firſt attack of his illneſs. "I could wiſh," ſaid he, "to live to be old, but am neither afraid nor unwilling to die." II. 310. 311.

Sir William Forbes has likewiſe described the effects of this calamity, in a manner which does honour to his feelings.

'The death of his only ſurviving child, completely unhinged the mind of Dr Beattie, the firſt ſymptom of which, ere many days had elapſed, was a temporary but almoſt total loſs of memory reſpecting his ſon. Many times he could not recollect what had become of him; and after ſearching in every room of the houſe, he would ſay to his niece, Mrs Glennie, "You may think it ſtrange, but I muſt aſk you if I have a ſon, and where he is?" She then felt herſelf under the painful neceſſity of bringing to his recollection his ſon Montagu's ſufferings, which always reſtored him to reaſon. And he would often, with many tears, expreſs his thankfulneſs, that he had no child, ſaying, "How could I have borne to ſee their elegant minds mangled with madneſs!" When he looked for the laſt time on the dead body of his ſon, he ſaid, "I have now done with the world:" and he ever after ſeemed to act as if he thought ſo. For he never applied himſelf to any ſort of ſtudy, and anſwered but few of the letters he received from the friends whom he moſt valued. Yet the receiving a letter from an old friend never failed to put him in ſpirits for the reſt of the day. Muſic, which had been his great delight, he could not endure, after the death of his eldeſt ſon, to hear from others; and he diſliked his own favourite violoncello. A few months before Montagu's death, he did begin to play a little by way of accompaniment when Montagu ſung: but after he loſt him, when he was prevailed on to touch the violoncello, he was always diſcontented with his own performance, and at laſt ſeemed to be unhappy when he heard it. The only enjoyment he ſeemed to have was in books, and the ſociety of a very few old friends. It is impoſſible to read the melancholy picture which he draws of his own ſituation about this time, without dropping a tear of pity over the ſorrows and the ſufferings of ſo good a man thus ſeverely viſited by affliction.' II. 307. 308.

It is ſcarcely neceſſary to purſue this melancholy narrative any further. His ſpirits were never reſtored, and his health continued gradually to decline, till, in 1799, he was ſtruck with palſy, which affected his ſpeech and memory; and, after being reduced to a ſtate of permanent inſenſibility, by repeated attacks of the ſame diſeaſe, at laſt expired in June 1803.

We ſhould now proceed to lay before our readers ſome ſpeci-

mens of those epistolary compositions, which fill the greater part of the volumes. They are almost all, as we have already intimated, of the nature of dissertations; and most of them dissertations on trite subjects. The critical remarks, we think, are not in general worth extracting: they are for the most part safe, sound, and common opinions of common authors. Virgil, Lucretius, Tasso, Ariosto, Fenelon, Ossian, Metastasio, Rousseau, Richardson, Armstrong, Young, and a dozen more as to whom the public opinion has fluctuated as little, are characterized and decided on with as much minuteness and solemnity of method, as if their names had never been heard of in literature; and, from all that we can perceive, Dr Beattie is just of the common way of thinking on those subjects, and writes sometimes prettily, and sometimes tediously, in exposition of it. At all events, what he writes bears no sort of resemblance to familiar letters; and he very seldom submits even to conterfeit that style by any sentences of easy introduction. One epistle begins, 'I promised to give you my opinion of the Henriade.' Another, 'I have just been reading Tasso.' And a third, 'I betook myself lately to the reading of Cæsar:'—which striking and appropriate introductions are followed by long disquisitions on the peculiar merit of those respective performances, very much in the manner and spirit of what we must infallibly meet with from any given lecturer on rhetoric. We scarcely think our readers would thank us for retailing any of this criticism. It will be more in favour of Dr Beattie, that they should peruse the following disquisition on public and private education;—a topic which, trite as it is, is judiciously treated, we think, in the following epistle.

'Could mankind lead their lives in that solitude which is so favourable to many of our most virtuous affections, I should be clearly on the side of a private education. But most of us, when we go out into the world, find difficulties in our way, which good principles and innocence alone will not qualify us to encounter; we must have some address and knowledge of the world different from what is to be learned in books, or we shall soon be puzzled, disheartened, or disgusted. The foundation of this knowledge is laid in the intercourse of schoolboys, or at least of young men of the same age. When a boy is always under the direction of a parent or tutor, he acquires such a habit of looking up to them for advice, that he never learns to think or act for himself; his memory is exercised, indeed, in retaining their advice, but his invention is suffered to languish, till at last it becomes totally inactive. He knows, perhaps, a great deal of history or science; but he knows not how to conduct himself on those ever-changing emergencies, which are too minute and too numerous to be comprehended in any system of advice. He is astonished at the most common appearances, and discouraged with the most trifling (because unexpected) obstacles; and he

is often at his wit's end, where a boy of much leſs knowledge, but more experience, would inſtantly deviſe a thouſand expedients.'

'Another inconvenience attending private education, is the ſuppreſſing of the principle of emulation, without which it rarely happens that a boy proſecutes his ſtudies with alacrity or ſucceſs. I have heard private tutors complain, that they were obliged to have recourſe to flattery or bribery to engage the attention of their pupil; and I need not obſerve, how improper it is to ſet the example of ſuch practices before children. True emulation, eſpecially in young and ingenuous minds, is a noble principle; I have known the happieſt effects produced by it; I never knew it to be productive of any vice. In all public ſchools it is, or ought to be, carefully cheriſhed.'—'I ſhall only obſerve further, that when boys purſue their ſtudies at home, they are apt to contract either a habit of idleneſs, or too cloſe an attachment to reading: the former breeds innumerable diſeaſes, both in the body and ſoul; the latter, by filling young and tender minds with more knowledge than they can either retain or arrange properly, is apt to make them ſuperficial and inattentive, or, what is worſe, to ſtrain, and conſequently impair, the faculties, by overſtretching them. I have known ſeveral inſtances of both.'

'The great inconvenience of public education ariſes from its being dangerous to morals. And indeed every condition and period of human life is liable to temptation. Nor will I deny, that our innocence, during the firſt part of life, is much more ſecure at home, than any where elſe; yet even at home, when we reach a certain age, it is not perfectly ſecure. Let young men be kept at the greateſt diſtance from bad company, it will not be eaſy to keep them from bad books, to which, in theſe days, all perſons may have eaſy acceſs at all times. Let us, however, ſuppoſe the beſt; that both bad books and bad company keep away, and that the young man never leaves his parents' or tutor's ſide, till his mind be well furniſhed with good principles, and himſelf arrived at the age of reflection and caution: yet temptations muſt come at laſt; and when they come, will they have the leſs ſtrength, becauſe they are new, unexpected, and ſurpriſing? I fear not. The more the young man is ſurpriſed, the more apt will he be to loſe his preſence of mind, and conſequently the leſs capable of ſelf-government. Beſides, if his paſſions are ſtrong, he will be diſpoſed to form compariſons between his paſt ſtate of reſtraint, and his preſent of liberty, very much to the diſadvantage of the former. His new aſſociates will laugh at him for his reſerve and preciſeneſs; and his unacquaintance with their manners, and with the world, as it will render him the more obnoxious to their ridicule, will alſo diſqualify him the more, both for ſupporting it with dignity, and alſo for defending himſelf againſt it.'—'A young man, kept by himſelf at home, is never well known, even by his parents; becauſe he is never placed in thoſe circumſtances which alone are able effectually to rouſe and intereſt his paſſions, and conſequently to make his character appear. His parents, therefore, or tutors,

tors, never know his weak ſide, nor what particular advices or cautions he ſtands moſt in need of; whereas, if he had attended a public ſchool, and mingled in the amuſements and purſuits of his equals, his virtues and his vices would have been diſcloſing themſelves every day; and his teachers would have known what particular precepts and examples it was moſt expedient to inculcate upon him. Compare thoſe who have had a public education with thoſe who have been educated at home; and it will not be found, in fact, that the latter are, either in virtue or in talents, ſuperior to the former. I ſpeak, Madam, from obſervation of fact, as well as from attending to the nature of the thing.' I. 180–185.

The following remarks upon the ſecond-ſight, and other ſuperſtitions of the Highlands, we think we have ſeen ſomewhere elſe. We extract them now from a letter to Mrs Montagu, and think they afford a favourable ſpecimen of the author's powers of diffuſe, eaſy, and deſcriptive illuſtration.

'I have been told, that the inhabitants of ſome parts of the Alps do alſo lay claim to a ſort of ſecond-ſight: and I believe the ſame ſuperſtition, or ſomething like it, may be found in many other countries, where the face of nature, and the ſolitary life of the natives, tend to impreſs the imagination with melancholy. The Highlands of Scotland are a picturesque, but gloomy region. Long tracts of ſolitary mountains covered with heath and rocks, and often obſcured by miſt; narrow vallies, thinly inhabited, and bounded by precipices that reſound for ever with the fall of torrents; a ſoil ſo rugged, and a climate ſo dreary, as to admit neither the amuſements of paſturage, nor the cheerful toils of agriculture; the mournful daſhing of waves along the friths and lakes that every where interſect this country; the portentous ſounds, which every change of the wind, and every increaſe and diminution of the waters, is apt to raiſe in a region full of rocks and hollow cliffs and caverns; the groteſque and ghaſtly appearance of ſuch a landſcape, eſpecially by the light of the moon;—objects like theſe diffuſe an habitual gloom over the fancy, and give it that romantic caſt, that diſpoſes to invention, and that melancholy, which inclines one to the fear of unſeen things and unknown events. It is obſervable too, that the antient Scottiſh Highlanders had ſcarce any other way of ſupporting themſelves, than by hunting, fiſhing, or war; profeſſions, that are continually expoſed to the moſt fatal accidents. Thus, almoſt every circumſtance in their lot tended to rouſe and terrify the imagination. Accordingly, their poetry is uniformly mournful; their muſic melancholy and dreadful, and their ſuperſtitions are all of the gloomy kind. The fairies confined their gambols to the Lowlands: the mountains were haunted with giants and angry ghoſts, and funeral proceſſions, and other prodigies of direful import. That a people, beſet with ſuch real and imaginary bugbears, ſhould fancy themſelves dreaming, even when awake, of corpſes, and graves, and coffins, and other terrible things, ſeems natural enough; but that their viſions ever tended to any real or uſeful diſcovery, I am much inclined to doubt.' I. 221-222.

Of

Of the ſame degree and ſort of merit are the following remarks on the credit due to voyagers reporting marvellous facts as to character and manners.

'When a European arrives in any remote part of the globe, the natives, if they know any thing of his country, will be apt to form no favourable opinion of his intentions, with regard to their liberties; if they know nothing of him, they will yet keep aloof, on account of his ſtrange language, complexion, and accoutrements. In either caſe he has little chance of underſtanding their laws, manners, and principles of action, except by a long reſidence in the country, which would not ſuit the views of one traveller in five thouſand. He therefore picks up a few ſtrange plants and animals, which he may do with little trouble or danger; and, at his return to Europe, is welcomed by the literati, as a philoſophic traveller of moſt accurate obſervation, and unqueſtionable veracity. He deſcribes, perhaps with tolerable exactneſs, the ſoils, plants, and other irrational curioſities of the new country, which procures credit to what he has to ſay of the people; though his accuracy in deſcribing the material phenomena, is no proof of his capacity to explain the moral. One can eaſily dig to the root of a plant, but it is not ſo eaſy to penetrate the motive of an action; and till the motive of an action be known, we are no competent judges of its morality; and in many caſes the motive of an action is not to be known without a moſt intimate knowledge of the language and manners of the agent. Our traveller then delivers a few facts of the moral kind, which perhaps he does not underſtand, and from them draws ſome inferences ſuitable to the taſte of the times, or to a favourite hypotheſis. He tells us of a Californian, who ſold his bed in a morning, and came with tears in his eyes to beg it back at night; whence, he very wiſely infers, that the poor Californians are hardly one degree above the brutes in underſtanding, for that they have neither foreſight nor memory ſufficient to direct their conduct on the moſt common occaſions of life. In a word, they are quite a different ſpecies of animal from the European; and it is a groſs miſtake to think, that all mankind are deſcended from the ſame firſt parents. But one needs not go ſo far as to California, in queſt of men who ſacrifice a future good to a preſent gratification. In the metropolis of Great Britain one may meet with many reputed Chriſtians, who would act the ſame part for the pleaſure of carouſing half-a-day in a gin-ſhop. Again, to illuſtrate the ſame important truth, that man is a beaſt, or very little better, we are told of another nation, on the banks of the Orellana, ſo wonderfully ſtupid, that they cannot reckon beyond the number three, but point to the hair of their head, whenever they would ſignify a greater number; as if four, and four thouſand, were to them equally inconceivable. But, whence it comes to paſs, that theſe people are capable of ſpeech, or of reckoning at all, even ſo far as to three, is a difficulty, of which our hiſtorian attempts not the ſolution. But till he ſhall ſolve it, I muſt beg leave to tell him, that the one half of his tale contradicts the other as effectually, as if he had told us of a people

people who were ſo weak as to be incapable of bodily exertion, and yet, that he had ſeen one of them lift a ſtone of a hundred weight.' I. 392-94.

Theſe are fair ſpecimens of what is beſt in the volumes before us. Sometimes he is ſtill more elaborate and ingenious; and attacks his female correſpondents with this kind of familiar writing.

'What is the reaſon, Madam, that the poetry, and indeed the whole phraſeology, of the eaſtern nations (and I believe the ſame thing holds of all uncultivated nations) is ſo full of glaring images, exaggerated metaphors, and gigantic deſcriptions? Is it, becauſe that, in thoſe countries, where art has made little progreſs, nature ſhoots forth into wilder magnificence, and every thing appears to be conſtructed on a larger ſcale? Is it that the language, through defect of copiouſneſs, is obliged to adopt metaphor and ſimilitude, even for expreſſing the moſt obvious ſentiments? Is it, that the ignorance and indolence of ſuch people, unfriendly to liberty, diſpoſes them to regard their governors as of ſupernatural dignity, and to decorate them with the moſt pompous and high-ſounding titles, the frequent uſe of which comes at laſt to infect their whole converſation with bombaſt? Or is it, that the paſſions of thoſe people are really ſtronger, and their climate more luxuriant? Perhaps all theſe cauſes may conſpire in producing this effect. Certain it is, that Europe is much indebted, for her ſtyle and manner of compoſition, to her ancient authors, particularly to thoſe of Greece, by whoſe example and authority that ſimple and natural diction was happily eſtabliſhed, which all our beſt authors of ſucceeding times have been ambitious to imitate. I. 234 235.

Theſe queries, however, were addreſſed to the ingenious Mrs Montagu; and ſeem to have been very much to her taſte: at leaſt ſhe is polite enough to anſwer in the ſame ſtyle, and has rather the beſt of the battle we think. This is her reſponſe.

'You aſk me why the eaſtern nations are, in their poetical compoſitions, ſo full of glaring images, and exaggerated metaphors? One reaſon, I preſume, is, that they are little addicted to write or read proſe. Fiction and bombaſt are called *le Phœbus*, in the French language: the marvellous is affected in poetry more than in proſe; exaggeration is a road to the marvellous. The firſt paſſage from hieroglyphic repreſentation to imitation by words, muſt naturally be by images. The Greeks, by a certain ſubtilty of parts, and the popular character of the philoſophers, addicted themſelves greatly to metaphyſics; this baniſhed from the learned the groſſer images. They cultivated all the parts of rhetoric; thence grew preciſion, and conſequently the figurative ſtyle became leſs in uſe; words acquired certain and exact ſignification; and Socrates, the beſt and moſt modeſt of men, would inculcate the maxim, that the gods hate impudence, without delineating an eagle, a crocodile, a ſea-horſe, and a fiſh, as the Egyptian ſages had done, to teach it. Many of the high-pompous and high-ſounding titles you take notice of, as given to eaſtern princes, are verbal tranſlations of the ſymbols of re-

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gal power, executive juſtice, &c. As to Homer, we know little about him; he ſeems to paint exactly from the life, as our Shakeſpeare did, and as the firſt-rate geniuses will always do, where there are not eſtabliſhed laws of criticiſm, to which they muſt bend, and which ſet up a pattern and mode to work by. You will find Æſchylus an hieroglyphical, ſymbolical, allegorical writer; his works ſmell of Egypt, and the mythology of his country. Sophocles ſaw that the historical muſe of Herodotus was admired; he therefore takes a more middle flight between hiſtory and poetry. Euripides finds his countrymen ſtill more refined, and is a moral philoſopher, as well as poet. He writes to Socrates, and the diſciples of Socrates. Something of the pomp and luxury of an Aſiatic poet's deſcriptions certainly ariſes from the wealth and plenty of his country, and the diſplay of gold and jewels, and the perfumes, &c. in the palaces of the great. Oſſian exaggerates only the ſtrength and valour of his heroes, and the beauty of his women. As poetry profeſſes to pleaſe and ſurpriſe, it will always embelliſh and magnify. I. 241-43.

This is marvellous fine, we own, and very satisfactory. All the *billets-doux*, however, of those learned correspondents, are not quite so lofty. Sometimes they condescend to be sentimental, and to tell pretty stories; and then, no doubt, they are still more ridiculous. Thus Dr Beattie tells a silly anecdote of somebody having seen a pigeon perch on the head of Shakespeare's statue at Stratford; to which Mrs Montagu replies, by observing, that 'any bird might have been a symbol of Shakespeare,—the gravity and deep thought of the bird of wisdom,—the sublime flight of the eagle to the starry regions,' &c.; and Dr Beattie, unable to drop 'the pretty incident,' as they tenderly call it, rejoins in the following passage, which is of a quiet and mawkish stupidity, we think, equal to any thing that ever fell from the pen of Richardson's female correspondents.

'I have not yet ſeen the verſes on Shakeſpeare and the dove. One thing I am certain of, which is, that they will contain nothing ſo much to the purpoſe, or ſo elegant, as what you have ſaid on the occaſion, in proſe. You juſtly remark, that any bird of character, from the eagle to the ſky-lark, from the owl to the mock-bird, might ſymbolize with one or other of the attributes of that univerſal genius. But do not you think, that his dove-like qualities are among thoſe on which he *now* reflects with peculiar complacency? And I think it could be ſhown, from many things in his writings, that he reſembled the dove, as much as the eagle.' I. 394.

We are compelled to notice some other faults in these letters, of a still more serious nature. We allude to the habitual assentation and exaggerated compliments with which the author seems to have addressed all his wealthy or celebrated correspondents; and to some other occasional traits of meanness which suit very ill with

with the lofty pretensions which he now and then makes to independence.

We have no objection to sprightly compliments to a lady,—though she should be opulent and stricken in years,—provided they are delivered with that light and careless air which gives them grace and propriety; but such elaborate *douceurs* as occur in the following letter to Mrs Montagu, look too much like adulation, and are humiliating to all the parties concerned.

'Your laſt letter, of the 5th June, reached me after I had been ſome days at Peterhead, endeavouring, by the uſe of the medicinal waters of that place, to ſhake off this hideous indiſpoſition. But from that water I did not receive half ſo much benefit, as from the very agreeable accounts you gave me of your health and ſpirits. I congratulate you, Madam, and myſelf on your recovery, and I earneſtly pray it may be permanent.

'Your deſcription of Tunbridge-wells is ſo very lively, that I think myſelf preſent in every part of it. I ſee your hills, your cattle, your carriages, your *beaux* and *belles* blended together in agreeable confuſion. I am delighted while I ſympathize with the feelings of thoſe, whoſe imagination is refreſhed and amuſed, by the pleaſing incongruities of the ſcene, and whoſe health and ſpirits are reſtored by the freſhneſs of the air, and the virtues of the fountain. But what intereſts and delights me moſt of all, and more than words can expreſs, is, that by the eye of fancy I behold you, Madam, looking around on this ſcene with an aſpect, in which all your native benignity, ſprightlineſs, and harmony of ſoul are heightened, with every decoration that health and cheerfulneſs can beſtow.' I. 228–9.

'Your moſt obliging and moſt excellent letter, of the 14th current, bore the impreſſion of Socrates on the outſide, but judgment, better than that of Socrates, ſpoke within. He, if I miſtake not, piqued himſelf on having conſtantly reſided in Athens, and uſed to ſay, that he found no inſtruction in ſtones or trees; but you, Madam, better ſkilled in the human heart, and more thoroughly acquainted with all its ſublimer affections, do juſtly conſider that quiet which the country affords, and thoſe ſoothing and elevating ſentiments, which "rural ſights and rural ſounds" ſo powerfully inſpire, as neceſſary to purify the ſoul, and raiſe it to the contemplation of the firſt and greateſt good. Yet, I think, you rightly determine,' &c. I. 287–8.

After this, the reader will not be ſurpriſed to find him telling her, 'My models of English are Addiſon, and those who write like Addiſon, *particularly yourself*, Madam, and Lord Lyttleton.' All this, however, would have been much more tolerable, if it had only been a commerce of mutual flattery, in which both parties were on an equal footing; but it appears clearly, that Mrs Montagu ſometimes paid this praiſe in more ſubſtantial coin; and that Beattie thanked her for it with a lowliness which it grieves us to ſee in a man of letters who was ſo independent of patronage.

patronage. Mention is made, more than once, of her pecuniary benefactions to him and his family; and in the following paragraph, he has degraded himself to the condition of a starving pedagogue. 'How shall I thank you, Madam, for all your goodness? Your refusal to accept of any indemnification for the expense of my advertisements, is a new instance! I am ashamed, and know not what to say. *Dii tibi—et mens sibi conscia recti, præmia digna ferant!*'

There are worse traits of the same kind in the book. When he was soliciting his pension, the Dutchess of Portland, who had never seen him before, asked him to accept 100l.; he did not take it indeed; but, instead of resenting the insulting offer of charity to an established professor, he appears to have declined it with many thanks, and ever afterwards to have regarded the Dutchess with uncommon veneration. Samuel Johnson, when he was starving on fourpence a day, would have rejected the alms with disdain. The most humiliating of all these stories, however, is one about a subscription which Lady Mayne, and some of her friends, had set on foot for a splendid edition of his Essay, by which they thought a considerable sum might be raised, in case his application to Government should prove unsuccessful. After it was crowned with success, and the pension obtained, it appears that the subscription was allowed to languish; and Dr Beattie was even directly warned by some of his friends, that it would have an appearance of great meanness, and be disgraceful to his character, if it were still allowed to go on. The Doctor, however, would not agree to drop it. He wrote a long letter in answer to this remonstrance, setting forth, that it was a private thing, and not projected by him, but by his friends; that he thought it honourable to him, &c. &c.; and, at last, finding that this did not satisfy his more scrupulous correspondent, he wrote to Lady Mayne, requesting, that since such misconstructions existed, 'no *entreaty* should be used *to draw in subscribers*, and that they who *make objections* should not be solicited a second time!' If he had been begging for a widow and eight orphans, he could not have made a more pitiful concession.

We are less offended with the silken courtesy of all his addresses to the bishops and well beneficed clergymen of England, in whose palaces and parsonages he takes his repose, and the dexterity with which he selects for them those topics on which he must have known that the flattery of a Scottish philosopher would be most acceptable. We, for our own parts, are still so national, that it takes all our charity to believe that he could be quite sincere in his praises of the pulpit eloquence of England, and his decided preference of their plan of academical education to our own. The most amusing

of

of all his complimentary productions, however, are the sentimental love-letters which he addresses, in great numbers, to the *Dutchess of Gordon*, for ten or twelve years of his life. He cautions her against her excessive love of solitude, and her passion for moonlight wanderings and pensive contemplation,—enlarges upon the dangers of indulging in extreme sensibility,—and exhorts her to moderate her passion for Young's Night Thoughts, and her amiable anxiety for her husband and children!

We have great indulgence for the vanity of an author; and therefore, we say nothing of the manifold false judgments which Dr Beattie here passes in his own favour; but we cannot quite so easily forgive the affected contempt with which he pretends to speak of those who were ranged against him in controversy, and the impatience with which he allows even his own associates to give them credit for any sort of genius. He is very angry with Dr Reid and Dr Campbell, for treating Mr Hume as a writer of distinguished abilities, and is quite out of humour with Dr Robertson, for praising the eloquence and accuracy of Voltaire, and paying some compliments to Gibbon and Raynal;—for himself, he openly avows, that he detests the principles of those infidel writers, and 'despises their talents.' This would scarcely go down, we should imagine, even among the blue stockings of Montagu house; and certainly is not calculated to produce any very favourable impression of the author's judgment or sincerity. As he has borrowed the whole of his philosophy from Dr Reid, he might have submitted to take his opinion of the talents against which it was directed; and really should not have let Miss Hannah More and Lord Lyttleton persuade him that he was entitled to talk with contempt of the genius of Hume and Voltaire. With the same supercilious scorn for his infidelity, he has a girlish admiration of Rousseau, and places him, as a moral philosopher, in the same class with Bacon and Montesquieu. He had too tender a heart! he says, to be a confirmed infidel, and was led into scepticism by the bad company which he kept at Paris! The perusal of these letters, in short, has not often exalted our ideas of Dr Beattie's intellectual attainments; and has certainly brought to light some flaws in his moral character, which his friends would have acted more discreetly in allowing to descend to oblivion.

We have not left ourselves much room to estimate the general merits of his various publications; but, as they are all analyzed and extolled in the work before us, it is necessary, before dismissing it, to say something on the subject.

The work which makes the greatest figure, and was certainly the first foundation of the author's celebrity, is the 'Essay on

the Nature and Immutability of Truth,' on which such unmeasured praises are bestowed, both by the present biographer, and by all the author's male and female correspondents, that it is with difficulty we can believe that they are speaking of the performance which we have just been wearying ourselves with looking over. That the author's intentions were good, and his conviction sincere, we entertain not the least doubt; but that the merits of his book have been prodigiously overrated, we think, is equally undeniable. It contains absolutely nothing, in the nature of argument, that had not been previously stated by Dr Reid in his Inquiry into the Human Mind; and, in our opinion, in a much clearer and more unexceptionable form. As to the merits of that philosophy, we have already taken occasion, in two separate places, * to submit our opinion to the judgment of our readers; and, after having settled our accounts with Mr Stewart and Dr Reid, we really do not think it worth while to enter the lists again with Dr Beattie. Whatever may be the excellence of the common-sense school of philosophy, he certainly has no claim to the honours of a founder. He invented none of it; and it is very doubtful with us, whether he ever rightly understood the principles upon which it is rested. It is unquestionable, at least, that he has exposed it to considerable disadvantage, and embarrassed its more enlightened supporters, by the misplaced confidence with which he has urged some propositions, and the fallacious and fantastic illustrations by which he has aimed at recommending them.

His confidence and his inaccuracy, however, might have been easily forgiven. Every one has not the capacity of writing philosophically; but every one may at least be temperate and candid; and Dr Beattie's book is still more remarkable for being abusive and acrimonious, than for its defects in argument or originality. There are no subjects, however, in the wide field of human speculation, upon which such vehemence appears more groundless and unaccountable, than the greater part of those which have served Dr Beattie for topics of declamation or invective.

His first great battle is about the real existence of external objects. The sceptics say, that perception is merely an act or affection of the mind, and consequently might exist without any external cause. It is a sensation or affection of the mind, indeed, which consists in the apprehension and belief of such external existences; but being in itself a phenomenon purely mental, it is a mere supposition or conjecture to hold that there are any such existences, by whose operation it is produced. It is impossible, therefore, to bring any evidence for the existence of material ob-



* Vol. III. p. 281. Vol. VII. p. 170.

jects; and the belief which is admitted to be inseparable from the act of perception, can never be received as such evidence. The whole question is about the *grounds* of this belief, and not about its existence; and the phenomena of dreaming and madness even prove experimentally, that perception, as characterized by belief, may exist where there is no external object. Dr Beattie answers, after Dr Reid, that the mere existence of this instinctive and indestructible belief in the reality of external objects, is a complete and sufficient proof of their reality; that nature meant us to be satisfied with it; and that we cannot call it in question, without running into the greatest absurdities.

This is the whole dispute, and a pretty correct summary of the argument upon both sides of the question. But is there any thing here that could justify the calling of names, or the violation of decorum among the disputants? The question is, of all other questions that can be suggested, the most purely and entirely speculative, and obviously disconnected from any practical or moral consequences. After what Berkeley has written on the subject, it must be a gross and wilful fallacy to pretend that the *conduct* of men can be in the smallest degree affected by the opinions they entertain about the existence or non-existence of matter. The system which maintains the latter, leaves all our sensations and perceptions unimpaired and entire; and as it is by these, and by these only, that our conduct is guided, it is evident that it can never be altered by the adoption of that system. The whole dispute is about the *cause* or *origin* of our perceptions; which the one party ascribes to the action of external bodies, and the other to the inward development of some mental energy. It is a question of pure curiosity; it never can be decided; and as its decision is perfectly indifferent and immaterial to any practical purpose, so, it might have been expected that the discussion should be conducted without virulence or abuse.

The next grand dispute is about the evidence of memory. The sceptics will have it, that we are sure of nothing but our present sensations; and that, though these are sometimes characterised by an impression and belief that other sensations did formerly exist, we can have no evidence of the justice of this belief, nor any certainty that this illusive conception of former sensation, which we call memory, may not be an *original* affection of our minds. The orthodox philosophers, on the other hand, maintain, that the instinctive reliance we have on memory is complete and satisfactory proof of its accuracy; that it is absurd to ask for the grounds of this belief; and that we cannot call it in question without manifest inconsistency. The same observations which were made on the argument for the existence of matter, apply also to this controversy. It is purely speculative, and without application

application to any practical conclusion. The sceptics do not deny that they remember like other people, and, consequently, that they have an indestructible belief in past events or existences. All the question is about the *origin*, or the justice of this belief;—whether it arise from such events having actually happened before, or from some original affection of the mind, which is attended with that impression.

The argument, as commonly stated by the sceptics, leads only to a negative or sceptical conclusion. It amounts only to this, that the present sensation, which we call memory, affords *no evidence* of past existence; and that for any thing that can be *proved* to the contrary, nothing of what we remember *may* have existed. We think this undeniably true; and so we believe did Dr Beattie. He thought it also very uselesss; and we agree with him: but he thought it very wicked, and very despicably silly; and there we cannot agree with him at all. It is a very pretty and ingenious puzzle,—affords a very useful mortification to human reason,—and leads us to that state of philosophical wonder and perplexity in which we feel our own helplessness, and in which we *ought* to feel the impropriety of all dogmatism or arrogance in reasoning upon such subjects. This is the only use and the only meaning of such sceptical speculations. It is altogether unfair, and indeed absurd, to suppose that their authors could ever mean positively to maintain that we should try to get the better of any reliance on our memories, or that they themselves really doubted more than other people as to the past reality of the things they remembered. The very arguments they use, indeed, to show that the evidence of memory *may* be fallacious, prove, completely, that they relied implicitly on the accuracy of that faculty. If they were not sure that they recollected the premises of their reasoning, it is evidently impossible they should ever have drawn their conclusion. If they did not believe that they had seen the books they answered, it is impossible they should have set about answering them.

The truth is, however, that all men have a practical and irresistible belief both in the existence of matter, and in the accuracy of memory; and that no sceptical writer ever meant or expected to destroy this practical belief in other persons. All that they aimed at was to show their own ingenuity, and the narrow limits of the human understanding,—to point out a curious distinction between the evidence of immediate consciousness, and that of perception or memory,—and to shew that there was a kind of logical or argumentative *possibility*, that the objects of the latter faculties might have no existence. There never was any danger of their persuading men to distrust their senses or their memory; nor can they be rationally suspect-

ed of such an intention; on the contrary, they necessarily took for granted the instinctive and indestructible belief for which they found it so difficult to account. Their whole reasonings consist of an attempt to explain that admitted fact, and to ascertain the grounds upon which that belief depends. In the end, they agree with their adversaries that these grounds cannot be ascertained: and the only difference between them is, that the adversary maintains that they need no explanation; while the sceptic insists that the want of it still leaves a possibility that the belief may be fallacious, and at any rate establishes a distinction in degree between the primary evidence of consciousness, which it is impossible to distrust without a contradiction, and the secondary evidence of perception and memory, which may be clearly conceived to be erroneous.

To this extent, we are clearly of opinion that the sceptics are right; and though the value of the discovery certainly is as small as possible, we are just as well satisfied that its consequences are perfectly harmless. Their reasonings are about as ingenious and as innocent as some of those which have been employed to establish certain strange paradoxes as to the nature of motion, or the infinite divisibility of matter. The argument is perfectly logical and unanswerable; and yet no man in his senses can admit the conclusion. Thus, it can be strictly demonstrated, that the swiftest moving body can never overtake the slowest which is before it at the commencement of the motion; or, in the words of the original problem, that the swift-footed Achilles could never overtake a snail that had a few yards the start of him. The reasoning upon which this valuable proposition is founded, does not admit, we believe, of any direct confutation; and yet there are few, we believe, who, upon the faith of it, would take a bet as to the result of such a race. The sceptical reasonings as to the mind lead to no other practical conclusions; and may be answered or acquiesced in with the same good nature.

Such, however, are the chief topics which Dr Beattie has discussed in this Essay, with a vehemence of temper, and an impotence of reasoning, equally surprising and humiliating to the cause of philosophy. The subjects we have mentioned occupy the greater part of this Essay, and are indeed almost the only ones to which its title at all applies. Yet we think it must be already apparent, that there is nothing whatsoever in the doctrines he opposes, to call down his indignation, or to justify his abuse. That there are other doctrines in some of the books which he has aimed at confuting, which would justify the most zealous opposition of every friend to religion, we readily admit; but these have no necessary dependence on the general speculative

tive scepticism to which we have now been alluding, and will be best refuted by those who lay all that general reasoning entirely out of consideration. Mr Hume's theory of morals, which, when rightly understood, we conceive to be both salutary and true, certainly has no connexion with his doctrine of ideas and impressions; and the great question of liberty and necessity, which Dr Beattie has settled, by mistaking, throughout, the power of *doing* what we will, for the power of *willing* without motives, evidently depends upon considerations altogether separate from the nature and immutability of truth. It has always appeared to us, indeed, that too much importance has been attached to *theories* of morals, and to speculations on the sources of approbation. Our feelings of approbation and disapprobation, and the moral distinctions which are raised upon them, are *facts* which no theory can alter, although it may fail to explain. While these facts remain, they must regulate the conduct, and affect the happiness of mankind, whether they are well or ill accounted for by the theories of philosophers. It is the same nearly with regard to the controversy about cause and effect. It does not appear to us that Mr Hume ever meant to deny the existence of such a relation, or of the relative idea of power. He has merely given a new theory as to its genealogy or descent; and detected some very gross inaccuracies in the opinions and reasonings which were formerly prevalent on that subject.

If Dr Beattie had been able to refute these doctrines, we cannot help thinking that he would have done it with more temper and moderation; and disdained to court popularity by so much fulsome cant about common sense, virtue and religion, and his contempt and abhorrence for infidels, sophists, and metaphysicians; by such babyish interjections, as 'fy on it! fy on it!'—such triumphant exclamations, as, 'say, ye candid and intelligent!'—or such terrific addresses, as, 'ye traitors to human kind! ye murderers of the human soul!'—'vain hypocrites! perfidious profligates!' and a variety of other embellishments, as dignified as original in a philosophical and argumentative treatise. The truth is, that the Essay acquired its popularity, partly from the indifference and dislike which has long prevailed in England, as to metaphysical inquiries; partly from the perpetual appeal which it affects to make from philosophical subtlety to common sense; and partly from the accidental circumstances of the author. It was a great matter for the orthodox scholars of the south, who knew little of metaphysics themselves, to get a Scotch professor of philosophy to take up the gauntlet in their behalf. The contempt with which he chose to speak of his antagonists was the very tone which they wished to be adopted; and, some of them,

imposed on by the confidence of his manner, and some resolved to give it all chances of imposing on others, they joined in one clamour of approbation, and proclaimed a triumph for a mere rash skirmisher, while the leader of the battle was still doubtful of the victory. The book, thus dandled into popularity by bishops and good ladies, contained many pieces of nursery eloquence, and much innocent pleasantry: it was not fatiguing to the understanding; and read less heavily, on the whole, than most of the Sunday library. In consequence of all these recommendations, it ran through various editions, and found its way into most well regulated families; and, though made up of such stuff, as we really believe no grown man who had ever thought of the subject could possibly go through without nausea and compassion, still retains its place among the meritorious performances, by which youthful minds are to be purified and invigorated. We shall hear no more of it, however, among those who have left college.

We turn with pleasure from Dr Beattie's philosophy to his poetry; though this is by no means of the highest order. There is a degree of tenderness and solemnity in some passages of the Minstrel, that recommend it irresistibly to all good minds; and some specimens of large and animated description, which belong to the higher order of poetry: but there is, in general, an air of feebleness and constraint, both in the diction and conception, that continually destroys the illusion of inspiration, and, instead of the fine enchantments of fancy, shows us the laborious artist, with all his scholastic tools about him, exhausting himself in vain efforts of imitation. There is throughout a miserable barrenness of invention, much disjointed and misplaced composition, and innumerable patches of silliness, pedantry, and vulgarity. His other poems are scarcely deserving of notice. The Battle of the Pigmies and Cranes is by far the best versified; and shows a freer use of poetical language than any of his other compositions. The Hermit is also very smooth and mellifluous; the odes and elegies are laborious reading; and the pieces in which he has aimed at pleasantry, are beyond all endurance abominable. The later editions of his poems are improved by the omission of much trash; but a reader of any nerves must still look with horror on a volume, which may assail him on its opening with such verses as these.

'A Spaniard reach'd the moon, upborne by geese;
(Then firſt 'twas known that ſhe was made of cheeſe.)
A fiddler, on a fiſh, thro' waves advanc'd;
He twang'd his catgut, and the dolphin danc'd.
Hags ride on broomſticks;—heathen gods on clouds:
Ladies, on rams and bulls, have dar'd the floods.

Much

Much fam'd the ſhoe Jack Giant-killer wore;
And Fortunatus' hat is fam'd much more.
Such vehicles were common ones no doubt;
But modern verſemen muſt e'en trudge on foot.' &c.

It is as a writer of essays, critical and philological, that we think Dr Beattie most uniformly excellent. There is much acuteness, neatness, and delicacy in many of these performances. They are written in a very pleasing and popular style; generally elegant, and always perspicuous and flowing. His judgment of authors is commonly correct and candid; his illustrations lively and amusing; and his praises bestowed with considerable elegance and felicity of expression. There is much more originality in those works, than in any of his other productions; and though occasionally feeble and affected, they entitle him, we think, to the praise of the most pleasing and ingenious writer on the *Belles Lettres* of his day. By an extraordinary fatality, they are less heard of than any of his other writings; and his reputation is commonly rested, we must think very injudiciously, upon performances, which must ultimately take their station in the third and fourth ranks of literary excellence.

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ART. XIII. *A Letter on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, addressed to the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of Yorkshire.* By W. Wilberforce Esq. 8vo. pp. 396. London. Cadell & Davies. 1807.

IT is with very sincere pleasure, that we congratulate our readers on the final and complete triumph of the great cause, so often pleaded in this Journal; and which we have had the satisfaction of bringing forward, upon every lawful occasion, from the commencement of our undertaking to the present day. * Of late, indeed, conceiving that the merits of the question were sufficiently known, we have only noticed such new matter as occurred from time to time; and having thus followed the progress of the abolition historically, our labours would be incomplete were we to pass over the present opportunity of bringing this great subject once more before our readers, happily in its very last stage, and, we may be permitted to hope, for the last time. The interesting publication of Mr Wilberforce, the distinguished leader in the contest, was the last work of any note that appeared before its termination. As such, it claims our attention, pre-



* See No. I. Art. XXI.

vious to the remarks with which we purpose to close our humble efforts in this department.

Mr Wilberforce has exhibited, in the shape of an address to his constituents, a very full and faithful view of the whole arguments which bear upon the question of the slave trade. He takes it up in Africa, and describes at length the evils which this nefarious traffic has entailed upon that continent. He examines minutely the grounds on which his adversaries have disputed the evidence of the abolitionists; exposes the misrepresentations which have enabled them to blind and to mislead the public upon these points; and shows, by a full discussion of the proof, not only that it preponderates on the side of abolition, but that, when rightly sifted, its *whole* weight lies there. By a similar examination of the evidence, relating both to the middle passage and the West Indian branch of the subject, he extends his conclusions to those points also; and handles, in detail, and with irresistible force, the various arguments, whereby the abolitionists prove, from the mouths of the slave traders themselves, that the prosperity of our marine, and the safety of our colonies, require the extinction of the traffic, as plainly as those common feelings of humanity and justice on which it has been a constant outrage.

To assert that, in the course of this exposition, our author has not adduced many new arguments, or even many novel illustrations of his subject, would be only to remind the reader, that Mr Wilberforce is here repeating in print what he has by his parliamentary labours already laid before the country. We have learned these things from him upon former occasions, otherwise we should prize them for their novelty as much as for their importance. Yet great talents will every now and then throw new light, even upon topics which their own efforts had long ago rendered trite. And, so much more inexhaustible is a man's genius than the most extensive subject to which he can apply it, that, when new facts and arguments are no longer to be found, after nineteen or twenty years of constant discussion, we shall find him striking out some happy and unexpected view of the most familiar things. This we have frequently experienced in perusing the tract now before us. It not only gives a luminous statement of all the known arguments for the abolition, with a careful exposition of the evidence on both sides, but it contains several happy allusions and remarks, which diffuse a new light over some of the best known parts of the question, and make us for a while forget that we had seen them before.

We consider this publication as valuable in another point of view. Mr Wilberforce is certainly one of the most eloquent speakers

ſpeakers of whom, alas! our ſenate can now boaſt. His pamphlet is a written ſpeech; and, with moſt of the defects, retains many of the beauties which eminently diſtinguiſh his oratory. His ſtyle is eaſy and flowing; rather clear than condenſed; altogether free from bombaſt, and, indeed, from any ornament of a falſe taſte; never failing to reach what it attempts, though it may not often point at the higheſt marks; varying with the nature of the topics, and, from being ſo natural, void of what is called 'manner;' almoſt always animated, and its ſtrength chiefly impaired by want of correcting and curtailing. It is the manner of one who has written little and ſpoken much, who has always ſtudied his ſubject more than his oratory, who now makes a ſpeech to his amanuenſis, and has it printed without a careful reviſal. Such, indeed, we preſume to be, in a good meaſure, the fact; and, even if verbal criticiſm were not out of the queſtion on this occaſion, the unavoidable haſte in which we conceive the pamphlet muſt have been prepared, would be an ample excuſe for many more inaccuracies than we have diſcovered in its compoſition.

We ſhall extract one or two paſſages which ſtruck us in the peruſal,—premiſing that little more than the merits of the ſtyle can be eſtimated by any ſuch ſpecimens; for the chief excellence of the work conſiſts in the acuteneſs with which the evidence is commented upon, the uniform ſoundneſs of the author's views, both on his own ſubject and on queſtions incidentally connected with it, and the unabating vigilance which he ſhews in taking up every little point that comes acroſs him, and turning it to his object, without breaking down the body of his argument. Theſe things can only be judged of by a peruſal of the whole tract. The livelineſs of manner, by which he keeps our attention awake for an unneceſſary length of time on a very beaten ſubject, may be ſeen in ſuch paſſages as the following.

After citing various ſtatements from Mr Long's Hiſtory of Jamaica, to prove that this author viewed the negroes as a race of men radically inferior to the whites, he continues,

'Such is Mr Long's portrait of the negro character; ſuch was the ſtate of contempt into which the whole race had fallen, in the eſtimation of thoſe who had known them chiefly in that condition of wretchedneſs and degradation into which a long continued courſe of ſlavery had depreſſed them. Can any thing ſhew more clearly, with what ſtrong prejudices againſt the negro race, the minds not only of low uneducated men, but of a Weſt Indian, whoſe authority is great, and whoſe name ſtands high among his countrymen, were, ſome years ago at leaſt, infected? Conſequently they prove with what ſpirit and temper, even well-informed men, among the coloniſts, entered on the conſideration of the various queſtions involved in the large and complicated diſcuſſion concerning the abolition of the Slave Trade.

'But

'But the ſubject is of the very firſt importance in another view; for it is a truth ſo clear, that it would be a mere waſte of time to prove it in detail—that our eſtimate of the intellectual and moral qualities, of the natural and acquired tempers, and feelings, and habits, of any claſs our fellow creatures, will determine our judgment as to what is neceſſary to their happineſs, and ſtill more as to the treatment they may reaſonably claim at our hands. Now let it be remembered, the author, whoſe account of the Africans has been juſt laid before you, was the very beſt informed of thoſe on whoſe views and feelings, reſpecting the negroes, our opponents would have had us entirely rely. Muſt not the repreſentations of ſuch witneſſes againſt the negroes be received with large abatement, and ought we not to lend ourſelves to their ſuggeſtions with conſiderable diffidence? What judgment would they be likely to form of the conſideration to which, whether in Africa, on ſhip-board, or in the Weſt Indies, the negro ſlaves were entitled? By how ſcanty a meaſure would their comforts be diſpenſed to them! And when, in anſwer to our inquiries, we were aſſured that in theſe ſeveral ſituations, their treatment was *ſufficiently* mild and humane, and that *due* attention was paid to their wants and feelings, might we not reaſonably receive theſe aſſurances with ſome reſerve, on calling to mind that they proceeded from perſons whoſe eſtimate of *ſufficiency* was drawn from their calculations of what was *due* to the wants and feelings, the pleaſures and pains of a being little above the brute creation; not of a being of talents and paſſions, of anticipations and recollections, of ſocial and domeſtic feelings ſimilar to our own?" p. 61. 62.

The above paſſage alſo draws, from a well known topic, a new illuſtration of the ſubject, and ſkilfully turns againſt the adverſary, ſome of his own facts, in an unexpected way. The next example which we ſhall take, places ſome of the prevailing prejudices reſpecting Africa in a new and ſtrong light. He ſhews, by a general hiſtorical ſketch, that while other nations were communicating to each other the bleſſings of civilization, and while no real progreſs was ever made by any one, except by intercourſe with others, Africa was left to itſelf, and had only ſuch a communication with the reſt of the world as tended to perpetuate its barbariſm.

'It may therefore be boldly affirmed, that the interior, to which may be added the weſtern coaſt of Africa to the ſouth of the great deſert, never enjoyed any of that intercourſe with more poliſhed nations, without which no nation on earth is known ever to have attained to any high degree of civilization; and that, contemptuouſly as we and the other civilized nations of Europe now ſpeak of the Africans, had we been left in their ſituation, we ſhould probably have been not more civilized than themſelves.

'Let the caſe be put, that the interior of Africa had been made by the Almighty the cradle of the world—that iſſuing thence, inſtead of from the north-weſtern part of Aſia, the ſeveral ſtreams of nations had pervaded

pervaded and ſettled the whole of that extenſive continent—that the banks of the Niger, not leſs fertile than thoſe of the Euphrates or the Nile, had been the ſeat of the firſt great empire—that the kingdoms of Tombuctoo and Houſſa had been the Aſſyria and Egypt of Africa, and that the arts and ſciences had been communicated to a cluſter of little independent ſtates, and, under the ſame favourable circumſtances, had been carried to the ſame heights of excellence as that which they attained in European Greece—that theſe had been however in their turn ſwallowed up, together with the whole of that vaſt continent, by the arms of a ſingle nation, the Romans of Africa, under the ſhelter of whoſe eſtabliſhed dominion the various nations throughout that ſpacious extent, enjoying the bleſſings of civil order and ſecurity, the natural conſequence had followed, that in every quarter the arts and ſciences had ſprung up and flouriſhed—Might not our northern countries have been then in the ſame ſtate of comparative barbariſm in which Africa now lies? Might not ſome African philoſopher, proud of his ſuperior accompliſhments, have made it a queſtion, whether thoſe wretched whites, the very outcaſts of nature, who were baniſhed to the cold regions of the north, were capable of civilization? And thus, might not a Slave Trade in Europeans, aye, in Britons, have then been juſtified by thoſe ſable reaſoners, on preciſely the ſame grounds as thoſe on which the African Slave Trade is now ſupported?

'However the laſt ſuppoſition may mortify our pride, it will appear leſs monſtrous to thoſe who recollect, that not only in ancient times the wiſeſt among the Greeks conſidered the barbarians, including all the inhabitants of our quarter of the earth, as expreſsly intended by nature to be their ſlaves; not only that the Romans regularly ſold into ſlavery all the captives whom they took in the wars, by which on all ſides they gradually extended their empire till it was almoſt commenſurate with the then known world; but that our own iſland long furniſhed its ſhare towards the ſupply of the Roman market. Even at a later period of our hiſtory, we Engliſhmen have been the ſubjects of a Slave Trade, for which it is remarkable that the city of Briſtol was the grand emporium. That ancient city has now, I truſt, for the laſt time, retired from that guilty commerce.' p. 80—82.

This address concludes as follows; and we quote the passage, rather for its eloquence, than for any signal novelty or correctness of reasoning which it exhibits.

'But it is often rather in the way of a gradual decline, than of violent and ſudden ſhocks, that national crimes are puniſhed. I muſt frankly therefore confeſs to you, that in the caſe of my country's proſperity or decline, my hopes and fears are not the ſport of every paſſing rumour; nor do they riſe or fall materially, according to the ſucceſſive reports we may receive of the defeats or victories of Bonaparte. This conſideration opens the view into a wide field; and I muſt abſtain from ſo much as ſetting my foot on it. I will only remark, that a country circumſtanced in all reſpects like this, under an auſpicious Providence, and

and uſing our various reſources with energy and wiſdom, has no cauſe whatever for deſpondency. But he who has looked with any care into the page of hiſtory, will acknowledge, that when nations are prepared for their fall, human inſtruments will not be wanting to effect it; and, leſt man, vain man, ſo apt to overrate the powers and achievements of human agents, ſhould aſcribe the ſubjugation of the Romans to the conſummate policy and power of a Julius Cæſar, their ſlavery ſhall be completed by the unwarlike Auguſtus, and ſhall remain entire under the hateful tyranny of Tiberius, and throughout all the varieties of their ſucceſſive maſters. Thus it is, that, moſt commonly by the operation of natural cauſes, and in the way of natural conſequences, Providence governs the world. But if we are not blind to the courſe of human events, as well as utterly deaf to the plain inſtructions of Revelation, we muſt believe that a continued courſe of wickedneſs, oppreſſion, and cruelty, obſtinately maintained in ſpite of the fulleſt knowledge and the loudeſt warnings, muſt infallibly bring down upon us the heavieſt judgments of the Almighty. We may aſcribe our fall to weak councils, or unſkilful generals; to a factious and overburdened people; to ſtorms which waſte our fleets; to diſeaſes which thin our armies; to mutiny among our ſoldiers and ſailors, which may even turn againſt us our own force; to the diminution of our revenues, and the exceſſive increaſe of our debt: men may complain on one ſide of a venal miniſtry, on the other of a factious oppoſition; while, amid mutual recriminations, the nation is gradually verging to its fate. Providence will eaſily provide means for the accompliſhment of its own purpoſes. It cannot be denied, that there are circumſtances in the ſituation of this country, which, reaſoning from experience, we muſt call marks of a declining empire; but we have, as I firmly believe, the means within ourſelves of arreſting the progreſs of this decline. We have been eminently bleſſed; we have been long ſpared; let us not preſume too far on the forbearance of the Almighty.' p. 349—351.

The bill for effecting the great object of Mr Wilberforce's public life, was at length brought into Parliament by the leading members of the late virtuous and enlightened administration, in both Houſes. Lord Grenville introduced it to the Lords, and Lord Howick to the Commons, with the entire concurrence of almoſt all their colleagues. It was carried by the moſt triumphant majorities through every ſtage of its progreſs. On the chief diviſion in the Houſe of Commons, only *ſixteen* members voted againſt the abolition, while *two hundred and eighty-one* gave their voices in its favour. The bill received the royal aſſent on the 27th of March, by commiſſioners; and it afforded ſome conſolation to many perſons, whoſe joy was damped, by reflecting that the moſt illuſtrious advocate of their cauſe did not live to ſhare in this triumph, when they ſaw the choſen friends of Mr Fox, erecting the beſt monument to his memory, by accompliſh-

ing,

ing, before they laid down their offices, the work nearest his heart. *

We cannot suffer this occasion to pass away, without reminding the friends of the abolition, how much remains to be done, even after this great measure has received the sanction of a law. To see this statute strictly executed; to watch over all the evasions which slave traders may attempt; and to pursue every hint which may be received of connivance on the part of colonial officers, or of new rulers at home, adverse to the abolition, will be the indispensable duty of those zealous and upright persons, whose efforts have already triumphed over so many difficulties, and who have, in fact, only succeeded at last, because they found a government honestly favourable to their cause.

This truth they should always keep before their eyes, that the law which has just been made, will not execute itself. If left to the care of those who, by their stations, are bound to carry its provisions into effect, it will encounter all the difficulties, from their prejudices and interests, which have so long retarded its enactment. A vigilant attention—a constant interference—on the part of the government in the mother country, can alone give life to the letter of this statute in the colonies. Should the members of that government betray the sacred trust which their predecessors have left them, it will be no satisfaction to the community, that their names may then rise out of obscurity into universal execration. The duty of those who have wiped away from the character of the British nation, the foulest stain that ever sullied the fame of a generous people,—who have caused the slave trade to be proclaimed a crime by the law of the land,—requires one other effort,—that they shall see the sentence executed which they have obtained, and the practice put a stop to, which has at length been declared illegal.

Before taking leave of this great question, we may be permitted to indulge in one reflexion of a very pleasing nature. It is not many months since the success of the abolition was contemplated, rather as highly desireable, than as greatly to be expected; and a few years ago, hardly any man looked for it. The measure has, no doubt, been carried through by the enlightened zeal of the late ministry. But there are predisposing causes to which the ultimate result must be ascribed. This is not, we apprehend, one of the cases where the wisdom of government has gone before the voice of the people,—where great statesmen, outstripping their age, have introduced changes, barely acquiesced in for

* The late ministers gave the Royal assent to the bill half an hour before they retired. Lord Holland was one of the commissioners.

for the present, and justly appreciated only by after times. The sense of the nation has pressed the abolition upon our rulers. Parliament has complied with the general feeling, after the eyes of all men were opened, and their voices lifted up against the combined impolicy and injustice of the slave trade. There are other cases of the same kind, which the country has begun to think upon. The state of the Irish Catholics—the policy pursued towards our East Indian possessions—and the propriety of a pacific system in Europe—are subjects on which men only differ, because they have not fully discussed them. The further diffusion of information respecting these important questions, will probably, in the course of a short time, leave as few enemies to the sound doctrines which sensible men hold upon them, as are now found to the abolition of the slave trade. This consideration should both encourage the government to do its duty, independent of the popular feeling, and animate the instructors of the people, whose sense of right may in the end sway their rulers.

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ART. XIV. *Saul: A Poem in Two Parts.* By William Sotheby Esq. 4to. pp. 190. Caddel & Davies. London. 1807.

A SCRIPTURAL subject treated in blank verse unfortunately brings Milton to the thoughts of most readers; and the name of the translator of Oberon raises expectations which it is not easy to answer. This poem has certainly disappointed us. It is not very like Milton; except in the multitude of Hebrew names: and it is strikingly inferior to Mr Sotheby's other compositions, even in those points where we reckoned with certainty on improvement. There was great beauty of diction in the Oberon; and, considering the difficulty of the measure, an unusual flow and facility of versification. When we found the author writing in blank verse, therefore, we naturally looked for still greater freedom and variety of composition; and expected to be charmed with all those natural graces of expression, which are necessarily excluded to a certain degree by the bondage of an intricate stanza. The very reverse is the case, however, with the work now before us. Mr Sotheby's blank verse is as remarkable for harshness, constraint, and abruptness, as his stanzas were for ease and melody; and his muse, we are afraid, is like one of those old beauties, who, having been long accustomed to move gracefully in tight stays, high shoes, and hooped petticoats, feels her supports withdrawn when disencumbered of her shackles, and totters and stumbles when there are no longer any restraints on her movements.

The name of the poem is Saul; but the hero is David; and it contains just so much of his history, as is comprehended within the period of his first appearance as a harper before the king, and the death of that monarch. In accommodating this story to poetry, Mr Sotheby has run into two opposite excesses: he has in many places adhered to the narrative, and to the very words of the scripture so closely, as to injure both the dignity and the interest of his composition; while, on other occasions, he has departed too widely from his original, and has used a much greater license both in suppressing and in interpolating, than we can easily pardon in the case of a narrative so familiar. The work, after all, however, is the work of a poet; or at least of one who possesses poetical taste and feeling. There is delicacy and grace in many of the descriptions; a sustained tone of gentleness and piety in the sentiments; and an elaborate beauty in the diction, which frequently makes amends for the want of force and originality. The poem is divided, we do not well see why, into two parts, each consisting of four books; and each book is introduced with a proem, more or less connected with the feelings of the author or his subject. We shall now give our readers a short account of each of these books, with such specimens as we think deserving of their attention.

The first book opens with a long account of the symptoms of Saul's possession with the evil spirit. Mr Sotheby's theory of the case, though it derives no support from the scripture history, is poetical and ingenious. He supposes the unhappy king to be haunted by a spectre, which successively assumes his own form and character, as he was in the days of his shepherd innocence or aspiring youth, and tortures him with the afflicting contrast of those happy times, before he had tasted the cares of royalty, or known the pangs of remorse, for his disobedience of the divine commandment. The first form is that of a beautiful youth in shepherd weeds, who addresses the entranced monarch in these strains.

"Up from thy couch of woe, and join my path;
And I will wreath thy fav'rite crook with flow'rs.
Lo! this thy crook, which from the flinty cleft
Sprung wild, where many a gurgling ſtreamlet fell.
Pleaſant the ſpot wherein the ſapling grew;
And pleaſant was the hour, when o'er the rill
Thy fancy ſhap'd its pliant growth; 'twas ſpring:
Sweet came its fragrance from the vale beneath
Strow'd with freſh bloſſoms, ſhed from almond bow'rs.
Still blooms the almond bow'r: the fragrance ſtill
Floats on the gale: ſtill guſh the cryſtal rills,
And Cedron rolls its current muſical.

Why

Why droop'ſt thou here diſconſolate and ſad?
Look up! the glad hills caſt the ſnow aſide:
The rain is paſt, the freſh flow'rs paint the field:
Each little bird calls to his anſwering mate;
The roes bound o'er the mountains. Haſte away!
Up from thy couch, and join my gladſome path,
Where ſhepherds carol on the ſunſhine lawn!"
"I come, I come, fair angel." Saul exclaims.
"Give me my ſhepherd's weeds ... my pipe ... my crook;
Aid me to caſt theſe cumbrous trappings off.
Yet ſtay;"—but ſwift at once the viſion gone
Mocks him, evaniſhing. Groans then, and ſighs,
And bitterneſs of anguiſh, ſuch as felt
Of him, who on Helvetia's heights, a boy,
Sung to the Alpine lark; and ſaw, beneath,
Prone cataracts, and ſilver lakes, and vales
Romantic: and now paces his night-watch,
Hoar veteran, on the tented field. Not him,
Freſh ſlaughter fuming on the plain,—not him
The groan of death, familiar to his ear,
Diſquiet; but if, haply heard, the breeze
Bring from the diſtant mountain low of kine,
With pipe of ſhepherd leading on his flock
To fold: oh then, on his remembrance ruſh
Thoſe days ſo ſweet; that roof, beneath the rock,
Which cradled him when ſweeping ſnow-ſtorms burſt:
And thoſe within, the peaceful houſehold hearth,
With all its innocent pleaſures. Him, far off,
Regret conſumes, and inly-waſting grief,
That knows no ſolace, till in life's laſt hour,
When, o'er his gaze, in trance of bliſs, once more
Helvetia and her piny ſummits float.' p. 8–10.

The king at laſt reſolves to diſſipate his deſpondence in the tumult of war, and proclaims a campaign againſt the Philiſtines. Samuel exhorts him to repentance, and predicts his diſcomfiture and death at Gilboa.

The ſecond book opens with this proem.

'Fain would I turn my deſtin'd path, awhile,
From tumult, and contention of fierce foes
In arms, and Canaan's realm clanging beneath
Th' array of battle. Other ſcenes delight
Me more, and draw my willing ſpirit forth,
In ſhadow, and faint imag'ry of ſong,
Accompanying, celeſtial Muſe! thy courſe
Where Siloim's fountains flow: to ſeek ſome ſpot
Yet unprofan'd, where the meek Hermit chants
His oriſons, and, heard at twilight, breathes

The hymn of peace; more grateful to the bard,
Than war's loud pæan, or triumphant ſhouts
That echo o'er the dying. Yet, awhile,
On Sion, or lone Carmel's height, repoſe
My brow, and to my wiſtful gaze unfold,
Rude tho' the realm and deſolate, the waſte
Whoſe champaigns wild the paſtoral times recal
Primeval; when the Patriarch, firm of faith,
Paſt from Chaldæan Ur through lands unknown,
A ſojourner, and pitch'd his tent, the flock
And herd beſide, where'er green valley gave
Freſh paſture, or cool well the noon-thirſt ſlak'd:
And lead me, deeply muſing, to each mount,
And high hill top, where patriarch fires ſent up
The flame of ſacrifice, and angel gueſts
Alighted, and Jehovah not diſdain'd
Familiar converſe with the ſons of earth.
Ah! conſecrated haunts! pure ſcenes of peace,
Farewell! dire ſtrife and conteſt claim the ſong.' p. 25-26.

He then proceeds to enumerate the army of the heathen,—Cuſhanites, Ammonites and Philiſtines,—and of the twelve tribes of Iſrael, drawn out in battle-order againſt them. The approach of Saul and his guards is about the moſt magnificent paſſage in the poem.

'Hark! hark! the claſh and clang
Of ſhaken cymbals cadencing the pace
Of martial movement regular: the ſwell
Sonorous, of the brazen trump of war:
Shrill twang of harps, ſooth'd by melodious chime
Of beat on ſilver bars: and ſweet, in pauſe
Of harſher inſtrument, continuous flow
Of breath, through flutes, in ſymphony with ſong,
Choirs, whoſe match'd voices fill'd the air afar
With jubilee, and chant of triumph hymn:
And ever and anon irregular burſt
Of loudeſt acclamation, to each hoſt
Saul's ſtately advance proclaim'd. Before him, youths
In robes ſuccinct for ſwiftneſs: oft they ſtruck
Their ſtaves againſt the ground, and warn'd the throng
Backward to diſtant homage. Next, his ſtrength
Of chariots roll'd with each an armed band;
Earth groan'd afar beneath their iron wheels:
Part arm'd with ſcythe for battle, part, adorn'd
For triumph. Nor there wanting a led train
Of ſteeds in rich capariſon, for ſhow
Of ſolemn entry. Round about the King,
Warriors, his watch and ward, from every Tribe

Drawn out. Of these a thousand, each selects,
Of size and comeliness above their peers,
Pride of their race. Radiant their armour: some
In silver cas'd, scale over scale, that play'd
All pliant to the litheness of the limb:
Some, mail'd in twisted gold, link within link
Flexibly ring'd and fitted, that the eye
Beneath the yielding panoply pursued,
When act of war the strength of man provok'd,
The motion of the muscles, as they work'd
In rise and fall. On each left thigh a sword
Swung in the broider'd baldric: each right hand
Grasp'd a long-shadowing spear. Like them, their chiefs
Array'd; save on their shields of solid ore,
And on their helm, the graver's toil had wrought
Its subtlety in rich device of war;
And o'er their mail, a robe, Punicean dye,
Gracefully play'd: where the wing'd shuttle, shot
By cunning of Sidonian virgins, wove
Broidure of many-colour'd figures rare.
Bright glow'd the sun, and bright the burnish'd mail
Of thousands, rang'd, whose pace to song kept time;
And bright the glare of spears, and gleam of crests,
And flaunt of banners flashing to and fro
The noon-day beam. Beneath their coming, earth
Wide glitter'd. Seen afar, amidst the pomp,
Gorgeously mail'd, but more by pride of port
Known, and superior stature, than rich trim
Of war and regal ornament, the King,
Thron'd in triumphal car, with trophies grac'd,
Stood eminent. The lifting of his lance
Shone like a sun-beam. O'er his armour flow'd
A robe, imperial mantle, thickly starr'd
With blaze of orient gems: the clasp that bound
Its gather'd folds his ample chest athwart,
Sapphire; and o'er his casque, where rubies burnt,
A cherub flam'd, and wav'd his wings in gold.' p. 44-46.

Then comes Goliah, whose panoply is thus faithfully described from the book of Chronicles.

'The champion's front was helmeted with brass:
Of brass his greaves: the ponderous target's strength
That spread between his shoulders, burnish'd brass:
The coat of mail that compass'd him before,
Wrought brass: five thousand shekels summ'd its weight.
His spear, the stretch of whose portended staff
Seem'd like a weaver's beam, was iron, all.' p. 52.

Saul, after running away from Goliah, is more tormented in spirit than before, and, by a needless deviation from the truth of history,

history, is now made, for the first time, to require the soothing of David's minstrelsy. He sings a sort of dull hymn; which serves the purpose, however; and goes home to his father, who sends him to see his brothers in the camp. Here, again, Mr Sotheby makes amends for his great deviations from the original, by exactly copying the language of the Bible, where it is neither grand nor pathetic.

" Thy brethren seek, if, haply, yet alive.
Haste! to the captain of their thousand, bear
Ten cheeses, newly prest. And for my sons,
Thy brethren, take an ephah of parch'd corn,
And these ten loaves. Haste to the camp with speed:
Note how thy brethren fare, and take their pledge." p. 63.

What follows, however, as to his reception of the giant's challenge, is executed with more freedom and effect.

——————' At sight
Of the mail'd challenger, all Israel fled;
Fled all, save Jesse's son; whose spirit glow'd
Within him, and high confidence in Heav'n.
In vain the elder-born, rebuking, mock'd
His rashness. Loud again from Elah's vale
The taunting of the challenger sent up
To God defiance. To the shepherd youth
Its sound was as the call of one from Heav'n.
Nor David disobey'd. Still in their tents
Lay Israel. On the trench, as half-resolv'd,
Th' uplifted lances quivering in their grasp,
Stood Jonathan and Abner;—here and there
Many a chief despondent.' p. 64.

The book ends with a brief versification of the scripture story of the death of Goliah, and the discomfiture of his people.

The proem to the fourth book is in exaltation of Great Britain. We can only quote the gratulation for the abolition of the slave-trade—the noblest of all subjects for thanksgiving and joy.

——————' The West awaits
The long-suspended sentence: Its decree
Goes forth. The senate shall efface the spot
That stain'd thy ermine robes. Man shall not tempt
The mercy of his Maker on vext seas
That bear him on to blood. Man shall not yoke
His brother; shall not goad his kindred flesh,
Till the big sweat falls, tainted with the drop
That nurtur'd life. Man trades no more in man.
And if the groan of Afric yet mount up
To the tribunal of the God of Love,
Accusing human kind, it shall not draw
On Britain condemnation. Then expand,

Albion, thy ſails, exultant; and diffuſe,
Throughout the race and brotherhood of man,
The birth-right thou haſt purchaſed with thy blood,
The heritage of freedom. Freight each ſea
With burden of thy fleets: from clime to clime
Pour forth on each the gifts of all, and link
The world in bonds of love. Diffuſe the light
Of ſcience; teach the Savage arts unknown;
And o'er the nations and lone iſles, that ſit
In darkneſs, and the ſhades of death, bring down
The day-ſpring of ſalvation.' p. 78, 79.

The poet then introduces the song of the virgins celebrating the victory. This, we think, is rendered with conſiderable ſpirit.

" Daughters of Iſrael! praiſe the Lord of Hoſts!
Break into ſong! with harp and tabret lift
Your voices up, and weave with joy the dance.
And to your twinkling footſteps, toſs aloft
Your arms: and from the flaſh of cymbals, ſhake
Sweet clangor, meaſuring the giddy maze.
Shout ye! and ye! make anſwer, Saul hath ſlain
His thouſands; David his ten thouſands ſlain.
Sing a new ſong. I ſaw them in their rage;
I ſaw the gleam of ſpears, the flaſh of ſwords,
That rang againſt our gates. The warder's watch
Ceas'd not. Tower anſwer'd tower: a warning voice
Was heard without; the cry of woe within:
The ſhriek of virgins, and the wail of her,
The mother, in her anguiſh, who fore-wept,
Wept at the breaſt her babe, as now no more.
Shout ye! and ye! make anſwer, Saul hath ſlain
His thouſands; David his ten thouſands ſlain.
Sing a new ſong. Spake not th' inſulting foe?
I will purſue, o'ertake, divide the ſpoil.
My hand ſhall daſh their infants on the ſtones:
The ploughſhare of my vengeance ſhall draw out
The furrow, where the tower and fortreſs roſe.
Before my chariot, Iſrael's chiefs ſhall clank
Their chains. Each ſide, their virgin daughters groan:
Erewhile, to weave my conqueſt on their looms.
Shout ye! and ye! make anſwer, Saul hath ſlain
His thouſands; David his ten thouſands ſlain.
Thou heard'ſt, oh God of battle! Thou, whoſe look
Knappeth the ſpear in ſunder. In thy ſtrength
A youth, thy choſen, laid their champion low.
Saul, Saul purſues, o'ertakes, divides the ſpoil:
Wreaths round our necks theſe chains of gold, and robes
Our limbs with floating crimſon. Then rejoice,

Daughters

Daughters of Iſrael! from your cymbals ſhake
Sweet clangor, hymning God, the Lord of Hoſts!
Ye! ſhout! and ye! make anſwer, Saul hath ſlain
His thouſands; David his ten thouſands ſlain."
Such the hymn'd harmony, from voices breath'd
Of virgin minſtrels, of each Tribe the prime
For beauty, and fine form, and artful touch
Of inſtrument, and ſkill in dance and ſong;
Choir anſwering choir, that on to Gibeah led
The victors back in triumph. On each neck
Play'd chains of gold: and, ſhadowing their charms
With colour like the bluſhes of the morn,
Robes, gift of Saul, round their light limbs, in toſs
Of cymbals, and the many-mazed dance,
Floated like roſeate clouds. Thus theſe came on
In dance and ſong: Then, multitudes that ſwell'd
The pomp of triumph, and in circles, rang'd
Around the altar of Jehovah, brought
Freely their offerings: and with one accord
Sang, "Glory, and praiſe, and worſhip unto God."
Loud rang the exultation. 'Twas the voice
Of a free people, from impending chains
Redeem'd: a people proud, whoſe boſom beat
With fire of glory, and renown in arms,
Triumphant. Loud the exultation rang.
There, many a wife, whoſe ardent gaze from far
Singled the warrior, whoſe glad eye gave back
Her look of love. There, many a grandſire held
A blooming boy aloft, and midſt th' array
In triumph, pointing with his ſtaff, exclaim'd,
"Lo, my brave ſon! I now may die in peace."
There, many a beauteous virgin, bluſhing deep,
Flung back her veil, and, as the warrior came,
Hail'd her betroth'd. But, chiefly, on one alone
All dwelt.' p. 81—84.

Saul is filled with jealousy and envy, and secretly vows the death of the youthful warrior, who, unconscious of his danger, gives God the glory in another hymn.

The second part is introduced with a vision of old Palestine; and proceeds to the description of Saul's obstinate hostility, and the love of Michal and Jonathan towards their young deliverer. In the second book, he wins the hand of Michal by his victories over the Philistines; and is again forced to retreat into the wilderness, from the hatred of his father-in-law. Samuel anoints him King of Israel; and he sees, in a pretty tedious vision, the whole line of his descendants, with their exploits, from Solomon to our Redeemer. The idea of this anticipation was probably

borrowed from the Davideis of Cowley; who took it again from the end of the sixth Æneid. It is not well executed by either of the moderns. It ends, in Mr Sotheby, with a prophetic hymn, celebrating the advent of our Saviour.

The third book opens with an address to friendship. It then describes the death of Samuel,—the covenant of love between Jonathan and David,—and the retreat of the latter for refuge to the city of the Philistines. On the way, Mr Sotheby indulges him with an interview with his wife Michal, who is travelling in a chariot at night, escorted by a detachment of Saul's guards. This lady is described, throughout, as the most gentle and affectionate of human beings; and we have no hint either of her second marriage, or of her ill-natured taunts to her husband on his vigorous dancing before the Lord. When he gets to Gath, instead of fighting for king Achish, as the Chronicles represent him, Mr Sotheby condemns the young Psalmist to be burned as a select victim at the shrine of Moloch; and after a long description of the temple and rites of that deity and of Ashtaroth, he makes a miraculous earthquake swallow up the idol and the worshippers, and leave the pious Hebrew free and unmolested. One of the richest and most poetical passages in the book, is the description of the mystic veil which concealed the shrine of Ashtaroth; though the author is in a good measure indebted for his double picture of Thammuz, to Darwin's description of Adonis, and of the imagery of the Portland Vase.

——————— 'Before
Its porch a curtain fell, embroider'd web
Of Tyre. In midſt, a myſtic orb, inwrought,
Half-ſun, half-moon. Its broad circumference hung
Pois'd, where a wavy ſhadow ran athwart,
Severing the veil in twain. The upper limb,
And all above, as by its light illum'd,
Blaz'd in the radiance bright of burniſh'd gold.
All forms of life there gather'd, and each form
Glow'd, full of life. The eagle ſoar'd aloft
On balanc'd wing: the ſteed, in ſtretch of race:
The kid danc'd wanton on freſh-ſpringing flow'rs:
The green tree budded, and the bright rill flow'd.
Midſt theſe, in bloom of beauty, from the ſhades
Thammuz aſcendant. In his hand, a ſpear
Pois'd, ere yet lanc'd. O'er him, in air, ſuſpenſe,
A goddeſs hung, and in his lips inbreath'd
The ſpirit of life and love. Above, appear'd
Gods, gay at feaſt. The lower limb, and all
Beneath its influence, ſeem'd with night o'ercaſt:
If night that may be nam'd, wherein each form

In

In ſilver wrought, ſhone plainly viſion'd forth;
But pale in the compariſon of gold.
All ſhone: but 'twas the ſhining of the moon,
Faint image of the ſun. Each figure bore
Similitude of languor and decay.
There, Humankind ſunk down in ſenſeleſs ſwoon,
Half-life, half-death. On the herbleſs plain, the ſteed
Lay panting. There, the kid, in act to fall,
Hung o'er the fere flow'r, withering 'neath his foot.
The eagle clos'd his eye, and folded in
Each feather ſmooth: low cow'r'd his creſt, and gleams
Soft flow'd along his gloſſy back, uprais'd
In heave of ſlumber. There, the leafleſs tree
Droop'd; and what water ſeem'd, ſtood icy ſtill.
In midſt of theſe, Sidonian ſkill had wrought
The form of Thammuz, bending o'er his wound,
Whence the large life-drops ſtruggled. At his feet
A bow was broken, and its ſhaft in twain.
Near him a boar his blood-ſtain'd tuſk uprais'd.
There bent the form of Thammuz: but, below,
His ſpirit, like a ſhadow, gliding on.
In guidance of a miniſter of death,
With ringlets ſhorn, and torch extinct, ſank down
To Hades, and the unembodied ſhades.' p. 158—60.

The last book opens with an address to the Muse, in which the following lines, we think, are striking.

'How oft, when Autumn, in the bleak gale rent
His robe, all colours, as the laſt leaves fere
Fell, have I lingering bade with thee the year
Farewell! and with enchanted gaze purſu'd
The broad illuminations, and deep ſhades,
That chas'd each other o'er the champaign wide;
And ſtriking in their ſtretch of ſpeed, the woods
And high hill tops, brought out, like magic, change
Of momentary ſcenes.—My lay, ere long,
Will ceaſe! I pauſe upon the cloſing ſtrain.
A little while, and ye, fair viſions pure,
That people the wild ſolitude, and make
The pathleſs woodlands echo with my ſong,
Will ceaſe your inſpiration! Haunts of peace!
Where underneath, the huſh'd winds murmuring,
I wont through leafy labyrinths to wind
The ſummer day, and ſhape, as fancy prompts,
My tuneful meditations.' p. 172.

The warlike exploits of David, and his alliance with Achish, are passed over in silence by Mr Sotheby, as well as the adven-

ture of cutting off Saul's skirt. However, the taking away of the spear, and sparing his life at Engeddi, is very well told. Saul's visit to the witch of Endor, is described in the very words of the Bible.

" I entreat thee, at my pray'r, divine
By the familiar ſpirit, and bring up
Him, whom I name."—
" Thou know'ſt: what need to tell?
How from the living land Saul has cut off
Such as I am. Com'ſt thou to ſnare my life?"
Each word the ſorcereſs ſpake, fell on Saul's heart.
At length: " So thou conſent, and whom I name
Bring up, I ſwear, witneſs the Lord! for this,
Vengeance ſhall not o'ertake thee."
" Name the man."
" Samuel, the prophet."
And the prophet roſe.
The ſorcereſs, at his riſing, with loud cry
Shriek'd out, " Thou haſt deceiv'd me: thou art Saul."
" Fear not; declare, what view'ſt thou?"
" I behold
Gods out of earth aſcending."
" What the form?"
" The form of one in years comes up, with veil
O'ermantled."
Saul perceiv'd it was the Seer,
Stoop'd, and low bow'd his forehead to the ground.
" Why haſt thou thus diſquieted, and brought
My ſpirit from its reſt?"
Saul anſwering ſaid,
" Oh, I am ſore diſtreſt. Philiſtia's hoſt
Gathers againſt me. Terror fills the realm,
God is departed from me, nor vouchſafes
Anſwer by dream or prophet. Therefore, Seer,
Thus, I have call'd on thee."
" Wherefore on me,
If God is clean departed, and become
Thy foe? What God by me foretold, is done,
Thy kingdom from thee rent. In David's rule
Thy ſceptre. For that thou, oh man, didſt ſcorn
Obedience to Jehovah, thee, and thine,
And Iſrael's army, into hoſtile hands
God has deliver'd." p. 183-5.

The catastrophe of Saul, and the song of his successor over him and Jonathan, are in like manner versified almost literally from the Chronicles: and the poem ends with this brief moralization.

" Thou

> 'Thus the Lord
> From land to land, throughout the regions, ſpread
> The fame of his anointed:—and his fear
> Fell on all nations.
> Man! obey thy God!' p. 190.

From the copious extracts which we have given, our readers will be able to judge for themſelves of the merits of this performance. There is ſweetneſs and delicacy in many paſſages; and an air of elegance throughout; but it is deficient in animation, in characters, and in action. Its beauties belong rather to paſtoral and lyric poetry, than to epic; and are ſcarcely calculated to ſtrike with ſufficient force to command the attention of this faſtidious age. The work, however, is reſpectable, and cannot be peruſed without giving us a very pleaſing impreſſion of the character and virtues of the author.

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ART. XV. *The Nature of Things: A Didactic Poem. Tranſlated from the Latin of Titus Lucretius Carus, accompanied with the Original Text, and Illuſtrated with Notes Philological and Explanatory.* By John Maſon Good. 2 vol. 4to. pp. 1180. Longman. London. 1805.

THESE vaſt volumes are more like the work of a learned German profeſſor, than of an ungraduated Engliſhman. They diſplay extenſive erudition, conſiderable judgment, and ſome taſte; yet, upon the whole, they are extremely heavy and unintereſting, and the leading emotion they excite in the reader, is that of ſympathy with the fatigue the author muſt have undergone in the compilation. They contain, firſt of all, a moſt learned preface, giving an account of all the editions of Lucretius, and all the verſions which have been made of him into modern languages; then a life of this author, dilated by biographical ſketches of all his anceſtors and famous contemporaries, and of the ſtate of literature in the ancient world, into upwards of eighty cloſely printed pages: and this, again, is followed by an appendix of thirty pages more, containing a long analyſis and defence of the ſyſtem of Epicurus; a comparative view of all the other ancient ſyſtems of philoſophy; and a ſhort deduction from theſe, of all the celebrated theories of modern times, from the nominaliſm of Abelard, to the tranſcendentaliſm of Kant. Then comes the original text of Lucretius, correctly printed from Mr Wakefield's edition, with Mr Good's tranſlation in blank verſe on the oppoſite page; and underneath, a vaſt and moſt indigeſted maſs of notes, exhibiting not only a copious collection of parallel paſſages, and alleged imitations, in Hebrew,

Hebrew, Perſian, Arabic, Greek, Latin, German, Spaniſh, Italian, French and Engliſh, but an incredible quantity of incidental criticiſm and diſſertation upon every poſſible variety of ſubject,—metaphyſics, manufactures, medicine, ethics, wool-dreſſing, generation, government, huſbandry and engineering. The mere deſcription of ſuch a commentary, is enough to give our readers an alarming idea of Mr Good's induſtry and the extent of his reading; and when we add to this, that he neither reaſons nor writes very ill upon moſt of the ſubjects he diſcuſſes, we ſhall probably give an impreſſion of the work ſomething more favourable than we can conſcientiouſly agree to ſanction. The truth is, that Mr Good, though very intelligent, is very indiſcrimate in the ſelection of his information; and though, for the moſt part, ſufficiently candid and judicious in his remarks, is at the ſame time intolerably dull and tedious. He has no vivacity; no delicacy of taſte or fancy; very little originality; and a gift of extreme prolixity. His proſe is better than his poetry; his reaſonings are more to be truſted to than his criticiſm; and his ſtatements and explanations are of more value than his argument. We can afford to give but ſhort ſpecimens of his multifarious labours; but in a work of this magnitude it is fair that our readers ſhould be enabled, in ſome degree, to judge for themſelves.

In writing the life of the poet, it certainly was ſcarcely neceſſary for Mr Good to inform his readers, that, 'immediately upon the expulſion of the Tarquins, Spurius Lucretius was unanimouſly choſen *interrex*, or king for the time being,' or to give an account of the library of Appellicon, or the labours of Sylla in correcting the text of Ariſtotle. Some mention of Greek literature, however, was natural; and as Lucretius appears to have ſtudied at Athens, the following elaborate encomium on that ſeat of learning is not perhaps altogether out of place.

'But the literature of Greece was, nevertheleſs, beſt to be acquired in Greece itſelf; and the Romans, though they tranſplanted books, could not tranſplant the general taſte and ſpirit that produced them. Athens, although conſiderably ſhorn of the glory of her original conſtitution, and dependent upon Rome for protection, had ſtill to boaſt of her ſchools, her ſcholars, and her libraries. Every ſcene, every edifice, every converſation was a living lecture of taſte and elegance. Here was the venerable grove, in which Plato had unfolded his ſublime myſteries to enraptured multitudes: here the awful lyceum, in which Ariſtotle had anatomiſed the ſprings of human intellect and action: here the porch of Zeno, ſtill erect and ſtately as its founder: and here, the learned ſhades and winding walks, in which Epicurus had delineated the origin and NATURE OF THINGS, and inculcated tranquillity and temperance: and here too was the vaſt and magnificent library that Piſiſtratus firſt eſtabliſhed, and endowed for the gratuitous uſe of his countrymen.

countrymen. Here Homer ſung, and Apelles painted: here Sophocles had drawn tears of tenderneſs, and Demoſthenes fired the ſoul to deeds of heroiſm and patriotic revenge. The monuments of every thing great or glorious, dignified or refined, virtuous or worthy, were ſtill exiſting at Athens; and ſhe had ſtill philoſophers to boaſt of, who were capable of elucidating the erudition that blazed forth more conſpicuouſly in her earlier ages of independence.' I. xxix. xxx.

This piece of biography, which, of itſelf, would fill a moderate volume, contains, we think, about three authenticated paſſages: one is, that Lucretius ſtudied at Athens; another is, that he lived a retired life, and did not mingle in the political contentions of his age; a third is, that he had a wife, or a miſtreſs, of the name of Lucilia; and the laſt is, that he became inſane, and deſtroyed himſelf at the age of forty-four. Whether his madneſs was brought on by grief for the baniſhment of his friend Memmius, or by the unlucky operation of a love potion adminiſtered by Lucilia, is much and learnedly diſputed by Euſebius, Giffenius, and Mr Good, who, of courſe, prefers the former and more creditable ſuppoſition.

We cannot undertake to give our readers even a ſpecimen of the profundities that are diſcuſſed in the life and the appendix. They contain, among other things, a reſolute defence of materialiſm, and of almoſt every particular tenet of the ſchool of Epicurus. Mr Good has given, however, a very clear and accurate ſummary of the atomical philoſophy of that teacher, which we ſhall beg leave to extract, as by far the moſt conſiſtent and maſterly account we have ever met with of that comprehenſive ſyſtem.

'In its mere *phyſical* contemplation, the theory of Epicurus allows of nothing but matter and ſpace, which are equally infinite and unbounded, which have equally exiſted from all eternity, and from different combinations of which every individual being is created. Theſe exiſtences have no property in common with each other; for, whatever matter is, that ſpace is the reverſe of; and whatever ſpace is, matter is the contrary to. The actually ſolid parts of all bodies, therefore, are matter; their actual pores, ſpace, and the parts which are not altogether ſolid, but an intermixture of ſolidity and pore, are ſpace and matter combined. Anterior to the formation of the univerſe, ſpace and matter exiſted uncombined, or in their pure and elementary ſtate. Space, in its elementary ſtate, is poſitive and unſolid void: matter, in its elementary ſtate, conſiſts of inconceivably minute ſeeds or atoms—ſo ſmall that the corpuſcles of vapour, light, and heat, are compounds of them; and ſo ſolid that they cannot poſſibly be broken, or made ſmaller, by any concuſſion or violence whatever. The expreſs figure of theſe primary atoms is various: there are round, ſquare, pointed, jagged, as well as many other ſhapes. Theſe ſhapes, however, are not diverſified to infinity; but the atoms themſelves, of each exiſtent ſhape, are infinite

ſmite or innumerable. Every atom is poſſeſſed of certain intrinſic powers of motion. Under the old ſchool of Democritus, the perpetual motions exhibited were of two kinds:—a deſcending motion, from its own gravity; and a rebounding motion, from mutual concuſſion. Beſides theſe two motions, and to explain certain phenomena which the following poem develops, and which were not accounted for under the old ſyſtem, Epicurus ſuppoſed that ſome atoms were occaſionally poſſeſſed of a third, by which, in ſome very ſmall degree, they deſcended in an oblique or curvilinear direction, deviating from the common and right line anomalouſly; and hence, in this reſpect, reſembling the oſcillations of the magnetic needle.

'Theſe infinitudes of atoms, flying immemorially in ſuch different directions, through all the immenſity of ſpace, have interchangeably tried and exhibited every poſſible mode of action,—ſometimes repelled from each other by concuſſion,—and ſometimes adhering to each other from their own jagged or pointed conſtruction, or from the caſual interſtices which two or more connected atoms muſt produce, and which may juſt be adapted to thoſe of other configurations, as globular, oval, or ſquare. Hence the origin of compound bodies; hence the origin of immenſe maſſes of matter; hence, eventually, the origin of the world itſelf. When theſe primary atoms are cloſely compacted together, and but little vacuity or ſpace intervenes, they produce thoſe kinds of ſubſtances which we denominate ſolid, as ſtones, and metals: when they are looſe and disjoined, and a large quantity of ſpace or vacuity occurs between them, they produce the phenomena of wool, water, vapour. In one mode of combination, they form earth; in another, air; and in another, fire. Arranged in one way, they produce vegetation and irritability; in another way, animal life and perception.—Man hence ariſes—families are formed—ſociety multiplies, and governments are inſtituted.

'The world, thus generated, is perpetually ſuſtained by the application of freſh elementary atoms, flying with inconceivable rapidity through all the infinitude of ſpace, inviſible from their minuteneſs, and occupying the poſts of all thoſe that are as perpetually flying off. Yet, nothing is eternal and immutable but theſe elementary ſeeds or atoms themſelves: the compound forms of matter are continually decompounding, and diſſolving into their original corpuſcles: to this there is no exception:—minerals, vegetables, and animals, in this reſpect all alike, when they loſe their preſent configuration, periſhing from exiſtence for ever, and new combinations proceeding from the matter into which they diſſolve. But the world itſelf is a compound, though not an organized being; ſuſtained and nouriſhed like organized beings from the material pabulum that floats through the void of infinity. The world itſelf muſt therefore, in the ſame manner, periſh: it had a beginning, and it will eventually have an end. Its preſent craſis will be decompounded; it will return to its original, its elementary atoms; and new worlds will ariſe from its deſtruction.

'Space

'Space is infinite, material atoms are infinite, but the world is not infinite. This, then, is not the only world, or the only material ſyſtem that exiſts. The cauſe whence this viſible ſyſtem originated is competent to produce others; it has been acting perpetually from all eternity; and there are other worlds and other ſyſtems of worlds exiſting around us. In the vaſt immenſity of ſpace, there are alſo other beings than man, poſſeſſed of powers of intellect and enjoyment far ſuperior to our own: beings who exiſted before the formation of the world, and will exiſt when the world ſhall periſh for ever; whoſe happineſs flows unlimited, and unallayed; and whom the tumults and paſſions of groſs matter can never agitate. Theſe, the founder of the ſyſtem denominated gods:—not that they created the univerſe, or are poſſeſſed of a power of upholding it; for they are finite and created beings themſelves, and endowed alone with finite capacities and powers;—but from the uninterrupted beatitude and tranquillity they enjoy, their everlaſting freedom from all anxiety and care.' I. cviii.—cxi.

Some such abstract as this, indeed, we conceive to be altogether indispensable to every English reader, who may have courage to venture upon this translation. The system is not developed in the original with any extraordinary regard to method or perspicuity; and we must say for Mr Good's prose, that it is infinitely more luminous, as well as more harmonious, than the greater part of his verse.

The poetical merits of Lucretius have been a good deal obscured by the faults of his philosophy, and still more by their injudicious application to a system of so intricate and comprehensive a nature. It has been said of him, that when he put on the philosopher, he put off the poet; and laid aside his philosophy, in like manner, when he chose to be poetical. It would have been better for his reputation, in both capacities, if this had been true,—if he had reserved his poetry for episodes and introductions, and confined himself, in the body of the work, to an argumentative exposition of his system, which might have been in verse, without any disadvantage. But the boldness of his genius, his unfeigned enthusiasm for the subject he had undertaken, and the immature state of the critical and poetical art among his countrymen, effectually excluded such a distribution; and led him to incumber and embellish his reasonings with tender, sublime, and fanciful illustrations, while his genius was perpetually recalled from its flights by the details and intricacies of his philosophy. His work, therefore, is extremely unequal, and, in many places, insufferably tedious and fatiguing. But it is full of genius; and contains more poetry, we are inclined to think, than any other production of the Latin muse. With less skill—less uniform propriety—and less sustained dignity than Virgil, it has always appeared to us, that he had more natural

genius

genius and original spirit; that his diction in his happier passages was sweeter and more impressive; and all the movements of his mind more free, simple, and energetic. His latinity is beautiful; and a certain mixture of obsolete expressions, gives it an antique air that is very interesting. These are the chief merits of the work; and certainly they are not to be found in every part of it: yet it has an interest of another kind, which would be lost, if it were reduced to a collection of choice passages. From the great extent of the subject, and the infinite variety and miscellaneous nature of the illustrations, it presents us with a more lively and comprehensive picture of the state of the arts and sciences at the time of its composition, and of the way of thinking and arguing that was then in fashion, than any other work which has come down to us of the same period.

But though, for all these reasons, we would recommend the study of Lucretius to all who have any relish for ancient learning, we can scarcely say that it gave us any pleasure to hear that a new attempt had been made to introduce him to the English reader. There is no poet, perhaps, so difficult to translate happily. His graceful, pure, simple, and melodious diction, could scarcely be transfused into another language; and there is an occasional tenderness and delicacy in his finer passages, which must defy the imitation of any one who could toil through his philosophy. Then the philosophy itself, occupying three fourths of the poem, is wholly insufferable to a modern reader: and to preserve the semblance of verse, without an entire sacrifice of perspicuity or coherence, must be more difficult than to put Homer's catalogue into harmonious couplets.

To say that Mr Good has failed to make an interesting English poem out of the work of Lucretius, would only be saying that he had not wrought an impossibility. But we are afraid he has more than this to answer for; and that he is chargeable with a pretty considerable share of the *ennui* and perplexity, the giddiness and intellectual lassitude which we encountered in our perusal of his two huge quartos. His pace in verse, we are compelled to say, is very heavy and shuffling. He has some strength, but no grace or spirit; and neither catches the fire, nor copies the elegance of his original. The grave, dignified, and sententious passages, are those he manages most tolerably;—the noble and magnificent, he tames and subdues completely;—the tender and mellifluous, he makes stiff and ordinary;—and the common argumentative ones, he contrives to rob of their only merit, by the use of a pompous and obscure diction, which effectually conceals the simplicity and precision of the original statement. It appears to us, also, that he has sometimes mistaken the sense of *his author*; and we are positive that he has often expressed it most

most imperfectly. We shall now give a few specimens, both of his failures and successes.

One of the most splendid passages in the original, is that part of the invocation to Venus, where she is represented as holding the god of battles in her embraces.

'Quo magis æternum da dictis, Diva, leporem.
Ecfice, ut interea fera mœnera militiaï,
Per maria ac terras omneis, ſopita, quieſcant.
Nam tu ſola potes tranquillâ pace juvare
Mortaleis: quoniam belli fera mœnera Mavors
Armipotens regit, in gremium qui ſæpe tuum ſe
Rejicit, æterno devictus volnere amoris:
Atque ita, ſuſpiciens tereti cervice repoſtâ,
Paſcit amore avidos, inhians in te, Dea, viſus;
Eque tuo pendet reſupini ſpiritus ore.
Hunc tu, Diva, tuo recubantem corpore ſancto
Circumfuſa ſuper, ſuaveis ex ore loquelas
Funde, petens placidam Romanis, incluta, pacem.
Nam neque nos agere hoc patriaï tempore iniquo
Poſſumus æquo animo; nec Memmii clara propago
Talibus in rebus communi deeſſe ſaluti.' I. 14, 16, 18.

Of this beautiful picture, Mr Good presents us with the following indifferent copy.

'Then, O, vouchſafe thy favour, power divine!
And with immortal eloquence inſpire.
Quell, too, the fury of the hoſtile world,
And lull to peace, that all the ſtrain may hear.
For peace is thine: on thy ſoft boſom he,
The warlike field who ſways, almighty Mars,
Struck by triumphant Love's eternal wound,
Reclines full frequent: with uplifted gaze
On thee he feeds his longing, ling'ring eyes,
And all his ſoul hangs quiv'ring from thy lips.
O! while thine arms in fond embraces claſp
His panting members, ſov'reign of the heart!
Ope thy bland voice, and intercede for Rome.
For, while th' unſheathed ſword is brandiſh'd, vain
And all unequal is the poet's ſong;
And vain th' attempt to claim his patron's ear.' I. 15.—19.

The following sketch of the dæmon of Superstition has infinite spirit and sublimity in the original.

'Humana ante oculos fede quom vita jaceret
In terris, obpreſſa gravi ſub Religione;
Quæ caput a cœli regionibus obtendebat,
Horribili ſuper adſpectu mortalibus inſtans;
Primum Graius homo mortaleis tollere contra
Eſt oculos ausus, primuſque obſiſtere contra;
Quem neque fama deûm, nec fulmina, nec minitanti

Murmure

Murmure compreſſit cœlum ; ſed eo magis acrem
Inritât animi virtutem, effringere ut arta
Naturæ primus portarum clauſtra cupiret.
Ergo vivida vis animi pervicit, et extra
Proceſſit longe flammantia mœnia mundi ;
Atque omne immenſum peragravit mente animoque : '

which Mr Good has thus rendered.

——————' Them long the tyrant power
Of Superſtition ſway'd, uplifting proud
Her head to heaven, and with horrific limbs
Brooding o'er earth ; till he, the man of Greece,
Auſpicious roſe, who firſt the combat dar'd,
And broke in twain the monſter's iron rod.
No thunder him, no fell revenge purſu'd
Of heaven incens'd, or deities in arms.
Urg'd rather, hence, with more determin'd ſoul,
To burſt through Nature's portals, from the crowd
With jealous caution clos'd ; the flaming walls
Of heaven to ſcale, and dart his dauntleſs eye,
Till the vaſt whole beneath him ſtood diſplay'd.' I. 22—25.

Now, this is not only feeble, but extremely licentious. In the first place, we have always understood that the poet meant to lodge his whole spectre in the clouds ; at least there is nothing in the original about ' brooding o'er earth with horrific limbs ; ' and still less about a ' combat, ' or ' breaking an iron rod. ' In the next place, we conceive that Mr Good has misrepresented the meaning of the lines, ' Quem neque fama deûm, ' &c. which we conceive to be, not that he escaped the vengeance of the gods, but that *he was not deterred* by the awe of their temples, or the sound of the thunder, from inquiring into the mysteries of nature.

We give the whole translation of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, as a fair specimen of Mr Good's qualifications for the task he has undertaken.

' Nor deem the truths Philoſophy reveals
Corrupt the mind, or prompt to impious deeds.
No : Superſtition may, and nought ſo ſoon,
But Wiſdom never. Superſtition 'twas
Urg'd the fell Grecian chiefs, with virgin blood,
To ſtain the virgin altar. Barbarous deed !
And fatal to their laurels ! Aulis ſaw,
For there Diana reigns, th' unholy rite.
Around ſhe look'd ; the pride of Grecian maids,
The lovely Iphigenia, round ſhe look'd,—
Her laviſh treſſes, ſpurning ſtill the bond
Of ſacred fillet, flaunting o'er her cheeks,—
And ſought, in vain, protection. She ſurvey'd
Near her, her ſad, ſad ſire ; th' officious prieſts

Repentant

Repentant half, and hiding their keen ſteel,
And crowds of gazers weeping as they view'd.
Dumb with alarm, with ſupplicating knee,
And lifted eye, ſhe ſought compaſſion ſtill;
Fruitleſs and unavailing: vain her youth,
Her innocence, and beauty; vain the boaſt
Of regal birth; and vain that firſt herſelf
Liſp'd the dear name of Father, eldeſt born.
Forc'd from her ſuppliant poſture, ſtraight ſhe view'd
The altar full prepar'd: not there to blend
Connubial vows, and light the bridal torch;
But, at the moment when mature in charms,
While Hymen call'd aloud, to fall, e'en then,
A father's victim, and the price to pay
Of Grecian navies, favour'd thus with gales.—
Such are the crimes that Superſtition prompts!' I. 25—31.

Nothing can be more loose, or more unlike the *manner* of Lucretius, than the introductory lines of this version. The ten lines after 'Th' officious priests,' are not without merit; but the close is mean and ungraceful.

The introductory lines to the second book, '*Suave, mari magno,*' &c. are presented to the English reader in this cold and spiritless translation.

'How ſweet to ſtand, when tempeſts tear the main,
On the firm cliff, and mark the ſeaman's toil!
Not that another's danger ſooths the ſoul,
But from ſuch toil how ſweet to feel ſecure!
How ſweet, at diſtance from the ſtrife, to view
Contending hoſts, and hear the claſh of war!
But ſweeter far on Wiſdom's heights ſerene,
Upheld by Truth, to fix our firm abode;
To watch the giddy crowd that, deep below,
For ever wander in purſuit of bliſs;
To mark the ſtrife for honours, and renown,
For wit and wealth, inſatiate, ceaſeleſs urg'd,
Day after day, with labour unreſtrain'd.' I. 181—183.

The beautiful passage which has been so often imitated, '*Si non aurea sunt juvenum simulacra,*' &c. is given with more fidelity; and is, upon the whole, a very favourable specimen of Mr Good's execution.

'What, though the dome be wanting, whoſe proud walls
A thouſand lamps irradiate, propt ſublime
By frolic forms of youths in maſſy gold,
Flinging their ſplendours o'er the midnight feaſt;
Though gold and ſilver blaze not o'er the board,
Nor muſic echo round the gaudy roof?
Yet liſtleſs laid the velvet graſs along

Near gliding ſtreams, by ſhadowy trees o'er-arch'd,
Such pomps we need not; ſuch ſtill leſs when ſpring
Leads forth her laughing train, and the warm year
Paints the green meads with roſeate flowers profuſe.
On down reclin'd, or wrapp'd in purple robe
The thirſty fever burns with heat as fierce
As when its victim on a pallet pants.
Since, then, nor wealth, nor ſplendour, nor the boaſt
Of birth illuſtrious, nor e'en regal ſtate
Avails the body, ſo the free-born mind
Their aid as little aſks. Unleſs, perchance,
The warlike hoſt, thou deem, for thee array'd
In martial pomp, and o'er the fiery field
Panting for glory; and the gorgeous fleet,
For thee unmoor'd, and ardent,—can diſpel
Each ſuperſtitious terror; from the breaſt
Root out the dread of death, and lull to peace
The cares, the tumults that diſtract thy ſoul.
But if all this be idle, if the CARES,
The TERRORS ſtill that haunt, and haraſs man,
Dread not the din of arms,—o'er kings and chiefs,
Preſs unabaſh'd, unaw'd by glittering pomp,
The purple robe unheeding—*canſt thou doubt*
*Man pants for theſe from poverty of mind,*
Wand'ring in darkneſs, and through life miſled?
For as the boy, when midnight veils the ſkies,
Trembles, and ſtarts at all things, ſo, full oft,
E'en in the noon men ſtart at forms as void
Of real danger as the phantoms falſe
By darkneſs conjur'd, and the ſchool-boy's dread.
A terror this the radiant darts of day
Can ne'er diſperſe: to truth's pure light alone,
And wiſdom yielding, *intellectual ſuns.*' I. 187—193.

This, upon the whole, is good. The line we have marked in italics, 'Canst thou doubt,' &c. seems, however, to be a false translation of '*Quid dubitas, quin omnis sit hæc rationis potestas?*' which means merely, we conceive, 'Canst thou doubt that reason alone possesses this power'—of banishing such cares and anxieties? There is nothing in the original to justify the interpolation of the two concluding words.

The following lines have much of the force and character of the original.

'Yet man's firſt ſons, as o'er the fields they trod,
Rear'd from the hardy earth, were hardier far;
Strong built, with ampler bones, with muſcles nerv'd
Broad and ſubſtantial; to the power of heat,
Of cold, of varying viands, and diſeaſe,

Each

Each hour ſuperior; the wild lives of beaſts
Leading, while many a luſtre o'er them roll'd.
Nor crooked ploughſhare knew they, nor to drive,
Deep through the ſoil, the rich-returning ſpade;
Nor how the tender ſeedling to replant,
Nor from the fruit-tree prune the wither'd branch.
What ſhowers beſtow'd, what earth ſpontaneous bore,
And ſuns matur'd, their craving breaſts appeas'd.
But acorn-meals chief cull'd they from the ſhade
Of foreſt-oaks; and, in their wintry months,
The wild wood-whortle with its purple fruit
Fed them, then larger and more amply pour'd.
And many a boon beſides, now long extinct,
The freſh-form'd earth her hapleſs offspring dealt.
Then floods, and fountains, too, their thirſt to ſlake,
Call'd them, as now the cataract abrupt
Calls, when athirſt, the deſert's ſavage tribes.
And, through the night ſtill wand'ring, they the caves
Throng'd of the wood-nymphs, whence the babbling well
Guſh'd oft profuſe, and down its pebbly ſides,
Its pebbly ſides with verdant moſs o'erſpread,
Ooz'd ſlow, or ſought, redundant ſought, the plains.'

II. 353—357.

And immediately after,

'And in their keen rapidity of hand
And foot confiding, oft the ſavage train
With miſſile ſtones they hunted, or the force
Of clubs enormous; many a tribe they fell'd,
Yet ſome in caves ſhunn'd, cautious; where, at night,
Throng'd they, like briſtly ſwine; their naked limbs
With herbs and leaves entwining. Nought of fear
Urg'd them to quit the darkneſs, and recal,
With clam'rous cries, the ſun-ſhine and the day:
But ſound they ſunk in deep, oblivious ſleep,
Till o'er the mountains bluſh'd the roſeate dawn.
Yet then ſcarce more of mortal race than now
Left the ſweet luſtre of the liquid day.
Some, doubtleſs, oft the prowling monſters gaunt
Graſp'd in their jaws, abrupt; whence, through the groves,
The woods, the mountains, they vociferous groan'd,
Deſtin'd thus living to a living tomb.
And ſome, by flight though ſav'd from preſent fate,
Cov'ring their fetid ulcers with their hands,
Prone o'er the ground death ſtill, with horrid voice,
Call'd, till vile worms devour'd them, void of aid,
And all-unſkill'd their deadly pangs t' appeaſe.
But thouſands, then, the pomps of war beneath,
Fell not at once; nor ocean's boiſt'rous waves

Wreck'd, o'er rough rocks, whole fleets and countleſs crews.
Nor ocean then, though oft to frenzy wrought,
Could aught indulge but ineffectual ire:
Nor, lull'd to calms, could e'er his traitor face
Lead, o'er the laughing waves, miſtruſtful man,
Untaught the dangerous ſcience of the ſeas.
Then want conſum'd their languid members, now
Full-gorg'd exceſs devours us: they themſelves
Fed, heedleſs, oft with poiſons; ofter ſtill
Men now for others mix the fatal cup.' II. 359—363.

The lofty and indignant passage, beginning, '*Nec pietas ulla est velatum,*' &c. is rendered at least with strength and fidelity by Mr Good.

'No:—it can ne'er be piety to turn
To ſtocks and ſtones with deep-veil'd viſage; light
O'er every altar incenſe; o'er the duſt
Fall proſtrate, and, with outſtretch'd arms, invoke
Through every temple every god that reigns,
Sooth them with blood, and laviſh vows on vows.
This rather thou term piety, to mark
With calm, untrembling ſoul, each ſcene ordain'd.
For when we, doubtful, heaven's high arch ſurvey,
The firm, fixt ether, ſtar-emboſs'd, and pauſe
O'er the ſun's path, and pale, meand'ring moon,
Then ſuperſtitious cares, erewhile repreſt
By cares more potent, lift their hydra-head.' II. 391.

The sweetness of the lines '(*At liquidas avium voces*, &c.),' describing the origin of music, and the festivals of primitive men, is lost indeed in the imitation of Mr Good; but his version is respectable, and conveys a true, though a dim reflection of the original.

'And from the liquid warblings of the birds
Learn'd they their firſt rude notes, ere muſic yet
To the rapt ear had tun'd the meaſur'd verſe;
And Zephyr, whiſp'ring through the hollow reeds,
Taught the firſt ſwains the hollow reeds to ſound:
Whence woke they ſoon thoſe tender-trembling tones
Which the ſweet pipe, when by the fingers preſt,
Pours o'er the hills, the vales, and woodlands wild,
Haunts of lone ſhepherds, and the rural gods.
So growing time points, ceaſeleſs, ſomething new,
And human ſkill evolves it into day.
Thus ſooth'd they every care, with muſic, thus,
Clos'd every meal, for reſts the boſom then.
And oft they threw them on the velvet graſs,
Near gliding ſtreams, by ſhadowy trees o'er-arch'd,
And void of coſtly wealth found ſtill the means

To

To gladden life. But chief when genial ſpring
Led forth her laughing train, and the young year
Painted the meads with roſeate flowers profuſe—
Then mirth, and wit, and wiles, and frolic, chief,
Flow'd from the heart; for then the ruſtic muſe
Warmeſt inſpir'd them: then laſcivious ſport
Taught round their heads, their ſhoulders, taught to twine
Foliage, and flowers, and garlands richly dight;
To looſe, innum'rous time their limbs to move,
And beat, with ſturdy foot, maternal earth;
While many a ſmile, and many a laughter loud,
Told all was new, and wond'rous much eſteem'd.
Thus wakeful liv'd they, cheating of its reſt
The drowſy midnight; with the jocund dance
Mixing gay converſe, madrigals, and ſtrains
Run o'er the reeds with broad recumbent lip:
As, wakeful ſtill, our revellers through night
Lead on their defter dance to time preciſe;
Yet cull not coſtlier ſweets, with all their art,
Than the rude offspring earth in woodlands bore. II. 415–19.

Mr Good translates right through the whole fourth book; and illustrates his version with notes not less intrepid. We shall only venture one inoffensive passage, which has been imitated by all amatory poets of later date.

'Then, too, his form conſumes, the cares of love
Waſte all his vigour, and his days roll on
In vileſt bondage. Amply though endow'd,
His wealth decays, his debts with ſpeed augment,
The poſt of duty never fills he more,
And all his ſick'ning reputation dies.
Meanwhile rich unguents from his miſtreſs laugh;
Laugh from her feet, ſoft Sicyon's ſhoes ſuperb:
The green-ray'd emerald o'er her, dropt in gold,
Gleams large and numerous; and the ſea-blue ſilk,
Deep-worn, enclaſps her, with the moiſture drunk
Of conſtant revels. All his fires amaſs'd
Now flaunts in ribands, in tiaras flames
Full o'er her front, and now to robes converts
Of Chian looſe, or Alidonian mould:
While feaſts, and feſtivals of boundleſs pomp,
And coſtlieſt viands, garlands, odours, wines,
And ſcatter'd roſes ceaſeleſs are renew'd.
But fruitleſs every act: ſome bitter ſtill
Wells forth perpetual from his fount of bliſs,
And poiſons every flowret. Keen remorſe
Goads him, perchance, for diſſipated time,
And months on months deſtroy'd; or from the fair

Haply ſome phraſe of doubtful import darts,
That, like a living coal, his heart corrodes:
Or oft her eyes wide wander, as he deems,
And ſeek ſome happier rival, while the ſmile
Of ſmother'd love half dimples o'er her cheeks.' II. 173–79.

These are among the best passages in Mr Good's translation. When he comes to the philosophical part, however, he makes sad work; and whether he affects to copy, in his harsh and prosaic English, the naked simplicity of the original, or to embellish it with a more lofty diction, he succeeds equally in producing a composition which we may fairly set down as illegible by students of any description. The fundamental proposition of Epicurus, for instance,

'That nought from nought by power divine has ris'n,'

has a portentous sound in his version; nor does the sum of his discoveries appear much more attractive, when thus delivered,

'Hence taught he us triumphant, *what might ſpring*
*And what forbear: what powers inherent lurk,*
*And where their bounds and iſſues.*'

The reader, however, shall have a larger specimen.

'This prov'd, what follows, as a truth deriv'd,
But that the forms of ſeeds, though varying much,
Ne'er vary endleſs; not unfrequent, elſe,
Full many a ſeed muſt boaſt a bulk immenſe:
For many a differing figure ne'er can lurk
In things minute. Deem, then, primordial ſeeds
Three fancied parts compriſe; or grant e'en more,—
Invert their order, let the right be left,
Depreſs the loftieſt, the profound exalt,—
Soon will the pigmy maſs exhauſt complete
Its tiny change of figures: would'ſt thou, then,
Augment the variance, thou muſt add, perforce,
New primal matter, hence augmented ſole.
Thus from freſh forms increaſe of ſize muſt flow
Perpetual; nor the ſeeds of things in ſhape
Can differ endleſs, or e'en once evince
A bulk immenſe, as erſt the muſe has prov'd.' I. 251–53.

Again,

'But ſome there are ſuch doctrines who deny:
And urge in proof, deceptive, that the wave
Not through imagin'd pores admits the race
With glitt'ring ſcales—but yields at once, and opes
The liquid path; and occupies, in turn,
The ſpace behind the aureat fiſh deſerts.
Thus, too, that all things act: the ſpot poſſeſs'd
Exchanging ſole, whilſt each continues full.
Believe them not. If nought of ſpace the wave
*Give to its gilded* tenants, how, reſolve,

Feel

Feel they the power t' advance? and if t' advance
They know not, how can, next, the wave thus yield?'—
'Such feeble reas'ners, in oppoſing VOID,
A double VOID confeſs: for, firſt, perforce,
A void they own, where void was none before,
Betwixt the ſubſtance ſever'd; and bring next
A proof ſurmountleſs that the air itſelf
Throng'd with a prior void: elſe how, to bounds
Of cloſer texture, could it e'er contract?' I. 75-79.

There are nearly three books of this light reading. The following passage we give in deference to Mr Good, who maintains that 'there is a beauty and precision in it that has seldom been equalled.'

'Who holds that nought is known, denies he knows
E'en this, thus owning that he nothing knows.
With ſuch I ne'er could reaſon, who, with face
Retorted, treads the ground juſt trod before.
Yet grant e'en this he knows; ſince nought exiſts
Of truth in things, whence learns he what to know,
Or what not know? what things can give him firſt
The notion crude of what is falſe, or true?
What prove aught doubtful, or of doubt devoid?' II. 71. 73.

The following account of the composition of the soul, too, is a favourite with the translator.

'Triple the ſubſtance, hence, the ſoul that builds;
Yet e'en the whole perception ne'er can form:
For nought in each ſubſiſts of pow'r t' excite
Thoſe ſenſile motions whence perception flows.
Hence ſome fourth ſubſtance, doubtleſs, muſt we deem,
Conjoint exiſting; which, though void of name,
Springs from minuteſt atoms, lighteſt moſt
And moſt attenuate; deep-endow'd with power
Of fleeteſt ſpeed, and hence, that firſt begets
Thoſe ſenſile movements that the frame pervade.
This firſt begets, as form'd from ſubtleſt ſeeds,
Next heat th' incipient action, vapour next
Partakes, and air poſterior, till the ſoul
Rouſes throughout: then flows the blood, then feels,' &c.
I. 413. 415.

The following illustration is frequently repeated by Lucretius; though *he* speaks only of words and letters—not *types*, as Mr Good has been pleased to call them. As we do not by any means pretend to understand the passage, we are really at a loss to know whether the ingenious translator means printers' types, or symbols.

'Mark but theſe fluent numbers; many a type
To many a term is common; but the terms,
The numbers cull'd, as diff'ring theſe from thoſe,

From different types evolve: not ſo diverſe
That the ſame type recurs not through the whole,
Or that, recurring, it recurs alone
From types too bounded; but from types alike
Free to each term, yet ever new combin'd,
Flows the vaſt change, th' harmonious ſyſtem flows.
Thus, through the world, the primal ſeeds of all,
To all things common, re-arrang'd diverſe,
In myriad forms ſhoot forth; and herbs, and men,
And trees umbrageous own the ſame fixt ſource.' I. 285-7.

We must make an end of this now. We had noted several instances of false translation, and many of unaccountable obscurity; but our readers will easily judge of Mr Good's merits from what has already been laid before them. It is scarcely necessary to say that the ornamental epithets, which he has lent to his author in the didactic parts of his work, entitle him to no credit from his admirers. When Lucretius says *humor* or *pisces*, Mr Good should say *water* and *fish*; 'dimpling stream,' and 'chrystal lymph.' The 'race with glittering scales,'—'the gilded tenants of the wave,' and even 'the aureate fish,' are all childish impertinencies.

We have said nothing all this time of the notes, which occupy, we should conjecture, about two thirds of the book; and indeed it is not easy to give either a specimen, or a description of the vast miscellaneous assemblage which they exhibit. The imitations and parallel passages are by far too long and too numerous; and the worst of them are generally praised as much as the best. A considerable knowledge of antiquity is displayed throughout, though frequently introduced in the most fantastical manner, and on the slightest pretences. Thus, having occasion to mention the sinks or public sewers of Rome, he is led to observe that their contents were employed by the fullers in scouring woollen cloth; and this introduces a most minute and learned dissertation upon all the branches of the fullers' craft; the manufacturing of *felts*; the method of 'raising the nap;' and the different processes employed for *glazing* linen cloth;—all which Mr Good sedulously pursues through six pages of double columns, while Lucretius is going on over his head with a poetical theory of dreaming. In the same way, Lucretius having glanced, in illustration of the power of the mind over the body, at the force the hand may acquire by machinery, Mr Good is irresistibly led to give his readers a copious account of the mechanical science and contrivances of the ancients, with a long historical narrative of the siege of Syracuse, and the inventions of Archimedes; which issues, we cannot well tell

tell how, in a discourse on encaustic painting, and a proposition to substitute it for copper-sheathing in our navy.

In another passage, Lucretius having made an allusion to the beauty of Helen, and the war of Troy, his translator takes occasion to dissert thus learnedly in the notes.

'The effect of love is variously described, as well as accounted for, by the poets. Generally, however, the instrument supposed to be employed, is either a dart from the eye, producing a wound, as in v. 36. of the present book; or else a species of subtle and irresistible flame, eroding and consuming the bosom, as in the present passage. In the opening of Book IV. of the Æneid, Virgil introduces both these metaphors.

'Vulnus alit venis, et cæco carpitur igni.
She feeds her *wound, and pines with secret* fire.

'Petrarc follows our poet's latter image alone in the ensuing description.

'I che l'esca amorosa al petto avea
Qual maraviglia se di subito arsi?
What wonder, that I burn and smart,
Since love's keen torch inflames my heart?

'Solomon has beautifully and boldly introduced another system of imagery, the elegance, and indeed the meaning of which, has seldom been sufficiently explained. Under his creative powers, the fascinating fair becomes the surrounding wall of a fortified city; which was often erected with consummate skill, beautified with all the ornaments of architecture, and over different parts of which were projected towers or turrets for the purpose of repelling the assailing foe; in whose construction and finish the taste of the artist was principally exerted, and which were hence frequently denominated *towers of ivory* or *of silver*. The triumphant fair being thus generally resembled to the beautiful and ornamental wall of a defensive city—her white and swelling bosom is next compared to the white and swelling turrets projected from its surface,—to those elegant, but dangerous prominences, which were equally formed for the purpose of attack or repulsion, and which no man, in either case, can approach without extreme peril. With this introductory explanation the passage I refer to is equally exquisite and obvious.

'Call her a wall—" and " two towers of silver
Will we *build upon her.*—
I myself am a wall,
And my bosom resembles two towers. Chap. viii. 9. 10.

'For a still further illustration, *the reader may consult my version and notes upon this elegant simile.—Sacred Idyls, p. 59. and 206.*' I. 87. 88.

These are but fair specimens of the excursive disposition of this commentator, and are taken without selection *ad aperturam libri.* His medical and metaphysical lucubrations are still more copious and irregular.

Upon

Upon the whole, this book is very dull, and, as a translation, very flat and unpoetical; yet it is evidently the work of a man of no ordinary vigour or intelligence: it contains a very correct edition of Lucretius, with more information on the subject of his poem, than could be gathered from all his other commentators put together. The version is sometimes pleasing, and sometimes vigorous; and Mr Good's own speculations, though often intruded rather awkwardly, are by no means despicable. It is a book, in short, which nobody but a reviewer will ever read through; but which, we think, all scholars would like to possess; and which, if it were a little cheaper, we should recommend all but poor scholars to buy.

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# THE EDINBURGH REVIEW,

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## No. XX.

ART. I. *The Present State of Turkey; or a Description of the Political, Civil, and Religious Constitution, Government and Laws, of the Ottoman Empire; the Finances; Military and Naval Establishments; the State of Learning; and of the Liberal and Mechanical Arts; the Manners, and Domestic Economy of the Turks, and other Subjects of the Grand Signor, &c. &c. &c.; together with the Geographical, Political, and Civil State of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia; from Observations made during a Residence of Fifteen Years in Constantinople and the Turkish Provinces.* By Thomas Thornton. Esq. 4to. pp. 468. London. Mawman. 1807.

THE subject of this work is in an uncommon degree interesting at the present moment; but we are inclined to bestow particular attention upon it, rather from a consideration of the permanent importance of the contents, than because of the temporary attractions which the discussion possesses. No general work, of authority, has appeared upon the affairs of Turkey, for a great length of time. Since the publications of Rycaut and Cantemir, important changes have taken place in the state of that extensive empire. The *Tableau General* of D'Ohsson, is scarcely known in this country; and though exceedingly valuable, so far as it goes, from the author's peculiar opportunities of information, is still very incomplete, that part only having been published which treats of the religion of the Turks. * Mr Eton's book abounds in mis-



* We have not had the advantage of consulting this work, but we suppose that it comprehends, under *religion*, a considerable portion of the other branches of the subject. The author is an Armenian, born in Turkey, and a tributary subject of the Porte. Mr Thornton, very properly, appeals to his authority, as in most cases preferable to that of other writers, on disputed points.

takes; is evidently written under the impreſſion of a political theory, and receives more than its ſhare of mercy, if its miſrepreſentations are imputed to the influence of ſuch a prepoſſeſſion. The work now under review, we therefore conſider as a valuable acceſſion to ſtatiſtical knowledge; and as, on the whole, the beſt general account of the Turkiſh empire hitherto publiſhed.

We muſt not, however, diſguiſe from our readers, the labour which they will have to encounter, if they follow our advice, and peruſe Mr Thornton's book. It is very ill put together, and badly written. The materials are not uſed to the beſt advantage; and we ſuſpect they have been furniſhed by the collector to ſome one ignorant of the ſubject; and by him, according to the faſhion of the times, made into a book, with the aſſiſtance of former publications on the ſame ſubject. If this be the caſe, Mr Thornton has committed the further miſtake of employing an unſkilful writer. There is no diſtinct or convenient arrangement,—things are not to be found in their proper places,—repetitions are frequent,—contradictions not uncommon,—the common benefits of an index are denied to the weary reader,—much of what ſhould be given as part of Mr Thornton's narrative or diſcuſſion, is thrown into the form of criticiſm upon the writings of his predeceſſors, who are, indeed, *reviewed* in a deſultory way, in almoſt every page. The notes contain a large portion of what belongs, properly, to the text, which is thus, every where, quite imperfect without them, and very often is materially altered by them. On diſputed queſtions, we can ſcarcely ever get hold of a clear opinion. This author is wrong,—that author is not right; and Mr Thornton gives his own account of the matter, ſubject to ſo many modifications and reſtrictions, and ſcattered over ſo many parts of his ſubject, that we do not, after all, ſee his meaning,—or perhaps find it coincides with the doctrines he has been criticizing. The general diſſertations are very meagre and ſuperficial. The ſtyle is verboſe and full of pretenſions to eloquence. Declamation, which is ſo foreign to the object of any ſcientific work, and ſo peculiarly miſplaced in a ſtatiſtical treatiſe, abounds in every page. To it, great ſacrifices of correctneſs, as well as conciſeneſs, are evidently made; and we frequently have the impreſſion, that things are ſaid, becauſe the writer had a turn of expreſſion ſuited to them, and not becauſe they were eſſential to the elucidation of the ſubject. To ſatisfy our readers, once for all, of the manner of writing uſed by Mr Thornton, we ſhall extract a part of his long eulogium on the ancient Greeks, introduced profeſſedly for the purpoſe of contraſting them with their deſcendants; but, in ſome degree alſo, (as we ſhould ſuppoſe), for the ſake of its eloquence.

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crites, whom ambition had converted to the new religion of the court? certainly not from the families which have immortalized Attica and Laconia. They never ſprang from thoſe Athenians, whoſe patriotic ardour could not wait the tardy approach of the Perſian army, but impelled them over the plains of Marathon, to an unpremeditated charge, whereby they forced the ſuperior numbers of an invading enemy to ſeek refuge in the ſea. The lofty ſpirit of Athenian independence could not brook the mild yoke of Perſian deſpotiſm: they refuſed to diſhonour the ſoil of Attica by offering the ſmalleſt particle of it as a tribute to a foreign ſovereign; though their enlightened patriotiſm could, upon a great emergency, riſe ſuperior even to the natural attachment, which ſo powerfully binds men to their native ſoil: they abandoned their city, with the temples of their deities, and the tombs of their anceſtors, to the fury of the barbarians, and embarked on board their navy, what really conſtituted the Athenian commonwealth, the whole of the Athenian citizens.

'From Athens and the borders of the Iliſſus, the ſeat of literature and ſcience, even when arms were wreſted from the hands of its citizens, the invitation of Conſtantine attracted no philoſopher. The capital, with all its allurements of ſplendour and luxury, could not come in competition with the more enchanting impreſſions of groves and gardens conſecrated to philoſophy and ſcience: and they continued to ſtudy the doctrines of the Porch, the Lyceum, and the Academy, on the ſame ground where they were firſt promulgated, until Theodoſius finally expelled them. Still leſs can the modern Greeks be ſuppoſed the deſcendants of the citizens of Sparta, of thoſe ferocious warriors to whom a ſtate of actual warfare was repoſe, when compared with the intervals of hoſtility, ſpent in gymnaſtic exerciſes, and the moſt fatiguing duties of the military life. Formed by the rigid obſervance of the laws of Lycurgus, and animated with the warmeſt enthuſiaſm of real patriotiſm, Leonidas and his ſmall illuſtrious band, with deliberate reſolution, devoted their lives at Thermopyla for the freedom of Greece. But the Spartans were the terror of all the neighbouring ſtates, except thoſe who were their dependent allies. At length the devouring fire of their valour conſumed itſelf: and long before the ſeat of government was removed from Rome to Conſtantinople, the Spartan families, if not wholly extinct, could no longer be diſtinguiſhed among the maſs of ſubmiſſive ſubjects of the Roman empire.' 69. 70. 71.

Such are the principal defects of which we have to complain in the compoſition of this work. They are no doubt very ſerious evils, and exceedingly diminiſh its value. It contains, nevertheleſs, a great deal that deſerves praiſe. The author is, in general, free from ſtrong prejudices. If he ſeems to lean a little too much towards the Turks, he fairly ſtates his reaſons, and ſhows that others have exaggerated their defects. He is, in a proper degree, prone to incredulity, where travellers and writers of deſcriptions have aſſerted what is unlikely or ſtrange, and is

frequently successful in detecting such tales by their inconsistencies, without having recourse to his own authority as an eyewitness. His opportunities of procuring information, however, have been considerable. He resided at Constantinople fourteen years in the British factory, and fifteen months at Odessa, and made, during that time, occasional excursions to Asia Minor, and the islands of the Archipelago. He enjoyed the acquaintance of the most respectable foreign ministers and their interpreters, and was tolerably well versed in the language. His leisure, which he says was considerable, seems to have been employed in reading the accounts of those who had treated of Turkish affairs, and in detecting their mistakes or misrepresentations. A great part of his book is accordingly made up of such remarks; and though we are sure that he is frequently led into errors, from the desire of finding other people in the wrong, and sometimes see him differing from them for the sake of objecting, when there is clearly no opposition of sentiments; yet we cannot deny that his pages contain a mass of corrections, which must render the works already in our possession much more valuable. Had he only given his information in a more distinct and orderly manner, and conveyed it in a less ambitious style, so as to have made his meaning more intelligible, we should have been contented with recommending the book to our readers, and only stated the few points on which we differ from him. But the defects of his arrangement, and the contradictions and repetitions through which we have to work our way to the substance of his statements, as well as the declamation in which they are wrapt up, render it desireable that we should digest the most important parts of the information which this book contains in as concise an abstract as the nature of the subject will permit.

In pursuing this plan, we shall make no apology for deviating entirely from Mr Thornton's arrangement. He divides his work into nine chapters. The first contains general remarks on the manners and institutions of the Turks; and the second, professing to trace the rise and progress of the Ottoman power, gives a few short notices of the chief epochs in its history, and then runs into a number of unconnected, and, for the most part, superficial dissertations on the present state and future prospects of the empire. Almost the whole of those two chapters should have come after every other part of the subject had been discussed. The third chapter treats of the constitution, and the fourth of the judicial establishments; although we conceive it is impossible, with any advantage, to separate those two subjects, or to discuss them clearly, without a previous attention to the religion of this theocracy, which is reserved for a part of the seventh chapter.

chapter. The military and naval department, and the finances, occupy, with sufficient precision and distinctness, the fifth and sixth; though they contain a good deal of matter belonging to the questions discussed in the third. The seventh chapter treats of religion, manners, and customs; the eighth of women, and domestic economy,—another separation singularly injudicious, as the subjects of those two chapters are nearly the same; and the book concludes with a desultory account of Moldavia and Wallachia. Instead of following this arrangement, we shall class whatever we have found scattered through the volume, relating to religion and religious establishments, under one head, and shall enter upon this fundamental subject, immediately after giving a short sketch of the Turkish history. We shall then consider the power of the Sultan, and the manner in which it is exercised. This will lead us to the checks, if such they can be called, which have been provided to it. We shall next describe the military and financial resources of the state, and then the manners and customs of the people. We shall conclude with noticing the situation in which the empire at present stands with regard to its neighbours. This arrangement will easily comprehend almost every material particular contained in Mr Thornton's work.

The Turks or Turkomans inhabited an extensive and fertile country bordering on the Caspian. From thence they made several eruptions, at an early period, into the Asiatic provinces of the Roman empire. About the beginning of the thirteenth century, their first great invasion took place under Soliman Shah, whose progress extended to the Euphrates. His son continued those conquests; and his grandson, Osman, laid the foundation of the dynasty which still bears his name. After this period, they wrested the eastern provinces from the empire, one by one, in the course of a century and a half; and in 1453, Mahomet II. took the capital of the Greek emperors, and decided the contest which had indeed long been wholly in favour of the Ottomans. Their power now received constant and rapid increase. They reduced the Greeks to the abject state of vassals, tolerated only in a very private exercise of their religion, and permitted to retain certain civil rights, on payment of annual tribute. Their conquests extended, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, over the Saracen and Greek empires. They had subdued part of Persia, and begun to threaten the dominion of Austria, from which they had already gained a part of Hungary. The alarm of Christendom was great and general. The statesmen of those times describe their solicitude in terms similar to those which are now applied to the common apprehensions of the French power. To what causes the decline of this powerful empire may be a-

scribed, is a question discussed by Mr Thornton on very limited and superficial grounds. He imputes it entirely to the invention of gunpowder; although he admits that Mahomet II. made use of artillery, and asserts, that the Turkish forces of the present day are only inferior to those who conquered the eastern empire in their want of good generals (p. 59. & 56.) But surely their not using gunpowder, and their want of generals, are direct proofs of a much more universal difference between them and their European neighbours, and of a degeneracy in their whole military system. The despotic and purely warlike structure of their government—the intolerant bigotry of their religion—the separation which *this* perpetuated between them and the rest of Europe—the obstacles which *that* opposed to their own progress in civilization,—may safely be stated as the causes of their not only failing to keep pace with the improvements by which they were surrounded, but degenerating, both in their civil and military institutions, from the times when their princes ceased to conquer, and the loss of the talent which alone they ever possessed, left nothing in its place.

I. The religion of the Turks, is Mahometanism in its utmost purity, and in complete preservation from the days of its founder. They believe in one God, and in the divine mission of his prophet. They scrupulously follow, as the rule of their conduct, his precepts contained in the Koran, and his example; together with certain sayings not recorded in that book, but handed down by tradition. The leading maxims thus delivered and religiously observed, are, the maintenance of the faith, the performance of certain outward ceremonies, and hatred of other sects. Their belief is inculcated as so necessary to eternal salvation, and so sure of working this end without the aid of good works, that we need not be surprised to find scarcely one freethinker in the whole of the Turkish population. A few reasoning men, may here and there be found, who hold that a life of sanctity, independent of faith, is sufficient. But the church condemns this as the worst of heresies; and those persons must keep their doctrines carefully to themselves. The inducements to hold the faith of their fathers, are so strong among an indolent and sensual people, that any doubt or scruple is likely to be rejected as a present injury. 'Whatever happens during this life is well; God ordains it. If we live, we shall smoke so much tobacco, enjoy so many Circassians, saunter away so many hours in our baths. If death comes to-morrow, we have kept the faith, and shall inevitably sup in paradise,—with better tobacco, fairer women, and more voluptuous baths.' A notion of this sort, once rivetted in the mind, at an early period of society, will account for the horror with

with which every question relative to articles of belief, must afterwards be received. It will account for the exclusive attention of those true believers to the concerns of the present moment, and their carelessness about futurity; for their implicit obedience to the easy injunctions of the Koran; and their steady rejection of all more unpleasant doctrines. Besides holding this faith, they have only to perform the ceremonies of prayer, ablution, and fasting; troublesome indeed, in some respects, from their frequent recurrence, but far more easy than the restraint of a single wicked inclination, the sacrifice of an interested to a principled view, or the fulfilment of any active duty; and their lives are pure before Allah.

As the object of the founder of this religion was power, he carefully enjoined such an implicit obedience to himself or his successors, as might ensure his divine authority in the state, and such a hatred of unbelievers, as might both keep alive the faith among his followers, and prepare the way for the conquest of foreign nations. The most unresisting and passive obedience to the sacred person of him who is at the head both of the church and state, is inculcated as a primary religious duty. He is the *Zil-ullah*, or shadow of God; the *Padishah-islam*, or emperor of Islamism; the *Imam-ul-musliminn*,* or pontiff of Mussulmans; the *Sultandinn*, or protector of the faith. The title of *Caliph*, was first acquired on the conquest of Egypt; but the prerogatives annexed to it, of sovereign pontiff and depositary of the divine will, as handed down from Mahomet, had all along been exercised by the Turkish emperor. He is further, in his temporal capacity, denominated *Hunkiar*, or the manslayer; it is the name commonly given him, and denotes the absolute power which he has over the life of each of his subjects, in virtue of his divine commission. Whoever submits without resistance to death inflicted by his order, is looked upon as sure of that eternal felicity of the highest order, which belongs to martyrdom. His edicts, always received with religious veneration, are welcomed with peculiar awe, when accompanied by a note under his hand enjoining obedience; and whatever may be the tenor of such a command, the devout Mussulman kisses it as soon as it is presented to him, and piously wipes the dust from it with his cheek. The Pashas who rebel against his authority, are careful to mention his name with holy reverence; and, during the course of their disobedience, scrupulously comply with his orders in every point, except when he requires a resignation of their independence, or some sacrifice injurious to it.



* *Muslim* is the singular, *Mussulman* the dual, and *Musliminn* the plural: it signifies '*resigned to God.*'

When he sends his executioners to despatch a rebellious chieftain, it is not uncommon to see the mere production of the imperial mandate, unaided by any force, silence all opposition, and command obedience from the rebel and his followers. Frequently, indeed, the executioner is stopped in his attempts to gain admittance, and himself put to death. But if he once performs his office, and the insurgent leader falls, there is no instance of his troops revenging his death on the bearer of so sacred a commission, though he comes singly, and trusts himself among an armed multitude of men, the moment before in the act of rebellion. Rycaut affirms, though Mr Thornton calls it an exaggerated picture, that the emperor would be obeyed, were he 'to command whole armies to precipitate themselves from a rock, or build a bridge with piles of their bodies for him to pass rivers, or to kill one another to afford him pastime and pleasure.'

The disciple of Mahomet is educated in a haughty belief of the superiority of his own faith, and a suitable aversion towards all infidels. 'I withdraw my foot and turn away my face,' says the prophet, 'from a society in which the faithful are mixed with the ungodly.'—'The prayers of the infidel, are not prayers, but wanderings.'—'Pray not for those whose death is eternal; and defile not thy feet by passing over the graves of men the enemies of God and his prophet.' The example of the prophet himself, who is recorded to have frequented the society of infidels, is of no avail in counteracting those intolerant precepts; and the more other nations have distinguished themselves from the Turk by their progress in wisdom and civility, the more obdurate has been his determination to keep within the pale of his own faith, and to despise their advances. The spirit of proselytism has been shown, not in any attempts to convert by argument: the extension of dominion was the only object of the prophet in proclaiming rewards to such as propagated the faith. Whoever refused the proffered creed, was either to be cut off, or reduced to the state of a vassal paying tribute; and those who die in this holy war, pass immediately into paradise. 'Wash not their bodies,' says the prophet; 'every wound which they bear, will smell sweeter than musk in the day of judgment.' While to Jews and Christians, the alternative of conversion, or tributary vassalage was held out, the idolator was doomed to death. 'Kill and exterminate all worshippers of plurality,' says the Koran; and this command has, not infrequently, been literally complied with. The Persians, are, however, held in peculiar abhorrence; and it is deemed more praiseworthy in the sight of God to kill a single worshipper of fire, than seventy infidels of any other religion. The doctrines which we have just now hastily enumerated, are

not,

not, indeed, the only articles of the faith held by Turks; nor are they unqualified, in the theoretical system of that religion, by other tenets of a better kind. But the history of Mahometanism, shows how much more prevalent they have been in practice, than the milder injunctions with which they are mingled; and we shall reserve for a subsequent part of this statement, the trifling modifications with which the manners of the people prove that the worst precepts have been followed.

There are a great variety of minor doctrines, and of popular superstitions, recorded in different parts of the work before us, but not sufficiently important in their effects upon the political state of the empire, to merit a minute analysis. They are rather objects of literary curiosity, than capable of leading to any general views of the subject. We shall merely notice a few of them. The Turks abhor the worship of images, yet think it decent to reverence departed saints, and to visit their tombs. They chiefly invoke the names of Mahomet and his four immediate successors. They conceive idiots to be favoured by heaven, from their apparent insensibility to the evils of life, and their indifference to its enjoyments. They prize relics, or substances which have been in contact with persons of extraordinary piety; and ascribe to them cures and other miracles similar to those which the Roman Catholic superstitions inculcate. They dread the effect of sorcery, and provide against it by much the same contrivances as are used in the northern countries of Europe and Asia. They carefully observe dreams, and other accidental notions, as ominous of future events; and have a superstitious aversion to all pictures of the human body, believing that angels cannot enter the house where these are. The pilgrimage to Mecca is well known; they believe that it cures all former transgressions, and hold that a man should set about it as soon as his means are double the expense of the journey. Such, at least, is the injunction of the Koran; and only necessary impediments, as blindness, poverty, lameness, &c. are deemed to justify a Mussulman in neglecting this act of devotion. The *black stone* at Mecca is an object of peculiar reverence; it is expected to be endowed with speech at the day of judgment, for the purpose of declaring the names of those who performed the pilgrimage. The *sanjac-sherif*, or standard of Mahomet, being the curtain of the chamber-door of his favourite wife, is kept as the palladium of the empire, upon which no infidel can look with impunity. It is carried to battle with great formality before the sultan or vizier; and its return is hailed by all the Mussulmans of the capital going out to meet it.

The Turkish church is in every particular subordinate to the civil

civil power; if the sultan is considered as bound by the law of the Prophet, he is at the same time the chief interpreter of that law. The mufti, or *sheik-islam*, the prelate of orthodoxy, is not an ecclesiastical, but a civil functionary; or, at least, he is only ecclesiastical in so far as the whole law, of which he is the first doctor, derives its origin from the precepts of the Koran and the life of the Prophet. The sultan himself is sovereign pontiff, as well as supreme doctor of law, in virtue of the caliphat. In his name, and by his authority, the priests officiate. These are either *Sheiks*, who preach, and *Riatibs*, who read the Koran, in the large mosques; *Imams* (priests *par excellence*), who recite the prayers, or *Muezzins*, who chant, from the towers of the mosques, certain hymns, at stated periods, bearing witness to the Mussulman faith, and summoning the people to prayer. In country parishes, or small villages, the *Imam* generally performs the whole of these functions, and is sometimes *Hagia*, or schoolmaster, besides. All these functionaries of religion are dependent on the civil magistrate, who may displace them of his own authority, and has himself the full right to perform every public duty and ceremony to which a priest is competent. 'The priests,' says Mr Thornton, 'in their habits of life, are not distinguished from other citizens; they live in the same society, and engage in the same pursuits; they sacrifice no comforts, and are compelled to no acts of self-denial; their influence on society is entirely dependent on their reputation for learning and talents, or gravity and moral conduct; they are seldom the professed instructors of youth, much less of men, and by no means are they considered as the directors of conscience; they merely chant aloud the church service, and perform offices, which the master of a family, or the oldest person in company, as frequently, and as consistently, performs as themselves. The Turks know nothing of those expiatory ceremonies which give so much influence to the priesthood; all the practices of their religion can be, and are performed, without the interference of the priests.'—In conformity to this acknowledged principle, individuals, as the proprietors of public hotels, or great houses, appoint any persons they please to act as domestic chanters and priests, or, as we should term them, domestic chaplains. They are merely employed to perform what the master of the family would otherwise do himself.

The *Dervishes* are enthusiasts who consecrate their lives to the service of Allah, and the rigorous observance of the duties inculcated in the Koran. Their institution is foreign to the doctrines of Mahometanism, but no vizier has ever ventured to suppress them. They enjoy great credit with the people from their supposed sanctity, and from the ceremonies which they perform, similar

milar to incantations. There are thirty-two distinct orders of them. Some of them turn round for a great length of time in a sort of wild dance; others howl out the name of Allah till they throw themselves into a kind of fit, and fall down foaming at the mouth. This is enough for the common people, who, seeing something which they do not comprehend, done by people who cry out '*Allah!*' easily believe that Allah is at the bottom of it, and revere it as a manifestation of his influence. The *Emirs* are the descendants of Fatima, Mahomet's favourite daughter, and, as such, highly honoured. They wear a green turban, and are scattered over different parts of the empire. These two orders of men, the dervishes and emirs, are the only classes in the community who possess, as it were, an independent existence,—the only bodies from whom the mandate of the government cannot in a moment take away all marks of distinction, and reduce them to a level with the meanest rabble.

II. So great a portion of the government of Turkey consists of the sultan's personal authority, and so large a share of this is derived from the influence of religion, that we have already anticipated an important part of the civil institutions of the country in describing its ecclesiastical rites. We have seen, that abject obedience to the emperor is the favourite doctrine of Mahometanism, inculcated by penal sanctions, as well as the hopes of infinite rewards. We have likewise remarked, that, independent of his will, there exists no clerical order, nor any thing deserving the name of a national priesthood. The *Multoka*, or code of laws, by which the empire is governed, consists of the precepts contained in the Koran, the oral injunctions of Mahomet, and the decisions of the early caliphs and doctors. It relates to every subject of life, and comprehends various matters appertaining to government; but the sultan is the sole judge of its application to particular cases; and both the Koran and other books relating to the law, are strictly forbidden to be printed. The Turkish civilians hold, that his power is quite unrestrained, except where religion is concerned; and the casuists ascribe to him a character of holiness, which no immorality can tarnish. According to them, he may kill *fourteen* persons every day, without assigning any reason; and they conceive that he acts, in such cases, by a sort of divine impulse, which must not be closely scrutinized. He is the proprietor of, and heir to, all real property, except what has been destined to pious uses,—though custom restrains him in the exercise of this right, where there are natural heirs, and where the person last seised was not a servant of the crown. He is the immediate fountain of all honour; and, without his appointment, there is no dignity or rank acquired by sevice, or transmitted by inheritance.

It is the maxim of the Turkiſh law, that a female cannot hold the ſceptre; and, upon the death or depoſition of a ſultan, though effected by the moſt violent inſurrection, another member of the ſame family is uniformly choſen to ſucceed him. The younger brothers of the reigning monarch are kept in a ſtate of confinement, with the jealouſy which characterizes all eaſtern courts. The education of the ſeraglio is ſuch as beſt fits a man to neglect every important concern; to purſue a life of indolent voluptuouſneſs; and to be governed by his paſſions and caprices, while he reſigns to a miniſter the care of ruling his empire.

Though every thing depends on the will of the Sultan, it is his constant principle to act by deputy. He never appears himself by any act of interference. His officers are created and removed, by a word, or a nod. They are entirely submissive to his authority;—they are accountable to him for every thing which they or the people may do;—they stand between him and the people whenever he may give discontent. Of these, the *Vizir Azem*, or Grand Vizir, is the first. He is the depositary of the Sultan's whole power, so long as his master does not chuse to interfere, and is, in the first instance, responsible both to him and to the people; that is to say, when any thing goes wrong in public affairs, either the Sultan or the people are in the practice of taking revenge on the Grand Vizir. He presides in the *divan*, or great council of the ministers, where the Sultan either is, or is supposed to assist, concealed by a curtain, and taking no active share in the deliberations. Formerly this council used only to sanction the proceedings of the Vizir, without in any degree limiting his influence, and sharing in his responsibility. But we are informed by Mr Thornton, that soon after the close of the last Russian war, three ministers leagued together to check the power of the Grand Vizir, and succeeded in introducing a change of system, which gives the divan a substantive share in the government along with that minister himself. We confess that it is somewhat difficult to comprehend how such a controul can exist, when the Grand Vizir retains his place of the Sultan's deputy in the executive government, unless we suppose that the Sultan prefers the wisdom and responsibility of several ministers to that of one. The number of the Vizirs composing the divan varies. The two *Cazy-askers*, or chief judges of Romelia and Anatolia; the *Capudan-pasha*, or high-admiral; the treasurer; the chief of the war and foreign department; the officer who affixes the Sultan's cypher to acts; and the grand purveyor, are generally members of this council. The frequent changes that take place in these departments do not at all affect the details of public business. The inferior officers, who are numerous and very

very expert in their functions, remain generally the same, and carry on the work of the government undisturbed, while their superiors are visiting the seven towers, or the islands, or losing their heads, or are torn in pieces by the soldiery or the multitude. The failings which our author admits must be imputed to the character of the Turkish ministers, are not, we fear, unknown in the divans of other nations. Certainly it would ill become *us*, at the present moment, to express any contempt for a people governed by men, 'with whom the preservation of their own authority is paramount to every consideration, and with whom it is useless to urge the interest of the empire, if their personal advantage or safety be endangered by the measure.'

The government of the provinces is entrusted to lieutenants, appointed by the Sultan, and removeable at his pleasure. The greater provinces, comprehending several subdivisions, are governed by *begler-begs*, or *beyler-beys*, a title equivalent to 'prince of princes.' The lesser provinces, either included as subdivisions under those governments, or forming separate provinces, or single towns, are administered by governors with the titles of *Pasha*, *Bey*, or *Aga*. Pasha is a general appellation for governor; but seems chiefly applicable to provinces of a certain extent. Bey is applied to smaller principalities; and Aga is a military governor, frequently of a single town. We speak with a certain want of precision on this subject; for nothing can be more confused than Mr Thornton's account. In the same page, we are told that 'the belerbeys exert a superior jurisdiction over the governments administered by the *pashas*, the *beys*, and the *sanjacs*;'—'that these governments are called *pashaliks*, *musselimliks*, *vaivadaliks*, and *agaliks*;'—'that the chief governor has no authority over those inferior officers in his own district;'—'that next to the Grand Vizir ranks a pasha of three tails,—then a pasha of two tails,—then a bey, who has only one tail,—and, lastly, the aga, who has only a sanjak or standard;' so that the last statement (which is in a note) omits all mention of the belerbey, whom the text placed first, and calls *sanjak*, a standard, which the text denominated a governor.* On turning to Rycaut, from whom this page is apparently taken, we find *sangiack* used for smaller *province*, or subdivision of the beglerbeglik; and *sangiack-beg*, for the governor of the subdivision; (a nomenclature adopted by Mr Thornton also in another part of his book, p. 162.) We find, also, no distinction made between a horse tail and a standard; and *beglerbeg* and *pasha* are used indiscriminately

* P. 122.—The difference of ſpelling is evidently a miſtake; *Sanjac* is uſed for ſtandard in p. 274.

minately for the governors of large provinces; though pasha only, and not beylerbey, is applied to the governors of separate territories or towers, larger than those governed by beys or agas; (Rycaut, chap. xii.) Indeed, it is the frequent misfortune of Mr Thornton's readers, to find themselves left in confusion and uncertainty, by his vague, and often contradictory statements. There generally is no such thing as getting at a fixed opinion, or making out a clear point, from a perusal of this book.

All these offices are conferred for money. The value of each is accurately stated in a book at the seraglio; and, at the expiration of the first year, the payment must be renewed; otherwise a successor is found who will give the price. Besides paying so much to the Sultan, presents must be constantly made to court favourites, if the pasha (we use the term generically) would retain his place; and if those presents with the tribute come regularly to the Porte, no inquiries are made into the means by which the money was raised, or the conduct of the governor in any other respect. When a pasha can establish his independence by his wealth or the number of his troops, he rebels; that is to say, he sends no remittances to the Porte; and, if the distance is too great, or the Sultan's power too small to subdue him by force, a sort of contest in cunning arises between the Sultan and him, the former trying to assassinate, the latter to kill the assassin. It is not uncommon for this feeble power to send an executioner, with orders, if he should fail in the main object of his mission, to heap honours on the rebellious chief,—that appearances may be saved; a chance of further obedience and tribute obtained; and punishment deferred to a fitter season.

III. We shall now shortly consider what have been represented as the checks to the absolute power which we have just described. The *Ulema*, or body of the law and the religious institutions or opinions of the country, are commonly viewed in this light. The *Ulema* (or learned men), in its more extensive signification, comprehends all the lawyers and priests of the empire; but, in its ordinary sense, it is restricted to signify, the jurisconsults, or *muftis*, and judges, and *cadis*; that is, the persons skilled in the law, and those appointed to administer it. Every thing relating to this point is confusion in Mr Thornton; and we subjoin some passages, occurring within the bounds of a *few* pages, to show how little he or his compiler have been at the pains of forming distinct notions of their subject. 'The *Ulema*, the perpetual and hereditary guardians of the religion and laws of the empire,' p. 100. 'The order is divided into three distinct classes, comprehending indeed the ministers of religion, but distinguishing them from the *foukahha*, or jurisconsults, who are again subdivided into *muftis*, or doctors of law, and *cadis*, or ministers

nisters of justice.' p. 101. 'This dignity (of *Ulema*) is perpetual and hereditary, not in individuals, but in the order.' note to p. 101. 'Their property is hereditary in their families, and is not liable to arbitrary confiscations.' p. 101. 'About the end of the seventeenth century, they were made removeable at pleasure, like all other functionaries.' note to p. 101. 'The Ulema used formerly to admit no one into their order who was not recommended by some extraordinary merit; but now the sultan creates Ulema at his pleasure,' p. 102. 'The children of *Mollas*' (judges of great towns) 'are admitted with the consent of the *Sheik-Islam* (or chief mufti); but it requires an express order of the sovereign to admit any other children.' p. 102. The functions of the ulema are perfectly distinct and unconnected with those of the *imams*, or immediate ministers of religion. These do not even belong to the order of the Ulema, in the restricted meaning and general acceptation of the word.' p. 103. 'The mufti is the chief minister of the legal, judicial, and religious power.' p. 94. 'An ancient prejudice, founded on the respect due to religion and its ministers, protects individuals of the order of the Ulema from judicial inflictions, entailing infamy or dishonour.' p. 106. In p. 107, it is twice stated, that the Ulema owe their appointment, individually, as well as their continuance in office, to the Sultan alone. 'The Ulema are wholly unconnected with the ecclesiastical order.' p. 112.

Such being Mr Thornton's various statements, we shall probably be excused, if we have failed to catch his meaning; for indeed he seems not to know it himself. But one thing appears clear, that whatever influence this body possesses, must be exerted without giving umbrage to the sovereign, who can remove every offending member, and destroy the mufti himself. The reputation which the mufti has for learning, and the high honours with which he is treated, both by the Sultan and his court, give his opinion great weight. He is consulted on all occasions of importance; but if he gives an opinion (or *fetiva*, which he does in writing) contrary to the sovereign's inclination, he is without scruple dismissed, and a more complying counsellor is found to take office under the virtual pledge.

The administration of justice, by the members of the Ulema, whom the sultan chooses for this purpose, is worse than any thing which the subjects of a regular government can imagine. It is strange to find Mr Thornton assert, in general, that justice is equally administered in suits where both parties are Turks; and fill a whole chapter with proofs, that the Turkish judges are the most cruel and venal persons in the world. If the trade of a false witness is one of the most flourishing in Turkey,—if the judge is compelled

compelled to decide according to oral testimony, unless when he can, by cross-examination, convict a witness, on the spot, of perjury,—if a person so convicted is scarcely liable to any punishment,—if, moreover, in all their decisions respecting the rights of Jews and Christians, bribery alone sways the Turkish judges;—is it conceivable that the causes between Turks can be determined equitably? The account given by our author, of the summary mode in which both civil and criminal cases are decided, is equally at variance with his general panegyric; and the inference to be drawn from his whole statement is, that no such thing as regular justice can be said to exist in the Turkish dominions.

What check, then, it may be asked, is furnished by the institutions of this empire to the power of the sultan? There is evidently but one—the dread of popular insurrection. Every thing depends for its existence on the nod of the prince; and he may just push his caprices as far as he thinks the degraded state of his subjects will permit him. He owes to their superstitions, immediately, the greater part of his influence—ultimately, the whole of it. He has chiefly to beware lest those superstitions are not the cause of some sudden commotion against his person, or that of his minister. He has also to guard against any conduct so generally hurtful to his people, and so plainly, so instantly felt by them, as to overcome the sense of religious awe with which they have been accustomed to view his government. Thus he must avoid any violent interference with religious observances and the established customs of the country, which are all more or less connected with superstitious feelings. He must also be ready to vary his conduct when he perceives symptoms of serious commotions being excited by it. The most successful mode of showing discontent at Constantinople is said to be setting the town on fire in different places. When the sultan learns that one of these fires is no sooner extinguished than another breaks out, he bethinks him of his situation, and begins to inquire into the grievances complained of. As for the inhabitants of the provinces, they may complain indeed of their pasha, by sundry remonstrances to the Porte; but without presents, so large as to exceed those which he sends in his *defence*, the application is altogether vain. It may easily be imagined, that the pasha is less exposed to insurrection than the sultan; and his government is in proportion more severe.

IV. When the Turks overran the provinces of the Greek empire, they divided the lands in a manner analogous to that pursued by the northern nations under similar circumstances. The general, after seizing a certain portion, assigned the rest to his officers and men, upon condition that they should attend him in all future wars as soon as required. The principal difference between

tween this and the feudal tenures of the north was, that all the proprietors held immediately of the general or sultan—and no one owed service to any intermediate chief. Such of the former infidel proprietors as were not extirpated during the conquest, were permitted to remain as cultivators, or tributary proprietors of the lands not exhausted by the first partition. The Mussulmans alone were allowed to serve in war. Those conquered Mussulmans who preferred a life of peace, were classed with the infidel tributaries, and paid a capitation tax as commutation for their military services. This class, whether infidels or Mussulmans, are called *Rayahs;* but that appellation is more commonly restricted to the infidel tributaries, who are likewise denominated *Zimmys*, while the Mussulman tributaries are called *Beledis*. The Mussulman Rayahs form the national; the feudal proprietors form the feudal militia. All Mussulman inhabitants capable of bearing arms, are bound to join the Pasha's standard; but the former class are a sort of volunteers, and soon return home; the latter serve, and furnish a contingent of troops, from the obligations of their charter, and are somewhat more to be depended upon. They are either *Zäims* or *Timariots*, according as they possess a *Zäimet*, or a *Timar;* the former containing 500 acres, or upwards, the latter from 300 to 500.* In the reign of Soliman I., there were 3192 Zäims, and 50,160 Timars, which furnished 150,000 men to the militia; Olivier reckons about 60,000, and Mr Eton 132,000. Whatever the number may now be, they are little adapted to the modern practice of warfare. They remain in the field only till they obtain a certificate which cannot be refused, after the campaign has lasted six months. They then, at the beginning of winter, desert, or rather, march off in large bodies, as happened when they were serving in Syria last war. Those proprietors of feudal lands, who do not furnish a contingent, must pay, in the European provinces, one year's revenue; in the Asiatic, two. This, together with the capitation tax, and the commutation money of the *Beledis*, formed the bulk of the Turkish revenue, as the militia supplied the army, by which the Ottoman conquests were made. The changes which have, in the course of time, been made in both, are merely additions to those original branches of the military and financial system.

About the middle of the fourteenth century, the body of Janizaries was formed; at that time, 12,000 in number. They now amount to about 40,000,† and unite the functions of police of-

 ficers

* This is Mr Thornton's account.—We have reason to believe, that he is wrong in the extent which he assigns to those divisions.

† This is much less than the estimates of former authors; but we are convinced of its accuracy. Mr T. judiciously grounds it on the amount of the pay.

ficers with the military profession. They have peculiar privileges—are judged only by their own officers—receive punishment in the most private manner, to preserve the honour of the corps—and are the especial instruments of the Sultan and his ministers in government, as well as his best regular troops. They were formerly trained to the service with the greatest care, and selected from the finest young men in the country. But their discipline has gradually relaxed, and they no longer deserve even a small part of the fame which they anciently possessed. It is the opinion of good judges, however, that a little care from European officers, might still restore the greater part of their merits as an army. Besides the effective force of the Janizaries, a vast number of persons are nominally enrolled in the corps, for the sake of avoiding the capitation tax. The *topgis* or gunners, are said to be 30,000 in number, distributed over different parts of the empire. This includes those employed in the cannon founderies, and as artificers. There are 15,000 very good cavalry, on the regular establishment; besides corps of *gebegis* or armourers, and *sakkas* or water-carriers; and the pashas levy bodies of pioneers, miners, &c. during war, or to assist the other forces on their march through the provinces. It is impossible to estimate the numbers of the Turkish army with tolerable precision. There is every reason to believe, that the government itself is in possession of no accurate enumeration of the militia; and the calculation of the whole force, published by Marsigli a century ago, is said to be the only one that can be relied on. He estimated the regulars (or *Capiculy*) at about 58,000 infantry, including janizaries, topgis, sakkas, &c. and 15,200 cavalry; and the militia (or *Toprakli*) at about 126,000. Of the regulars, above 21,000 Janizaries were required for garrisons and other ordinary services; and of the militia, about a sixth might be deducted for false returns: so that the effective disposable force, militia and regulars, could not exceed 160,000 men. The relaxation of provincial government having greatly increased since that time, the Porte generally expects the levies of militia which it makes, to fall short, by one half, of the numbers ordered.

The army, thus raised, is extremely deficient in discipline, though by no means wanting in courage. The officers understand but little of the tactics required to oppose a skilful enemy, and they pursue certain old rules for disposing their troops, handed down from their forefathers, incapable of application to the present state of military affairs, and indeed always adhered to, whatever movements might be made to oppose them. Where a few companies are required to perform any duty, and no preconcerted schemes are necessary, the Turkish troops frequently do excellent

excellent service. The cavalry will follow up a successful attack, and their execution is then dreadful. The infantry, posted in forts, will defend them with admirable perseverance, and will act well as light troops behind walls or other fences. But the danger to which they are exposed must be immediate, and they must be employed when their courage is up;—they cannot be relied on for the regular duties of a besieged garrison, nor will they rally after being broken. In short, they are an undisciplined soldiery—possessed of sufficient strength and agility—abounding in individual courage and fanaticism—not unskilful in the management of horses and arms—capable of performing services where no great combination or foresight is required—and likely to assist more regular forces, or even to oppose some resistance themselves to an invading army, however little may be expected from them in carrying on the war abroad. The same want of discipline prevails in their navy, with a much greater want of skill. They have several very beautiful ships, chiefly built by foreigners, but wretchedly manned. There are about fifteen sail of the line, and as many frigates. Mr Thornton asserts, that, in navigating small craft, the Turks are equally skilful with the Greeks, and that both are equally unfit to manage larger vessels. This is an opinion quite contrary to the common belief upon the subject. The Greeks are understood to be greatly superior in seamanship. Mr Thornton admits, that they form the bulk of the crews of the Turkish men of war; and, from their expertness in managing coasting vessels, they might certainly be trained, without difficulty, to make tolerable seamen.

The territorial arrangements adopted by the Turks during their conquests, laid the foundation of their financial, as well as of their military system; but the additions afterwards made to the former, have been much less considerable. The revenues consist of two great branches, the *Miri*, or public income; and the *Hazni*, or sultan's private treasure. Neither Mr Thornton, nor any other writer, has explained to us in what manner this separation is kept up; and how a prince, so absolute as the Grand Signor, is prevented by any consideration, except that of his own interest as connected with that of the empire, or compliance with custom in order to avoid dangerous commotions, from viewing the whole treasury as *Hazni*. In practice, however, the branches are kept distinct. The *Miri*, which is under the administration of the *Defterdar Effendi*, or high treasurer, is derived from the *havatch*, or capitation tax, paid by the rayahs; varying in different parts of the empire, and levied differently on persons according to their fortunes; but, generally speaking, of three classes, ten, six, and three piastres, according to law:—The

*land-tax*, being a tenth of the produce all over the empire; estimated in the treasury books, at twenty millions Sterling; but detained, for the most part, in the provinces to defray the public expences:—A tax on the produce of industry in professions, paid by the rayahs, and estimated at a fourth of their clear gains, but unequally and arbitrarily levied:—Customs on imports and exports, chiefly farmed, and collected with mildness, amounting to 3 *per cent.* for Frank merchants, and 5 for natives:—Monopoly of the greater part of the corn consumed in Constantinople, enforced with peculiar strictness, and to the rigorous prevention of all private forestalling; *—the forfeitures of Zäims and Timariots who neglect their military services;—the inheritance of all persons in public employments, except the Ulema,—and of all persons whatsoever dying intestate—mines and coinage—tribute from Moldavia and Wallachia—contributions in kind for the service of the navy. The total amount of these branches of income cannot be gathered with any degree of accuracy from the information before us. Our author, after Cantemir, states it at 8,375,000l. Sterling; Mr Eton, the fanciful nature of whose details he fully exposes, puts it at 4,494,250l. This is expended in paying the regular troops and such of the officers as do not pay themselves by extortions—repairing the forts and works—and providing those articles for the navy, which the empire does not furnish. The *Hazni*, or sultan's treasure, under the care of the second black eunuch, is derived from the imperial domains—presents from his servants—contributions, in kind, of whatever the empire produces fit for his use—and the sale of offices of state, as well as the annual fees paid on renewing the appointments. An attempt has lately been made to introduce an excise; but it has given rise to great discontents, like all innovations in this despotic empire; and, if not already abandoned, will probably soon be given up. The numberless extortions practised by officers of all denominations, are submitted to, because enforced by military execution; and they furnish a large portion of most of the branches of revenue, which we have hastily enumerated, besides defraying the expence of maintaining those officers and their attendants.

V. The length to which this article has already extended, prevents us from detailing, with equal minuteness, the particulars most deserving of notice, in the manners and character of the Turks. We have already, indeed, anticipated, in treating of their religion, a considerable portion of this section. Men believing firmly

* The most fertile provinces are obliged to deliver grain to the government, at low prices; and all the grain brought by others, is sold at prices, and in quantities, fixed by government.

firmly in predestination, and taught to regard certain useless ceremonies, when accompanied by the involuntary, and to them, from their ignorance, necessary act of faith, as sufficient to secure eternal happiness after death, are not likely to regulate their lives by the moral precepts which their religion superadds to those fundamental injunctions. The violent and capricious nature of the government, and the corrupt administration of justice which we have been contemplating, must increase, instead of correcting, the debasement of their character. It is a matter of surprise, indeed, to find any good qualities in this people; and almost all authors seem agreed, in ascribing to them a quick sense of insult, hospitality to strangers, and gratitude for past favours. Their natural talents seem to be less questioned, the more our intercourse with them is extended; but while a contempt for the enlightened nations which surround them, continues a principle of their religion, we can expect nothing short of a violent change in their government, to promote the cultivation of their abilities. In their behaviour, they are graceful, sedate, and courteous; possesing all those qualities which some people in civilized nations prize as the perfection of good manners. Their fondness for warm-baths, smoking, story-telling, sights of dancing and wrestling, the pleasures of the *harem*, and whatever else contributes to animal gratification without a considerable encroachment upon their habitual indolence, is too well known to require description; the pleasures of intoxication, whether by wine or opium, are not so generally indulged in. The following passage, descriptive of the contrast which the Turkish manners exhibit to our own, in the most minute particulars, is so much better than Mr Thornton's usual style of writing, that we are tempted to believe he has obtained it from some former author.

'Every traveller muſt have noticed, (though Dumont appears to be the firſt who has recorded the obſervation,) that the Turkiſh uſages contraſt in a ſingular manner with our own. This diſſimilitude, which pervades the whole of their habits, is ſo general, even in things of apparent inſignificance, as almoſt to indicate deſign rather than accident. The whole exterior of the oriental is different from ours. The European ſtands firm and erect, his head drawn back, his cheſt protruded, the point of the foot turned outwards, and the knees ſtraight. The attitude of the Turk is leſs remote from nature, and in each of theſe reſpects approaches nearer to the models which the ancient ſtatuaries appear to have copied. Their robes are large and looſe, entirely concealing the contour of the human form, encumbering motion, and ill-adapted to manly exerciſe. Our cloſe and ſhort dreſſes, calculated for promptitude of action, appear in their eyes to be wanting both in dignity and modeſty. They reverence the beard as the ſymbol of man-

hood and the token of independence; but they practiſe depilation of the body from motives of cleanlineſs. In performing their devotions, or on entering a dwelling, they take off their ſhoes. In inviting a perſon to approach them, they uſe what with us is conſidered as a repulſive motion of the hand. In writing, they trace the lines from right to left. The maſter of a houſe does the honours of his table by ſerving himſelf firſt from the diſh: he drinks without noticing the company, and they wiſh him health when he has finiſhed his draught. They lye down to ſleep in their clothes; they affect a grave and phlegmatic exterior: their amuſements are all of the tranquil kind: they confound with folly the noiſy expreſſion of gayety: their utterance is ſlow and deliberate: they even feel ſatisfaction in ſilence: they attach the idea of majeſty to ſlowneſs of motion: they paſs in repoſe all the moments of their life which are not occupied in ſerious buſineſs: they retire early to reſt; and they riſe before the ſun.' p. 304. 305.

It remains to ſubjoin, in the *laſt* place, a few reflections ſuggested by the ſituation in which this feeble and extenſive empire ſtands with reſpect to its more formidable neighbours.

The doctrine, which ſome advocates of Ruſſia have maintained, that the ſeizure of Turkey, and the reſtoration of the Greek empire, would be an act of ſtrict juſtice towards the Greeks, and a fair puniſhment of the Ottomans—is a great deal too abſurd to require any diſcuſſion. The Turks have the very ſame right to their dominions, which the Ruſſians themſelves have to theirs—or which the deſcendants of the northern nations have to the greater part of Europe. Nor does it appear, from the beſt accounts which we have of the Greeks, that their character is ſuch as to promiſe a more deſerving race of ſubjects to the power that ſhould drive the Turks into Aſia. Whatever change it may be deemed adviſeable to make in the Ottoman empire, muſt limit itſelf to the improvement of all claſſes of the inhabitants, by the equal preſervation of their rights; and the amelioration of their political inſtitutions. If any change could be effected in the government, which ſhould ſecure the regular adminiſtration of juſtice, the eſtabliſhment of an effective police, and the receipt of the public income, without the extortions of the provincial governors; ſome revolutionary ſtruggles, or even the introduction of foreign aſſiſtance, does not ſeem too great a price to pay for it. Whatever foreign nation ſhould obtain the aſcendant in the affairs of this empire, (and it is evident that ſome one muſt ſpeedily do ſo), would probably begin by improving the army,—the firſt ſtep towards reſtoring that regular government which Turkey itſelf once poſſeſſed. The intercourſe with a powerful ally, would certainly tend to weaken the hatred or contempt in which infidels and their inſtitutions

are

are at present held. Nor can it be doubted, that, in every point of view, by their power, their abilities, their manners, and their activity, the French are peculiarly well adapted to work the changes in question. Indeed, were it not for the dangerous consequences of such an event to our own country, we should be justified in wishing well to the progress of the Turks in their new alliance. Certainly, between the Russians and the French, in so far as regards Turkey, there can be no room for hesitating. But who can view, without dismay, the addition of all the coasts and forests of Greece, to the already enormous maritime resources of France in the Mediterranean? Our desire for the improvement of the Turks, must be vehement indeed, if it can lead us to deprecate their having Russian instructors.

But, unhappily, the influence of France in the affairs of the Porte, is no longer a matter of speculation. The ascendant which Russia might have gained in them, had she reserved herself for better opportunities, is now sacrificed to her premature efforts in the cause of the German powers. The subjugation of Austria, and the destruction of Prussia, have brought France and Russia together. Instead of fighting for Germany, or even for Turkey, they are now contending for Petersburg: and this fourth continental war will probably terminate in a peace as disastrous for Russia, both in the Baltic and the Levant, as the last was for Austria, in Germany and in Italy. These are the dreadful effects of the fourth coalition: and yet this infatuated nation still talks with enthusiasm, of opposing the common enemy by alliances, and subsidies, and expeditions;—receives the news of negociation and of the defeat of its allies with equal dismay;—and labours incessantly, not to join in any projects of peace—but to increase the number of its enemies;—too happy, if it can only make out a quarrel with its kindred in America, and its brethren in Ireland!

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ART. II. *A Tour through Holland along the Right and Left Banks of the Rhine, to the South of Germany, in the Summer and Autumn of* 1806. By Sir John Carr, of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple; Author of the Stranger in Ireland; a Northern Summer, &c. &c. 4to.—pp. 484. *Twenty Engravings and a Map.* London. Phillips. 1807.

OUR readers are acquainted with this author's way of writing books. He goes abroad about the end of summer; visits some country in a hasty and superficial manner; returns with his notes; and, by the help of Shakespeare for quotations, Joe Miller

for anecdotes, and some of the travelling guides for trifling information; he makes a quarto volume, which is in the shops at the proper period of the ensuing book-season. From his last excursion, he brought indeed something more than his memorandums; for the Duke of Bedford (to whom the book now before us is dedicated) made a knight of him; '*and he is now Sir John Carr.*' But his honours, we are sorry to say, have been accompanied by no improvement in his qualifications as an author. On the contrary, this new work is a great deal emptier than any of his former productions, and abounds in still more frequent specimens of the defective taste which we have already pointed out in them. It is, at the same time, as little liable to censure for more serious defects, as his other works. He seems to be an amiable, inoffensive, extremely good-natured man, who has no more right to publish quartos than to govern empires. As, however, he probably differs from us upon this subject, we may expect to see a great number of new volumes, manufactured by him in the same way; and we shall do our endeavour to improve their quality, by fairly pointing out some of the faults so conspicuous in the present sample. A person of very moderate talents, and information scarcely proportioned to these, who is resolved every year to visit some foreign country, and publish what he may collect from his personal observation, cannot indeed be expected to furnish profound or elaborate works; but it will be his own fault, if he does not contribute a valuable portion of information, in times when every thing beyond seas is full of change, and every change is interesting. Let even such a traveller only resolve to be plain, to put a great number of questions wherever he has an opportunity, and give us the answers accurately; let him tell us unaffectedly what he saw and heard; and he will render a considerable service to letters, while he is amusing himself with his journeys, and profiting by his publications.

'The public,' says our author, 'shall be my confessor;' and he makes a clear breast by telling us, that, having no hopes of peace, he, last summer, during the negociations, resolved to visit Holland; and for this purpose, 'became an American, and, by an act of temporary adoption, fixed upon Baltimore as the place of his nativity.' There is something rather prepossessing, in the frankness with which he makes another confession,—that he repents not having thrown his different *Tours* into the form of letters, whereby he might have rendered critics more indulgent. But, in truth, the volume before us would have made a sorry collection of epistles, even if the perusal had been confined to those who received them through the post-office.

The Dutch captain imposed upon him, and took thirty-six passengers

sengers on board. They had a tedious voyage; during which the captain prayed a great deal with his family, in a small hole of a kitchen, and chastised his son for being idle at his book. 'I restored our captain to good humour,' says Sir J. Carr, 'by relating to him an anecdote of a Dutch sailor;'—which proves to be the hacknied story of a sailor challenging another to stand with his head on the truck, and the other falling upon the deck in making the attempt, crying, 'Can *you* do that?' (p. 9.) The captain had some dogs on board, 'and he was not a little amused at 'my telling him that,' &c.; which introduces a story of a Newfoundland dog behaving well during an action at sea. (p. 9.) Such is this *lively* traveller's way of stringing together anecdotes, as he calls them. We speak within compass, when we say, that a third of the book is made up of stories forced in from all quarters, without any pretensions to interest, or wit, or lively narrative, and, for the most part, having as little connexion with the journey of our author, as with any other journey, or indeed any thing else. But they figure in the table of contents, and at the tops of pages, as 'anecdote' of this or that person; which, we suppose, is found to answer, when people are turning over the leaves of a book in a shop, and making up their minds whether they shall purchase or not. After several more anecdotes, and a quotation from 'our Hudibrastic Butler,' and a saying of some 'whimsicality' of the Duke of Alva, our traveller lands at Rotterdam.

Here, instead of the information which would have been most interesting and very easily procured, respecting the present state of trade, and the effects of the revolution and the war, * we have not even a tolerable description of the exterior appearance of the town. But anecdote upon anecdote crowds every page. In his rage for collecting stories, our author falls into frequent scrapes,—believing every thing he hears, so it be but a 'story.' How could he be so thoughtless as to credit the tale in p. 31, of king Louis having already, that is, within two months of his accession, effected retrenchments, in the expenditure of the naval department, to the amount of two millions Sterling a year? Perhaps he will quote this as a proof that it is not easy for him to follow our advice, and collect substantial information. But we find him just as ready to be duped in his own department of anecdote. He knew a man in England (p. 21.) 'so fond of expensive building, and who resided very far from the capital, that he

* He tells us, indeed, that the exchanges, both here and at Amsterdam, were quite crowded when he saw them; but this proves little or nothing.

he had many parcels filled with bricks and stones sent down to his workmen by the mail coach ! ! !' The griffin gun at Ehrenbreitstein used to carry a shot of a hundred and eighty pounds weight *sixteen miles*, (p. 422.) There are *several thousands* of hogsheads of wine in the cellars at Johannisberg, (p. 439.) The building of the Stadthouse at Amsterdam cost two millions Sterling, (p. 250.) Alkmaar receives from North Holland three hundred thousand pounds of cheese every week, (p. 313.) If a man is resolved to tell us every story which he believes, he should not so easily credit all he hears. Such blunders as these partly arise from want of attention; but they are imputable, in a considerable degree, to Sir John Carr's more than common want of information upon very ordinary subjects. We do not at all require that every man who writes a book of travels in Holland should know the Dutch language; though, certainly, to translate *lust* (pleasure) by *hope*, and to say that the language of *Holland* is generally divided into *High* and Low Dutch, (p. 83.), looks liker ignorance of his own tongue, than of Dutch, (p. 16.) But we may be excused for suggesting that French is of substantial use to a traveller; and with that language our author has not greatly improved his acquaintance since we gave him a hint upon the subject in noticing his Northern Tour. One who is so fond of quoting scraps of Latin, should not suppose that

'*Discite justitiam moniti,*
*Et non temnere Divos,*'

are 'two lines from Virgil,' because he may have seen them written in that way under a Dutch bronze, (p. 251.) It is better not to talk of the economy of plants at all, than to say that the leaves of the 'trees over the Dutch canals inhale the mephitic air, and breathe it out again with refreshing purity;' (p. 18.) The Dutch spitting-pots used by smokers, he thinks proper to call 'like the kava bowl of the South-Sea Islanders' (p. 72.), which is used (as every body should know who takes the trouble to speak of it), not for spitting in, but for making the fermented liquor by that means. In order to prove that 'the literary glory of the country has not spread upon the demise' of Erasmus, Grotius and Boerhaave,' he tells us that some names which he enumerates are not known out of Holland; 'and that 'we have heard but faintly of Huygens, Graveszande, and Vandoveron in physic; of Voet in jurisprudence; and Burman and Gronovius in the belles lettres;' (p. 179.) It happens that Huygens and Gronovius flourished before and during the time of Boerhaave; and we presume both of those names, as well as *that of* Voet, have been more than 'faintly heard of' by every *man of ordinary information.* Indeed, before the conclusion of his

his work, even Sir J. Carr seems to have become acquainted with Gronovius; for he describes him (p. 330.) as one of those illustrious sages, who 'bestowed immortal celebrity' upon Utrecht; adding, lest he should ever be in the right, that Grævius was his pupil, and one of the most profound writers in the middle of the sixteenth century!

From Rotterdam our author proceeded by the canal to the Hague through Delft. We cannot stop to notice the stale anecdotes of Grotius, Barnevelt, and others, which he introduces by the way, and never fails to call either *interesting* or *noble*. We shall, as a very fair specimen of the few pieces of description which his rage for gossipping allows him to give, extract what he says of the journey by water between Delft and the Hague.

'In Holland, every traveller naturally becomes amphibious: the constant contemplation of so much water quickly engenders all the inclinations of a web-footed animal, and he soon feels out of his proper element when out of a canal. Right merrily did I follow my commissary and his wheelbarrow with my baggage through the whole town, until I reached the Hague gate, when my favourite conveyance, the treckschuyt, was ready to start. The boat-bell rung, all the party got on board, and away we glided, passing on each side of us the most lovely *close* scenery. Instead of seeing, as had been represented to me in England, a dull monotonous scene of green canals, stunted willows, and from a solitary house or two, *foggy* merchants stupidly gazing in fixed attention upon *frog* water, the canal was enlivened with boats of pleasure and traffic continually passing and repassing; the noble level road on the right, broad enough to admit four or five carriages abreast, thickly planted with rows of fine elms; the number of curricles and carriages, and horses, driving close to the margin of the water; the fine woods, beautiful gardens, country houses, not two of which were similar; the eccentricity of the little summer temples hanging over the edges of the canal; the occasional views of rich pasture land, seen as I saw them, under a rich, warm sky, formed a *tout-ensemble* as delightful as it was novel, and very intelligibly expressed our approach to the residence of sovereignty. The single ride from Delft to the Hague would alone have repaid the trouble and occasional anxiety I experienced in getting into, and afterwards out of the country.

'All the principal country-houses have a wooden letter-box standing upon the margin of the canal, into which one of the boatmen, upon the treckschuyt being steered close to the adjoining bank, without stopping, drops the letters and parcels directed to the family residing there. In no part of the continent is social intercourse and communication so frequent, cheap, and certain.

'For keeping the dams and roads in repair, turnpikes are established at proper distances, and the care of their repair is confided to directors, who are always gentlemen of high respectability, and receive a fixed salary

salary for their services. The principal roads are kept in good condition; and, on account of the flatness of the country, are very easy for the horses, but the by-roads are intolerably bad.' p. 111–12.

The pleasures of the scene, he did not however greatly enjoy; for there were three charming Dutch young ladies in the steerage, who conversed about Shakespeare and Milton, and 'talked, sung and laughed, with so much talent, taste and vivacity,' that he was better employed than in looking at landscapes.

Our author's arrival at the Hague, soon after the establishment of the new Constitution, gives him occasion to introduce the published documents of that quiet change, and some account of the reception of the new king. We shall not detain our readers with either of these topics, which are recent enough to be as much known as their subordinate importance deserves; but we must, in justice to Sir John Carr, observe, that he writes upon all subjects of a political nature, if not very profoundly, at least with a degree of liberality, which more elaborate reasoners would do well to imitate; and that he tells truths respecting our enemies, which are not the less wholesome, for having been too carefully concealed from the people of this country, by authors who are afraid to give unpleasant information, and politicians who keep up popular delusions, that they may turn them to account. Thus, it is usual to believe, in this country, that the French are detested in Holland, and that their soldiery have deserved this odium by their rapacious and cruel conduct; that the Dutch, retaining for England their ancient friendship, would gladly renew the connexion, so mutually beneficial; and would exert themselves in favour of any attempt which she might make to relieve them from French oppression. We have nothing to do at present with the policy of repeating such attempts; but the assertion, that the Dutch would favour them, we venture confidently to deny. If the French are hated in Holland, it is because they are at war with England; and the English are disliked on the very same ground. The blame of not making peace is thrown, by the Dutch, pretty equally upon both the belligerent powers;—but England is most blamed for beginning the present war. The Dutch know too well, that while the Netherlands belong to France, their country must follow the fortunes of the French empire; and, so far from wishing to see us attempt their rescue, they hate us still more for our interference in 1799, than for our *military proceedings* in 1794, though these will not soon be forgotten. As to the notion of the French soldiery having behaved ill in Holland, it is utterly unfounded in fact. The discipline of the army has been kept up there with as much rigour as in any province of France. The *French commissioner*, or envoy, or general, may have treated the Dutch

Dutch constituted authorities with haughtiness, or levied excessive contributions, (which by the way are much exaggerated); but the soldiery have known nothing of the sweets of plunder, nor, indeed, of any thing but the strictest obedience to their immediate superiors; and those, who expect to see a nation rise as one man, in consequence of the gradual and regular increase of their pecuniary burthens, must found their hopes upon histories of human affairs, and views of human nature, which the rest of the world are not in possession of.

Sir John Carr, in substance, confirms these remarks (in which, indeed, a moderate acquaintance with the state of Holland must induce us to acquiesce) by several statements in the course of his tour. When the French troops entered Rotterdam, he says, they were quartered on the inhabitants, and soon conciliated their good opinion by their quiet conduct and orderly deportment. He adds, that he has received the same character of them in other parts of Holland, even from persons to whom they must have been very unwelcome visitors. (p. 14.) He might have said, with equal truth, that the Dutch have, within the memory of the present generation, had experience of four armies of foreigners, three of whom came as friends to protect them from the French; and that they uniformly give the preference to the French army, for quiet and orderly behaviour, over all the other foreign troops whom they have had the misfortune to know any thing about. Our author mentions repeatedly and strongly, the popularity of the new king and his family. 'To this fact,' he says, 'I pledge myself upon the authority of some of the most respectable and enlightened Dutchmen in different parts of Holland, repeatedly renewed to me.' (p. 31.) The same information has reached us from other quarters; and we can account for it only by considering the frequent changes which have harassed the Dutch government for the last twelve years, and the many good qualities which this new king is said to possess. Odious as monarchy is in Holland, constant fluctuation and uncertainty of government has prepared the people for any revolution which is likely to be the last; and the conduct of the individual, in whose person this hated thing is revived, has been such as to remove many of the prejudices against it. He has made very salutary reforms in the expenditure of the country—placed the public debt on a better foundation—paid great attention to the schools and colleges—shown a decided partiality to Dutchmen in the conduct of the government—declared himself a friend to general amnesty, and to toleration, political and religious,—and, in his personal intercourse with his subjects, comported himself after a quiet and civil manner, suited to gain the good will of that sober and sensible people. We think that

Sir

From the Hague Sir John proceeded through Leyden to Haerlem, and thence to Amsterdam. During this portion of his tour the rage of anecdote is still upon him, and principally exercised upon the celebrated painters who flourished in these cities. We have long scraps of their lives, taken, as he avows himself, from the *Abregé de la Vie des Peintres*, *Pilkington's Dictionary of Painters*, and 'the elegant and witty D'Israeli.' To all this we only object, because it comes in the place of more appropriate matter, and because there is something peculiarly absurd in a man of activity and enterprize, travelling through foreign countries for the purpose of giving, in a quarto volume, extracts from books well known at home. Even this, however, is better than some of his original speculations, particularly upon the subject of commerce, which he handles after the following fashion.

'A nation can only become rich from trade when its exports for the uſe of foreign ſtates is (are) in a greater proportion than its imports for its conſumption. An impreſſion has gone forth, that a nation cannot be impoveriſhed if the importation of foreign merchandize be purchaſed abroad by native commodity, and not with ſpecie; whereas upon a nation ſtriking the balance of her account with the country ſhe may have dealt with, it will be found that the deficiency on the ſide of her exportation muſt be made up in ſpecie. Hence an induſtrious and frugal people like the Dutch will, when their country is in a ſtate of tranquillity, poſſeſs great advantages over moſt other nations. Induſtry increaſes the native commodity, whether it ariſes from the ſoil or the manufacture, and increaſes the exportation. Frugality will leſſen the conſumption, and of courſe increaſe the exportation of native, and reduce the importation of foreign produce, for home conſumption. The exceſs of all native commodities is ſure of a market.' p. 293.

—and so forth. And still worse, if possible, are this worthy Knight's declamations against large farms, and his invocation to 'that ardent and cordial lover of his country, and particularly of the lower classes of society, Mr Whitbread,' to come forward with 'some legislative provision to check this monstrous and growing evil.' (p. 311.) We trust the distinguished person alluded to will very long continue better employed than in listening to such calls,—employed, as he has been, in investigating public abuses, and preaching the great doctrines of peace abroad, and economy at home.

Upon leaving Holland, our author went along the banks of the Rhine to Dusseldorff and Cologne. Painting ('an art which I worship,' says he) continues to furnish him with frequent materials for that other art which he worships, story-telling. But when he is fairly embarked on the Rhine, we experience some respite, and have a little description mixed with the anecdotes.

It would, indeed, have been hard to pass through this garden of the north of Europe with only Joe Miller in his head. We shall extract a specimen of the descriptions which he attempts here, and shall then give the only tolerably good story which he tells during his whole journey in the country of the Rhine.

'Soon after our departure from Coblentz, we passed the island of Obewerth; and a little further on, on our left, the disemboguement of the river Lahn, which flows between two ancient and picturesque towns, called the Upper and Lower Lahnsteins, where the Rhine forms a considerable curve, and expands into the resemblance of a placid lake, adorned with two vast mountains, one crowned with a hoary watch-tower, and the base of the other half encircled by a village, and the whole adorned by the captivating combinations of forest scenery, rich meadows, and hanging vineyards and orchards, amidst which, half embosomed in their foliage, the peasant's peaceful dwelling every now and then gladdened the eye. This lovely view was soon exchanged for one of gloomy magnificence. Before we reached Boppart, we entered a melancholy defile of barren and rugged rocks, rising perpendicularly from the river to an immense height, and throwing a shade and horror over the whole scene: here all was silent, and no traces of man were to be found but in a few dispersed fishermens' huts, and crucifixes. Fear and superstition, "when the day has gone down, and the stars are few," have long filled every cave with banditti, and every solitary recess with apparitions.

'In the course of my passage I frequently, when the boat came very near the land, sprung on shore with two or three other passengers, and varied the scene by walking along the banks for a mile or two, and during these excursions had frequently an opportunity of admiring the astonishing activity and genius of the French, who have, since they became masters of the left bank of the Rhine, nearly finished one of the finest roads in the world, extending from Mayence to Cologne, in the course of which they have cut through many rocks impending over the river, and triumphed over some of the most formidable obstacles nature could present to the achievement of so wonderful a design. This magnificent undertaking, worthy of Rome in the most shining periods of her history, was executed by the French troops, who, under the direction of able engineers, preferred leaving these monuments of indefatigable toil and elevated enterprize, to passing their time, during the cessation of arms, in towns and barracks, in a state of indolence and inutility.

'The sombre spires of Boppart, surrounded by its black wall and towers, presented a melancholy appearance to the eye, relieved by the rich foliage of the trees in its vicinity, and the mountains behind it irregularly intersected with terraces covered with vines to their very summits. The antiquity of this city is very great; it was one of the fifty places of defence erected on the banks of the Rhine by Drusus Germanicus, and in the middle ages was an imperial city.

'Not far from Boppart we saw, on the right bank of the river, a procession of nuns and friars returning to a convent, the belfry of which

juſt peeped above a noble avenue of walnut-trees; they were ſinging, and their voices increaſed the ſolemn effect of the ſurrounding ſcenery. We put up for the night at a little village, amid mountains half covered with vineyards, tufted with foreſts, and checkered with convents and ruined caſtles. The evening was ſtormy, and a full moon occaſionally brightened the ſcene.' p. 423-425.

The anecdote to which we allude regards General Murat, now Grand Duke of Berg, one of the ablest of the great commanders whom the Revolution and its wars have raised from the lowest ranks of life. It is as follows.

'After his elevation to the rank of a prince of the French empire, he halted, in the cloſe of the laſt war, at a ſmall town in Germany, where he ſtayed for two or three days; and on finding the bread prepared for his table of an inferior kind, he deſpatched one of his ſuite to order the beſt baker in the town to attend him, to receive from him his directions reſpecting this precious article of life. A baker who had been long eſtabliſhed in the place was ſelected for this purpoſe; and upon the aide-de-camp ordering him to wait upon the prince immediately, he obſerved, to the no little ſurpriſe of the officer—"It is uſeleſs my going, the prince will never employ me." Upon being preſſed to ſtate his reaſons, he declined aſſigning any; but as the order of the meſſenger was peremptory, he followed him, and was immediately admitted to Murat, with whom he ſtayed about ten minutes, and then retired. As he quitted the houſe in which the prince lodged, he obſerved to the aide-de-camp, "I told you the prince would not employ me—he has diſmiſſed me with this," diſplaying a purſe of ducats. Upon being again preſſed to explain the reaſon of this ſingular conduct, he replied, "The Prince Murat, when a boy, was apprenticed to a biſcuit baker in the ſouth of France, at the time I was a journeyman to him, and I have often thraſhed him for being idle: the moment he ſaw me juſt now, he inſtantly remembered me, and without entering into the ſubject of our antient acquaintance, or of that which led me to his preſence, he haſtily took this purſe of ducats from the drawer of the table where he ſat, gave it to me, and ordered me to retire.' p. 356, 357.

In the courſe of our author's route through this part of Germany, he gives us ſeveral facts, not unintereſting, with reſpect to the conſtitution of the French armies, and the ſyſtem of police which they exerciſe on the German frontier. At Cologne, he ſaw the parade every morning and evening, for ſeveral days. The conſcripts underwent a very ſhort and ſimple courſe of drilling. They were taught to wheel; form cloſe column; load, fire, and charge with the bayonet: in five days, they were qualified to march with the veteran troops. Very little attention was paid to forming the line. 'A more ſlovenly one' (ſays Sir John, and he was a keen *volunteer*, if we remember well his former tour), 'A more ſlovenly one I never witneſſed.' Little attention, too,

was

was paid to the dreſs of the men, who were uniform only in wearing a ſhort jacket; and, in every other article, ſeemed to conſult their taſtes or pockets. How beautifully clothed, and elegantly drilled, were the Pruſſian ſoldiers, in compariſon of this! Our author travelled ſeveral days in company with a conſcript, an elegant young man, ſon of a gentleman of fortune, and nephew of a general in that part of the army where he was going to ſerve. He had no hopes, he ſaid, of raiſing himſelf from the ranks, but by good conduct and good fortune. He neither blamed his father for not paying the price of a ſubſtitute, nor repined at the conſcription. '*Tout ce qu'il me faut maintenant,*' (he ſaid), '*c'eſt, de devenir bon ſoldat.*'

The rigour of Bonaparte's government, in matters of commercial police, is in proportion to the excluſively military view which he takes of all the objects of policy. At Cologne, our author, by miſtake, opened the door of a room, where certain matrons of the police department were examining a number of females who had come acroſs the river, to ſearch for concealed articles of contraband. In his progreſs up the Rhine, he one day went aſhore to take a walk; and getting into a thicket, was a good deal ſurpriſed by coming upon a French chaſſeur, whom he at firſt took for a robber; but who informed him that he was one of forty thouſand, ſtationed along the left bank of the river, at the diſtance of a gunſhot from each other, to prevent ſmuggling. They are dreſſed in green, for concealment; and hide themſelves in the wood, wherever the nature of the ground permits them. It is needleſs to add, that where there are ſo many precautions againſt offending, the temptations to offend muſt be great, and that the precautions are inſufficient after all.

Sir John Carr proceeded to Mentz and Frankfort, where he ſaw the fair, and terminated his journey. We truſt he will excuſe us for expreſſing a wiſh that he had given more of the kind of information which we have extracted or abridged, than of thoſe portions of his volume which we have hinted at, or left unnoticed. He had many opportunities of gratifying a laudable curioſity; and it was not fitting that he ſhould waſte them upon matters which a tour to any of our watering places would have furniſhed in abundance. We greatly reſpect him for ſome good qualities which we have noticed in his writings, particularly thoſe which we have already mentioned, of liberality and good nature. He alſo poſſeſſes a certain portion of induſtry and enterpriſe. When he travels again, as he is probably now about to do, let him turn thoſe qualities to better account; and, inſtead of barely amuſing the moſt trifling of all claſſes of readers, he may confer a real benefit on his countrymen, by introducing them to a more familiar acquaintance with the preſent ſituation and habits of other people.

ART. III. *An Essay on the Theory of Money, and Principles of Commerce.* By John Wheatley. 4to. pp. Cadell & Davies, London, 1807.

IN our review of Mr Wheatley's Obſervations on Currency and Commerce, we entered into a very ample detail of the errors and inaccuracies into which he had fallen. From a ſhort preface to the work before us, we learn, that the theory which it is intended to eſtabliſh, differs in no reſpect from that of which a general ſketch was given in his preliminary remarks; and we muſt candidly confeſs, that this appears to us to be the caſe. Mr Wheatley has contrived to fill a quarto volume, chiefly by ſpinning out his former ſcanty materials into new paradoxes and repetitions, by overloading his reaſonings with a maſs of inapplicable details, and by dwelling, even more copiouſly than before, on thoſe doctrines which have been already ſo ſatisfactorily explained. His imagination appears to have been heated with the expectation of making diſcoveries; and he has unluckily diſcovered nothing but obvious truths, and fallacious paradoxes. The extravagance of his conceits is, however, in ſome degree diſguiſed by the perplexity of his arguments, and by the obſcure and affected phraſeology which he has adopted. Even in his moſt ſimple modes of expreſſion, Mr Wheatley's meaning is often ſufficiently dark; but when his terms are gathered into combinations, he reaches a higher climax of obſcurity and confuſion, and all traces of meaning diſappear in a jargon of incomprehenſible phraſes. We cannot help remarking alſo, that, in the obſervations which he hazards on the merits of preceding writers, he is ſingularly unlucky; and has, in almoſt every inſtance, moſt perverſely miſconceived the meaning of his author. His plan ſeems to be to break down a train of reaſoning into inſulated propoſitions, and, without attending to the ſpirit and ſcope of the general argument, to comment on garbled quotations, enlarging or reſtricting the ſenſe of his author, according to his own fancy. It is hardly neceſſary to obſerve, that the cloſeſt and moſt accurate reaſoning muſt ſuffer by this ſpecies of decompoſition. Mr Hume, Dr Smith, Lord King, and Lord Liverpool, are alternately the objects of our author's criticiſms; but the weight of his cenſure ſeems to fall on Dr Smith.

The grand principle, on which Mr Wheatley's diſcoveries hinge, appears to be, that, when the quantity of money, in any country, is greater than its internal circulation requires, its value will be diminiſhed, and whatever is ſuperfluous will be exported to a better market. 'The effective principle' (he remarks) 'which regulates, in all countries, the amount of their currency, is the action

tion of money in conformity to the purport of its inſtitution, as an uniform meaſure of value.' He afterwards obſerves, that 'this property directs its current where it will exchange to moſt advantage; and, as it neceſſarily follows, that money will exchange to moſt advantage where there is the leaſt relative quantity, it invariably cauſes its remittance from the place where there is the greateſt relative amount, to the place where there is the leaſt.'

Of this principle, if we are to believe Mr Wheatley, Dr Smith was ignorant; for although he refers to it *incidentally*, yet he was not, it ſeems, ſufficiently aware of its importance. Inſtead of aſſerting, therefore, that no one nation could poſſeſs a greater relative currency than another, Mr Wheatley informs us, that he advanced the following 'inefficient propoſitions.'

'1ſt, That the quantity of money in every country depends upon the power of purchaſing. 2d, That it is regulated by the fertility of the mines, which ſupply the commercial world. 3d, That it is in proportion to the effectual demand. 4th, That it cannot exceed the ſum which is neceſſary for the purpoſes of circulation. 5th, That it cannot be accumulated beyond what the nation can afford to employ. 6th, And that, when the channel is full, what flows in muſt run out again.'

Theſe ſix propoſitions, Mr Wheatley takes the trouble to conſider and miſrepreſent, each in its order. In order that our readers may have ſome idea of the perverſe induſtry with which he has laboured to quibble away Dr Smith's meaning, we may ſhortly ſtate his arguments on the ſubject of currency, pointing out, at the ſame time, the miſconceptions into which our author has fallen.

When Dr Smith obſerves, that the quantity of the precious metals, in any particular country, depends, partly upon its power of purchaſing, and partly upon the fertility or barrenneſs of the mines which may happen at that time to ſupply the commercial world, he evidently means, that the precious metals, unlike thoſe periſhable commodities of which the conſumption is limited to the ſpot where they are produced, make their way to the moſt diſtant markets; and that an abundant ſupply will flow into the moſt remote countries, if they have wherewithal to pay for it, or if the ſtate of their induſtry requires it. He does not mean to maintain, that the precious metals will be uſeleſsly detained in any country; but that, from their durable nature, no diſtance of place can prevent them from following the effective demands of commerce; and that, owing to the eaſe with which they may be tranſported, their quantity throughout the whole extent of the civilized world, muſt be affected by the barrenneſs or fertility of the mines

from which they are derived, * Mr Wheatley obſerves, that this does not explain the cauſe which prevents the currency of one country from being wholly withdrawn, and added to the currency of another. But although this is not Dr Smith's object; although his intention is merely to point out the effects which ariſe from the eaſy tranſportation of the precious metals, does not Mr Wheatley perceive, that the principle for which he ſo zealously contends is implied throughout the whole of Dr Smith's reaſonings? and that, if an abundance of gold or ſilver in one part of the world is felt in the moſt remote countries, that this muſt ariſe from the ſame cauſes by which their value is preſerved in a juſt balance in more contiguous markets?

The remainder of Mr Wheatley's remarks on Dr Smith, ſeem to be conceived in the ſame ſpirit of captiouſneſs and cavilling. He finds fault with the third poſition, which appears to us to be almoſt ſelf-evident, that the quantity of the precious metals in any country, is regulated by the demand of thoſe who are willing to pay for them; and he ſeems particularly diſpleaſed with the fourth and fifth poſitions, namely, that the quantity of gold and ſilver in every country, is limited by the uſe which there is for thoſe metals, and that they can never be accumulated beyond what a nation can afford to employ. He is no doubt afraid, leſt Dr Smith ſhould be thought to have anticipated him in the diſcovery of the profound axiom on which all his diſcoveries are built. 'The fifth poſition' (he obſerves) 'is ſo ſingularly vague, that it is only neceſſary to notice it, in order to ſhow the perplexity of his mind, and the verſatility of his efforts to poſſeſs and elucidate the principle of the limit.' It is really inconceivable, that Mr Wheatley ſhould take it ſeriouſly into his head, that Dr Smith did not know that money, like all other commodities, muſt be conſtantly attracted to the beſt market, and that it cannot conſequently remain, for any length of time, dear in one country, and cheap in another. This principle is in itſelf very plain and obvious; and it is, beſides, the foundation of the whole of that author's reaſonings on the ſubject of currency. The anxiety, indeed, with which Mr Wheatley demonſtrates what has long been familiar to every one, is truly ludicrous. It is recorded of Hudibras, that he could

'wisely tell what hour o' the day
The clock did ſtrike by algebra;'

and we really think, that the ſpeculations of a very numerous claſs of modern writers, terminate in results equally important. They ſeem to imagine, that, in order to be profound, they muſt be obſcure; that they are penetrating into the myſteries of ſcience, when

* Wealth of Nations, Vol. I. p. 372.

when they are only perplexing what preceding writers have made plain; and that their readers will be amply compensated for the toil and trouble they have encountered on a rugged road, by the poverty of the entertainment provided for them at the end of their journey.

The remaining part of the chapter is occupied with similar misconceptions of Dr Smith's meaning, into which we do not think it necessary to enter particularly, as we have already laid before our readers a sufficient specimen of our author's general inaccuracy.

The second chapter is intended to explain the 'functions of money;' although we do not see what can be added on this subject to the short statement of Dr Smith, namely, that money is the measure of value, and the instrument of commerce. It seems to be, in a great measure, a transcript of what Mr Wheatley had published in his preliminary work, which, as we have already examined at sufficient length, it will be superfluous to reconsider in this place.

The third chapter relates to the course of exchange; and although the subject has, in our opinion, been explained by a variety of writers with equal clearness and simplicity, Mr Wheatley seems to imagine, that it has been very generally misunderstood. His theory is here very amply detailed and illustrated; and it seems to differ considerably from that which was published in his preliminary observations. In his former work, we understood him to state, that an excess of currency, by leading to an excess of imports, or to what has been called an unfavourable balance of trade, produced an unfavourable exchange. In the work before us, a partial augmentation or diminution of currency, is still stated as the sole cause of a favourable, or of an adverse exchange; but he now maintains, that the exchange has no connexion with the balance of trade; 'that the exchange may be favourable, when the balance is adverse; and adverse, when the balance is favourable.' In support of this opinion, he supposes the case of a nation, where the balance of trade is favourable, and where there is at the same time an excess of currency. In which case, Mr Wheatley contends, it is impossible that the exchange can be favourable with those countries where a similar excess of currency has not taken place. If at the time that a considerable balance was due from Hamburgh to London, 100l. in London were, owing to a relative excess of currency in this country, worth no more than 95l. in Hamburgh, it appears to Mr Wheatley absurd, to suppose that a Hamburgh merchant would give a premium for a bill for 100l. on this country, when it was in reality worth only 95l.

The conclusion is certainly very sound and logical; but the case from which Mr Wheatley deduces it, is evidently impossible. Gold and silver, like other commodities, always seek the best market. If there were already an excess of currency in the market of Britain, the British merchants would not surely import a greater quantity, in order still further to depress its value. Whatever commodities he might send to Hamburgh, he would order such commodities in return, as he might suppose were in request in Britain, not such as were already in too great abundance. It is evident, besides, that an excess of currency, by raising prices, necessarily leads to an excess of imports, or to an unfavourable balance of trade. The balance of trade may indeed be favourable to a country in some particular branches of its commerce, even during the continuance of an excess of currency; but, on the average amount of its whole transactions, it *must* be unfavourable; because it is in this way only that the excess of its currency can be taken off.

In the explanation of his hypothesis, Mr Wheatley also appears to us occasionally to confound the real with the nominal exchange. Ascribing an unfavourable exchange in all cases to a depreciation of the currency, he intimates, that the depreciation of the currency must be the exact measure of the unfavourableness of the exchange. During the late variation in the exchange between Dublin and London, he informs us, that 115l. in Dublin was worth no more than 100l. in London, and that, consequently, a premium of 15l. was paid in Dublin for a bill on London. It is scarcely necessary to observe, however, that the real exchange with London could never have been 15 *per cent.* against Dublin, as bullion could have been remitted at considerably less expense. At the period to which Mr Wheatley alludes, the currency of Ireland consisted of paper not convertible into specie, and depreciated from an excessive issue. In these circumstances, it is evident that nothing certain can be inferred with respect to the real rate of exchange from its apparent rate. The real exchange is calculated on an accurate comparison of the quantity of pure gold or silver, which the currencies of different countries contain. When this quantity varies, the exchange may appear to be against a country, when it is really at par, or even in its favour. Neither is it true (except, indeed, when the real exchange is at par), that, when the currency of a country is depreciated, the computed exchange gives the measure of its depreciation. When the real exchange is in favour of a country of which the currency is depreciated, its whole amount must be added to the computed exchange, in order to ascertain the degree

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of depreciation. A country with a depreciated currency may also have its computed exchange at par with all other countries; a circumstance which, of itself, might have satisfied Mr Wheatley, that there was a radical fallacy in his reasonings.

Mr Wheatley has committed another, though a more pardonable error, on the subject of exchanges. He observes, that where the expense of transmitting money between two countries is three *per cent.*, the exchange might continue permanently unfavourable to either of them to that amount, because, after paying the necessary charges of freight and insurance, nothing is left for the profit of the bullion merchant. Unless, therefore, the exchange is so far unfavourable, as not only to pay for the transportation of bullion, but also to secure a reasonable profit to the bullion merchant, specie will not be exported, and the unfavourable exchange will not be redressed. Lord King, also, in the observations which he has added on this subject to the second edition of his valuable work, seems to maintain, that an unfavourable exchange cannot be redressed by the transmission of bullion, unless the discount on the bills drawn by the creditor country be sufficient to secure, besides paying other charges, an adequate profit to the bullion merchant.

It is no doubt true, that bullion cannot be exported for the purpose of relieving a country from the burden of foreign debt, unless a suitable profit be derived from the transaction. But it does not seem necessary, in order to render the exportation of specie profitable, that the discount on every bill should be equal to the charges of a remittance of bullion. The debtor country has generally claims to a considerable extent against the creditor country. A great part of their mutual transactions will still be settled, therefore, by bills, without the intervention of specie. The principal utility, indeed, of bills of exchange, consists in economising the use of specie, and in simplifying foreign payments, by rendering unnecessary a continual transmission of bullion between trading countries. It may not be necessary, therefore, for the debtor country to send abroad specie for above the tenth part of its debts; and it is evident, that a very small *per centage* on the whole of its foreign bills would amply defray this charge. If the exports of Hamburgh to London amount to 1,000,000l., and the exports of London to Hamburgh amount to 1,200,000l., it may be necessary to remit from Hamburgh to London 200,000l. in specie. There are bills on Hamburgh in the London market to the amount of 1,200,000l.; and they must fall to such a discount as will defray the charge of this remittance. But as the expence of sending abroad 200,000l. is to be charged on 1,200,000l., it is evident that the discount on each bill will not be

be nearly equal to the expense of remitting its own amount in specie.

The remaining part of the chapter is occupied with a very tedious explanation of the effects of a depreciated, or debased currency, on the exchange. There is more of inaccuracy and repetition here, than of positive error; or at least, the errors which occur are obviously the result of an idle ambition to say something original on subjects where nothing remains to be discovered. We should have imagined, for instance, that the variations between the market and the mint price of bullion, had been already explained with sufficient clearness; yet, Mr Wheatley dedicates a whole chapter to this subject. It appears to us to be very clear, that where no seignorage is charged on the coin, a pound of uncoined gold must be very nearly of the same value as a pound of coined gold; nor does it seem less clear, that a pound of gold cannot lose any of its value by being manufactured into coin. Where the charge of coinage, therefore, is defrayed by government, as in Britain, the market and the mint price of gold must be the same; except in the case of a debased or otherwise depreciated currency. This point is rendered particularly plain, in Locke's masterly treatise on this subject; and, if our author can resist the reasoning contained in several of the passages which he himself has quoted from that work, he has no chance to be convinced by any arguments which we can employ.

Mr Wheatley observes, however, that, in 1783, there was a remarkable advance in the market price of gold, above its mint price, although the gold currency was at that time perfect in its weight; and he informs us, that, with a few occasional interruptions, this inferiority has continued ever since; the maket price having been sometimes as high as 4l. an ounce. Now, we may well be permitted to inquire how this could have happened. Gold bullion must be either purchased with specie or with bank-notes; and it is for Mr Wheatley to explain, what imaginable motive could induce the holder of four guineas to part with them for an ounce of gold and four shillings, when, by converting them into bullion, he would receive an ounce of gold and 6s. 2d. in return; the market price of gold being 3l. 17s. 10d. The same reasoning applies to bank-notes; as, previous to the restriction, they could be immediately converted into specie. The inaccuracy of the mint estimation of the precious metals, has also, Mr Wheatley observes, been stated as the cause of the excess of the market price over the mint price of gold or silver bullion. But although a pound of silver bullion will exchange for a greater quantity of gold coin than a pound of silver coin, Mr Wheatley will not allow that this is any evidence of the inaccuracy of the mint estimation

mation of silver. This proposition, however, appears to us to be so extremely clear, that we hope it will carry the evidence of its truth along with it, even to Mr Wheatley; and if we succeed in convincing him of his error on this particular point, we may hope to reclaim him from his eager pursuit of those delusive novelties which are constantly leading him astray from the path of sober investigation.

The market price of the precious metals, is the only sure measure of their value, and the mint estimation is only so far accurate as it is conformed to this unerring standard. When we say that the precious metals are inaccurately estimated at the mint with respect to each other, we mean merely, that their market price is either higher or lower than their mint price; and when a pound of coined silver exchanges for a smaller quantity of gold coin than a pound of silver bullion, is not this satisfactory evidence that the price of silver at the mint is lower than the price of silver in the market? We are convinced, that on all subjects connected with the complex economy of society, errors frequently arise from the nature of the terms which it is necessary to employ, and which, though they may be sufficiently intelligible on reflection, do not always suggest, without an effort of the understanding, any distinct idea to the mind. When several of these terms are connected together into a train of reasoning, the chances of deception from this source are necessarily multiplied, and an argument may appear perfectly correct and conclusive, of which the fallacy would be immediately apparent, if the combinations of which it consists could be brought before the mind in their natural simplicity. It is chiefly by not possessing a full and distinct perception of the bearings and relations of the different propositions of which an argument is composed, and by perplexing themselves with a confusion of notions and phrases which they do not distinctly understand, that superficial writers commit so many mistakes. Even more close and accurate reasoners occasionally fall into the same snare. An habitual abstraction of the mind from language to its dependent ideas, seems to be the best security against this species of deception.

It appears to us, that it is entirely owing to the want of a due consideration of the various propositions of which his theory respecting the market and the mint price of bullion consists, that Mr Wheatley himself does not see its absurdity. He supposes, that when currency is dearer at Hamburgh than at London, bullion, which he observes is the same as foreign coin, must also be dearer; and therefore, that a pound of bullion, whether copper, silver, or gold, must be worth more than a pound of coin. It is very extraordinary, that Mr Wheatley does not perceive, that,

according

according to his own principles, the expense of transporting gold or currency, from the place where it is abundant to the place where it is scarce, must be the limit of the variations in its price. The intrinsic value of the coined metal, cannot be greater in Hamburgh than in London; its superior value arises entirely from the accidental circumstance of a great demand in London for money at Hamburgh. It seems singularly absurd, therefore, to suppose, that when it is transported from the place where it is in request to the place where it is not wanted, it should still retain its superior value. What does Mr Wheatley mean, by saying also, that the value of copper bullion must be increased in London, from the same cause which increases the value of gold bullion, namely, an unfavourable exchange? Are bills of exchange ever paid in copper? But we are really wearied with hunting down these futile conceits.

Mr Wheatley proceeds, in his fifth chapter, to point out the errors which, according to him, Lord Liverpool has committed in his valuable work on coinage. He also touches upon the causes from which disorders may occasionally arise in a system of metallic currency. This subject is no doubt involved in considerable intricacy; but it does not seem to be the characteristic of Mr Wheatley's genius, to clear away obscurity or confusion from the subjects on which he treats. After observing that when any metal is overrated in the currency of a country, or when the coins which are made out of a particular metal are debased or worn, the price of all commodities is regulated by the debased coins, or by the coins which are made of the metal underrated; he proceeds to argue, that, as the silver currency in Britain, has unquestionably lost a great part of its original value by rubbing and wearing, the prices of commodities in Britain, must be regulated by the state of the silver coins, and not by the state of the gold coins; and that the value of the gold coins is actually degraded to the level of the silver coins. There is certainly something very spirited in thus attempting to maintain a theory against the most notorious facts. The silver currency of Britain is, we believe, depreciated about 25 *per cent.* If the prices of commodities, therefore, were regulated by this standard, silver bullion ought to be at 6s. 9d., and gold ought to be above 3*l.* an ounce. Has Mr Wheatley also forgotten, that by the reformation of the gold currency, in 1774, the market price both of silver and gold bullion, was lowered to the mint price, although the silver currency was at that time in a very imperfect state? And is it not evident, if both silver and gold bullion are raised or lowered in price, according to the perfect or debased state of the gold coin, that it is the state of the gold coin which

regulates

regulates their prices? We should have thought, that the strength of Mr Wheatley's faith in theory, would have been shaken by a consideration of these facts; and that he would have been led to suspect, that in the infinite variety of new combinations, which human affairs are constantly presenting, new principles might arise of which he was not aware, and which, if rightly understood, might have saved him from the dilemma of rejecting an obvious fact, or admitting an exception to a theory which must be universal if it be true.

It no doubt appears from the whole history of our coinage, that when either gold or silver was greatly overrated in relation to each other, or when the coins made of either of those metals had lost much of their original value by debasement, or by being worn, the coins which were overrated or debased, either passed current at a discount, or the more perfect coins were entirely banished from circulation. But it is also very clear, that at present though the silver coin has lost the fourth part of its original value, it passes current at the estimation set on it when issued from the mint; and so far is the gold coin from being banished from circulation, that a guinea can always be had for twenty-one debased shillings, as readily as if the silver currency were in the most perfect state. This fact, indeed, is noticed by Dr Smith, who observes, that when the gold currency was reformed in 1774, twenty-one worn and debased shillings exchanged for a guinea which was perfect in its weight, with the same facility as before. Dr Smith, who had not the benefit of Mr Wheatley's theory, so far from conjecturing, that the value of the gold coin was degraded to the level of the debased silver coin, was of opinion, that the value of the silver coin was raised by means of the superior excellency of the gold coin. The reason, however, by which he endeavours to account for this fact, namely, that the most precious coin naturally regulates the value of the rest, is by no means satisfactory. In the reign of William III. the perfect state of the gold coin did not raise the value of the silver, which circulated at a discount of about 40 *per cent.*, 30s. being then the price of a guinea; and we cannot see any reason for supposing, that it produces this effect upon the silver coin at present. The following observations may perhaps afford a solution of this difficulty.

Lord Liverpool has stated, in a very clear and satisfactory manner, the series of changes which, as a country advances in wealth, are gradually introduced into its system of currency. In a very early stage of society, when transactions are few and of small consequence, a very coarse metal, such as copper, generally answers all the purposes of a circulating medium. In the course

of advancing improvement, however, silver is found to be a more convenient instrument of exchange; and in the still further progress of commercial opulence, gold at last is the only metal in which the great payments can be conveniently effected.

When a currency has arrived at this last state of refinement, the coarser metals are never employed except in the smaller payments, which could not be conveniently effected by means of a metal so precious as gold. They become, therefore, subsidiary merely to the operations of the main currency.

It is very evident, that the coin in which the larger payments are effected, can only pass current at its intrinsic worth; and accordingly, all attempts to give it an arbitrary value, either by debasement, or by raising its denomination, have been uniformly followed by a corresponding rise of prices. Men are alarmed when the only known rule by which the value of the currency can be estimated, is abandoned; and they plainly perceive, that the disorder which this arbitrary innovation must produce, will finally render it necessary, in estimating the value of the coin, to revert to the sure and incorruptible standard of its intrinsic worth. A subsidiary currency, however, is susceptible of an arbitrary value: as its depreciation cannot be attended with effects so injurious to society, it may circulate very freely, although the intrinsic value is not equal to its current value. In all the metallic currencies of Europe, copper is a subsidiary currency; and in the currency of Britain, both silver and copper are subsidiary currencies. The current value of the copper coins, accordingly, before the late new coinage, was considerably higher than their intrinsic value; and they passed in circulation without producing the least inconvenience. It is not less evident, we conceive, though it has been less noticed, that the silver currency has assumed an arbitrary value, ever since the period when it was exclusively appropriated to the smaller payments. This great change in the currency of Britain, took place in the reign of King William. Our limits do not permit us to enlarge on the various steps of that process by which it was perfected. We cannot help observing, however, that the state of the British coin, at that period, appears to us to be peculiarly deserving of attention; not only as the facts which were then disclosed, throw a peculiar light on the nature and principles of a metallic currency, but because the appearances then exhibited may not again occur in the revolution of ages. It is impossible to fix the period at which, in the progress of improvement, a similar change may take place in the metallic currencies of Europe; and in looking back to the earlier stages of society, no traces are to

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be found of those temporary disorders which must have taken place, when silver was substituted for copper in the main payments. It need not indeed excite surprise, when the historian of battles and political revolutions, can scarcely glean, in the earlier periods of history, the materials of a connected narrative, that no record should be preserved of those facts, which are not recommended to vulgar notice by novelty and glare, but are only valuable as they furnish the materials of philosophical speculation. When time has injured the outline of the picture, it is not natural to expect, that the more delicate shades should have been transmitted in full preservation.

The amount of our specie forms the subject of Mr Wheatley's sixth chapter. We have already had occasion to express our opinion on this point, in our review of Lord Liverpool's work; so that it is unnecessary to touch on it at present. For the same reason, we must also decline entering into a consideration of the next chapter, which relates to the balance of trade; having nothing further to add to what we have already had occasion to observe on that subject in our examination of Mr Wheatley's preliminary work.

In the eighth chapter our author explains in what way a nation must discharge its foreign expenditure; but we do not see that he has added much to the simple explanation of this subject afforded by Dr Smith. His opinions, besides being anticipated in general by preceding writers, are encumbered with such a variety of confused and unintelligible notions, that we may venture to affirm, that no reader, who has not the patience and good temper of a reviewer, will venture to analyze the mass, and to disentangle the author's substantial doctrines from the extraneous notions in which they are always enveloped. When, by means of a favourable exchange, a country has debts owing to it abroad, this foreign expenditure may obviously be discharged by a bill on the debtor country. But when its foreign debt exceeds the amount of the debts due to it, some other resource must be fallen upon; either bullion or commodities must be exported; and, in general, the latter will be preferred. On this subject, however, we have fully explained our sentiments in our review of Foster on Commercial Exchanges.

Mr Wheatley dwells with considerable severity on the narrow notions by which Mr Pitt, during the last war, was induced to withhold from our Continental allies that relief which could have been easily spared from the ample resources of Britain; and he seems to be of opinion, that the apprehensions, so earnestly expressed on this subject by the Directors of the Bank of England, were, in some degree, chimerical. We are for once inclined to agree

agree with Mr Wheatley. We cannot well conceive, if the money is once levied from the people by means of taxes, how the mere circumstance of remitting it to Germany should menace the Bank of England with ruin. Even if it were necessary to remit bullion, like all other commodities bullion can be procured by those who want it, and have wherewithal to pay for it. Remittances are constantly made from all parts of the country to London; but we never heard that this gave any disturbance to the natural course of trade. The remittance of money from one country to another is one of the most ordinary transactions of commerce; and it would certainly be very unaccountable if no expedient had yet been found out by which it could be effected without giving a shock to the commercial world. We cannot help suspecting also, that the effects of the importation of grain, in producing an exportation of our specie, have been considerably exaggerated. It seems to be taken for granted, that the grain which it was found necessary to import must have been paid exclusively in money. It is almost superfluous to observe, however, that the whole circulating coin of Britain would not have been sufficient for this purpose. Bullion, therefore, must have been procured, and it could only be procured by means of commodities. But it would surely be a simpler process to exchange commodities directly for the grain; and, in a country abounding with every manufacture which can minister to the gratification of mankind, suitable equivalents may always be provided for whatever is wanted.

Even where the balance of trade is turned against a country, we apprehend it may be rectified without exporting the specie which is necessary for its internal circulation. An unfavourable exchange, which is always the consequence of an unfavourable balance of trade, has a tendency to diminish imports and to increase exports; and we imagine that, in point of fact, this is the way in which it is generally redressed. Mr Thornton has argued as if a country might be subjected to a constant drain of specie for a length of time: But we do not see how this is possible; 1*st*, Because a country can seldom spare any considerable part of its circulating coin, and if it were exported, the void must be instantly supplied by new importations; and, 2*dly*, Because whatever was exported must be added to the currency of another country, where it is equally impossible that it can remain. It appears to us, therefore, that the quantity of specie necessary to settle the mutual transactions of trading nations must be very trifling, and that the unfavourable balance of trade has very little connexion with the distresses to which the

Bank of England is exposed. The causes which led to the run on the bank, and which might have rendered the restriction of cash payments necessary, seem to us to have originated almost exclusively in domestic alarm,—a circumstance which has always occasioned distress to the bank, and which, from the nature of its operation, is perfectly adequate to produce that effect. After this alarm had fairly subsided, we do not see why the restriction might not have been taken off. On this subject, however, we must express unfeigned diffidence, as we are sensible that a very minute acquaintance with facts would be necessary to form a decided opinion.

The remainder of Mr Wheatley's performance relates chiefly to the depreciation of money. The mode in which he conducts this inquiry is peculiarly exceptionable; but we have already very fully stated our objections to this part of his work. He confounds a general degradation in the value of gold and silver with the debasement of the coin in a particular country. Dr Smith was of opinion, that the value of gold and silver was rather rising than sinking during the greater part of the last century; and, in confirmation of this opinion, he shows that the average prices of grain had rather declined during that time. It has been supposed, however, that, since the publication of Dr Smith's work, the value of gold and silver has been falling, owing to the increased issues of paper which have taken place throughout Europe. As the subject is important, we shall lay before our readers a short statement of the arguments by which this opinion is supported.

The price of gold and silver, like that of all other commodities, must depend on the relation which subsists between the supply and the demand. Since the discovery of the American mines, Dr Smith has shown, that the demand for the precious metals must have been constantly increasing, in proportion to the increasing improvement and opulence of mankind. This increasing demand, he imagines, may have in some degree prevented the great increase in the supply, derived from the American mines, from lowering the value of gold and silver so much as it otherwise would have done. In stating this argument, we do not think that Dr Smith seems sufficiently aware of one circumstance, namely, that the invention and more extended use of paper currency, by substituting a cheaper and more convenient instrument of commerce in place of specie, has served greatly to diminish that increased demand for the precious metals, which the advancing improvement of the world would have occasioned. Had the commerce of mankind been exclusively carried on by means of a metallic currency, the market for the precious metals must have been greatly enlarged in the progress and general diffusion

of opulence. But since this expedient has been fallen upon, a mine is opened, from which an inexhaustible supply of currency may be derived; and when an extension of commerce requires an accession to the circulating medium, it is obvious that the cheaper will be preferred to the more expensive species of currency. Not only, however, has no addition been made to the quantity of specie actually circulating in Europe, but, in some countries, it seems to have been almost wholly supplanted by the use of paper. In Britain, the gold currency was supposed, in 1774, the time when it was called in and recoined, to amount to twenty-seven millions; and at present it would be estimated much too high at three millions. By the extension of paper currency, therefore, in Britain, twenty-four millions of guineas must have been thrown into the general market of Europe; and if we can suppose that any thing like a similar change has taken place in other countries, a vast quantity of specie must have been thrown out of circulation, into which it will not be received except at a diminished value. The effect must be the same as if the currency of Europe had been increased, without any corresponding increase in the demands of its commerce.

The general argument on this subject is considerably strengthened by a reference to the prices of grain, which have evidently risen considerably during the course of the last century. The year 1740 is represented as a year of extraordinary scarcity. The price of the quarter of wheat did not however rise higher than 2l. 10s. 8d., which would now be considered as a low price. At present, indeed, when the market is overstocked with grain, and prices have fallen very low, 2l. 7s. seems to be the lowest price of the quarter of wheat in the London market; and in the two scarce years of 1799 and 1800, it was sometimes as high as 7l. This evident rise in the money price of corn, does not seem easily accounted for, except on the supposition that the value of gold and silver is fallen in the European market. And if this is the case, we imagine it can only be ascribed to the preponderance of paper in the currencies of Europe.

But whatever may be our opinion upon these points, we are decidedly against all those violent remedies which Mr Wheatley proposes; and we are convinced, that the more fully the internal economy of society is explained and understood, it will always appear to stand less in need of external aid for the accomplishment of all its necessary ends. The injurious consequences which arise from all variations in the value of gold and silver, are too obvious to require explanation. But the evil must be left to cure itself; and the apprehensions of Mr Wheatley, that there

there is no limit to the degradation of the value of the precious metals, are completely chimerical. By requiring a smaller quantity for coin, a smaller quantity will indeed be annually consumed; the produce will thus be superior to the consumption; and the mass of gold and silver will be annually increasing. But the diminution of their value, which will be the consequence of their gradual increase, will lead to a less sparing use of them for other purposes: and the consumption and the produce will thus be gradually equalized; their further increase will be stopped; and their price will consequently be prevented from falling lower. If the preceding reasonings be well-founded, the produce of the American mines must have been for some time superior to the general rate of consumption throughout the world. Whether this is the case at present, it would no doubt be very difficult to determine. But we cannot doubt that the rate of produce and consumption will ultimately be very accurately adjusted. On considering the process, however, by which this must be brought about, it appears to us, that the value of gold and silver will alternately fluctuate for some time, both above and below that point at which it will finally remain fixed.

On the whole, we think Mr Wheatley's quarto considerably worse than his octavo. The wisest thing he could do, perhaps, would be to forswear the subject altogether; but if he be smitten with an indestructible love of economical speculations, we would exhort him to spend a little more time in learning, before he sets up for a teacher; and to make one vigorous attempt to understand the reasonings of his predecessors, before he gives himself the trouble of pointing out their mistakes.

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ART. IV. *Historical Apology for the Irish Catholics.* By William Parnell, Esquire. 8vo. pp. 147. Fitzpatrick, Dublin. 1807.

IF ever a nation exhibited symptoms of downright madness, or utter stupidity, we conceive these symptoms may be easily recognized in the conduct of this country upon the Catholic question. A man has a wound in his great toe, and a violent and perilous fever at the same time; and he refuses to take the medicines for the fever, because it will disconcert his toe! The mournful and folly-stricken blockhead forgets that his toe cannot survive him;—that if he dies, there can be no digital life apart from him; yet he lingers and fondles over this last part of his body, soothing it madly with little plasters, and anile fomentations, while the neglected fever rages in his entrails, and burns

away his whole life. If the comparatively little questions of Establishment are all that this country is capable of discussing or regarding, for God's sake let us remember, that the foreign conquest, which destroys all, destroys this beloved *toe* also. Pass over freedom, industry and science—and look upon this great empire, by which we are about to be swallowed up, only as it affects the manner of collecting tithes, and of reading the liturgy—still, if all goes, these must go too; and even, for their interests, it is worth while to conciliate Ireland, to avert the hostility, and to employ the strength of the Catholic population. We plead the question as the sincerest friends to the Establishment;—as wishing to it all the prosperity and duration its warmest advocates can desire—but remembering always, what these advocates seem to forget, that the Establishment cannot be threatened by any danger so great as the perdition of the kingdom in which it is established.

We are truly glad to agree so entirely with Mr Parnell upon this great question; we admire his way of thinking; and most cordially recommend his work to the attention of the public. The general conclusion which he attempts to prove is this, that religious sentiment, however perverted by bigotry or fanaticism, has always a *tendency* to moderation; that it seldom assumes any great portion of activity or enthusiasm, except from novelty of opinion, or from opposition, contumely and persecution when novelty ceases; that a government has little to fear from any religious sect, except while that sect is new. Give a government only time, and, provided it has the good sense to treat folly with forbearance, it must ultimately prevail. When, therefore, a sect is found, after a lapse of years, to be ill-disposed to the government, we may be certain that government has widened its separation by marked distinctions, roused its resentment by contumely, or supported its enthusiasm by persecution.

The *particular* conclusion Mr Parnell attempts to prove is, that the Catholic religion in Ireland had sunk into torpor and inactivity, till Government roused it with the lash: that even then, from the respect and attachment which men are always inclined to show towards government, there still remained a large body of loyal Catholics: that these only decreased in number from the rapid increase of persecution; and that, after all, the effects which the resentment of the Roman Catholics had in creating rebellions, has been very much exaggerated.

In support of these two conclusions, Mr Parnell takes a survey of the history of Ireland, from the conquest under Henry, to the rebellion under Charles the First, passing very rapidly over the period which preceded the Reformation, and dwelling principally upon

upon the various rebellions which broke out in Ireland between the Reformation, and the grand rebellion in the reign of Charles the First. The celebrated conquest of Ireland by Henry the Second, extended only to a very few counties in Leinster; nine tenths of the whole kingdom were left, as he found them, under the dominion of their native princes. The influence of example was as strong in this, as in most other instances; and great numbers of the English settlers who came over under various adventurers, resigned their pretensions to superior civilization, cast off their lower garments, and lapsed into the nudity and barbarism of the Irish. The limit which divided the possessions of the English settler from those of the native Irish, was called the pale; and the expressions of inhabitants *within the pale*, and *without the pale*, were the terms by which the two nations were distinguished. It is almost superfluous to state, that the most bloody and pernicious warfare was carried on upon the borders—sometimes for something—sometimes for nothing; most commonly for cows. The Irish, over whom the sovereigns of England affected a sort of nominal dominion, were entirely governed by their own laws; and so very little connexion had they with the justice of the invading country, that it was as lawful to kill an Irishman, as it was to kill a badger or a fox. The instances are innumerable, where the defendant has pleaded that the deceased was an Irishman, and that therefore defendant had a right to kill him;—and, upon the proof of Hibernicism, acquittal followed of course.

When the English army mustered in any great strength, the Irish chieftains would do exterior homage to the English Crown; and they very frequently, by this artifice, averted from their country the miseries of invasion; but they remained completely unsubdued, till the rebellion which took place in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, of which that politic woman availed herself to the complete subjugation of Ireland. In speaking of the Irish about the reign of Elizabeth, or James the First, we must not draw our comparisons from England, but from New Zealand; they were not civilized men, but savages; and, if we reason about their conduct, we must reason of them as savages.

'After reading every account of Irish history,' (says Mr Parnell) 'one great perplexity appears to remain: How does it happen, that from the first invasion of the English till the reign of James I., Ireland seems not to have made the smallest progress in civilization or wealth?

'That it was divided into a number of small principalities, which waged constant war on each other; or that the appointment of the chieftains was elective, do not appear sufficient reasons, although these are the only ones assigned by those who have been at the trouble of considering the subject: neither are the confiscations of property quite sufficient to account for the effect. There have been great confiscations

in other countries, and ſtill they have flouriſhed: the petty ſtates of Greece were quite analogous to the chiefries (as they were called) in Ireland; and yet they ſeemed to flouriſh almoſt in proportion to their diſſenſions. Poland felt the bad effects of an elective monarchy more than any other country; and yet, in point of civilization, it maintained a very reſpectable rank among the nations of Europe; but Ireland never, for an inſtant, made any progreſs in improvement till the reign of James I.

It is ſcarcely credible, that in a climate like that of Ireland, and at a period ſo far advanced in civilization as the end of Elizabeth's reign, the greater part of the natives ſhould go naked. Yet this is rendered certain by the teſtimony of an eye-witneſs, Fynes Moryſon. "In the remote parts, he ſays, where the Engliſh laws and manners are unknown, the very chief of the Iriſh, as well men as women, go naked in the winter time, only having their privy parts covered with a rag of linen, and their bodies with a looſe mantle. This I ſpeak of my own experience; yet remember that a Bohemian Baron, coming out of Scotland to us by the north parts of the wild Iriſh, told me in great earneſtneſs, that he, coming to the houſe of O'Kane, a great lord amongſt them, was met at the door by ſixteen women all naked, excepting their looſe mantles, whereof eight or ten were very fair; with which ſtrange ſight his eyes being dazzled, they led him into the houſe, and then ſitting down by the fire with croſſed legs, like tailors, and ſo low as could not but offend chaſte eyes, deſired him to ſit down with them. Soon after O'Kane, the lord of the country, came in all naked, except a looſe mantle and ſhoes, which he put off as ſoon as he came in; and entertaining the Baron after his best manner in the Latin tongue, deſired him to put off his apparel, which he thought to be a burden to him, and to ſit naked.

"To conclude, men and women at night going to ſleep, lye thus naked in a round circle about the fire, with their feet towards it. They fold their heads and their upper parts in woollen mantles, firſt ſteeped in water to keep them warm; for they ſay, that woollen cloth, wetted, preſerves heat, (as linen, wetted, preſerves cold), when the ſmoke of their bodies has warmed the woollen cloth."

The cauſe of this extreme poverty, and of its long continuance, we muſt conclude, aroſe from the peculiar laws of property, which were in force under the Iriſh dynaſties. Theſe laws have been deſcribed by moſt writers as ſimilar to the Kentiſh cuſtom of gavel-kind; and indeed ſo little attention was paid to the ſubject, that were it not for the reſearches of Sir J. Davis, the knowledge of this ſingular uſage would have been entirely loſt.

'The Brehon law of property, he tells us, was ſimilar to the cuſtom (as the Engliſh lawyers term it) of hodge podge. When any one of the ſept died, his lands did not deſcend to his ſons, but were divided among the whole ſept; and, for this purpoſe, the chief of the ſept made a new diviſion of the whole lands belonging to the ſept, and gave every

one

one his part according to ſeniority. So that no man had a property which could deſcend to his children; and even during his own life, his poſſeſſion of any particular ſpot was quite uncertain, being liable to be conſtantly ſhuffled and changed by new partitions. The conſequence of this was, that there was not a houſe of brick or ſtone among the Iriſh, down to the reign of Henry VII.; not even a garden or orchard, or well fenced or improved field, neither village or town, or in any reſpect the leaſt proviſion for poſterity. This monſtrous cuſtom, ſo oppoſite to the natural feelings of mankind, was probably perpetuated by the policy of the chiefs. In the firſt place, the power of partitioning being lodged in their hands, made them the moſt abſolute of tyrants, being the diſpenſers of their property, as well as of the liberty of their ſubjects. In the ſecond place, it had the appearance of adding to the number of their ſavage armies; for, where there was no improvement or tillage, war was purſued as an occupation.

'In the early hiſtory of Ireland, we find ſeveral inſtances of chieftains diſcountenancing tillage; and, ſo late as Elizabeth's reign, Moryſon ſays, that "Sir Neal Garve reſtrained his people from ploughing, that they might aſſiſt him to do any miſchief." p. 98—102.

These quotations and observations will enable us to state a few plain facts for the recollection of our English readers. 1*st*, Ireland was never subdued till the rebellion in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. 2*d*, For four hundred years before that period, the two nations had been almost constantly at war; and, in consequence of this, a deep and irreconcileable hatred existed between the people within and without the pale. 3*d*, The Irish, at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, were unquestionably the most barbarous people in Europe. So much for what had happened previous to the reign of Queen Elizabeth: and let any man, who has the most superficial knowledge of human affairs, determine, whether national hatred, proceeding from such powerful causes, could possibly have been kept under by the defeat of one single rebellion; whether it would not have been easy to have foreseen, at that period, that a proud, brave, half savage people, would cherish the memory of their wrongs for centuries to come, and break forth into arms at every period when they were particularly exasperated by oppression, or invited by opportunity. If the Protestant religion had spread in Ireland as it did in England; and if there never had been any difference of faith between the two countries,—can it be believed that the Irish, ill treated, and infamously governed as they have been, would never have made any efforts to shake off the yoke of England? Surely there are causes enough to account for their impatience of that yoke, without endeavouring to inflame the zeal of ignorant people against the Catholic religion, and to make that mode of faith responsible for all the butchery which the Irish and

English, for these last two centuries, have exercised upon each other. Every body, of course, must admit, that if to the causes of hatred already specified, there be added the additional cause of religious distinction, this last will give greater force (and what is of more consequence to observe, give *a name*) to the whole aggregate motive. But what Mr Parnell contends for is, and clearly and decisively proves is, that many of those sanguinary scenes attributed to the Catholic religion, are to be partly imputed to causes totally disconnected from religion; that the unjust invasion, and the tyrannical, infamous policy of the English, are to take their full share of blame with the sophisms and plots of Catholic priests. In the reign of Henry the Eighth, Mr Parnell shows, that feudal submission was readily paid to him by all the Irish chiefs; that the reformation was received without the slightest opposition; and that the troubles which took place at that period in Ireland, are to be entirely attributed to the ambition and injustice of Henry. In the reign of Queen Mary, there was no recrimination upon the Protestants;—a striking proof, that the bigotry of the Catholic religion had not, at that peiod, risen to any great height in Ireland. The insurrections of the various Irish princes were as numerous during this reign as they had been in the two preceding reigns; a circumstance rather difficult of explanation, if, as is commonly believed, the Catholic religion was at that period the main spring of men's actions.

In the reign of Elizabeth, the Catholic in the pale regularly fought against the Catholic out of the pale. O'Sullivan, a bigotted Papist, reproaches them with doing so. Speaking of the reign of James the First, (he says), 'And now the eyes even of the English Irish' (the Catholics of the pale) 'were opened, and they cursed their former folly for helping the heretic.' The English Government were so sensible of the loyalty of the Irish English Catholics, that they entrusted them with the most confidential services. The Earl of Kildare was the principal instrument in waging war against the chieftains of Leix and Offal. William O'Bourge, another Catholic, was created Lord Castle Connel for his eminent services; and MacGullay Patrick, a priest, was the state spy. We presume that this wise and *manly* conduct of Queen Elizabeth was utterly unknown both to the Pastry-cook and the Secretary of State, who have published upon the dangers of employing Catholics even against foreign enemies; and in those publications have said a great deal about the wisdom of our ancestors,—the usual topic whenever the folly of their descendants is to be defended. To whatever other of our ancestors they may allude, they may spare all compliments to this illustrious Princess, who would certainly have kept the worthy Confectioner to the

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composition of tarts, and most probably furnished him with the productions of the Right Honourable Secretary, as the means of conveying those juicy delicacies to an hungry and discerning public.

In the next two reigns, Mr Parnell shows by what injudicious measures of the English Government the spirit of Catholic opposition was gradually formed; for, that it did produce powerful effects at a subsequent period, he does not deny; but contends only, (as we have before stated), that these effects have been much overrated, and ascribed *solely* to the Catholic religion, when other causes have at least had an equal agency in bringing them about. He concludes with some general remarks on the dreadful state of Ireland, and the contemptible folly and bigotry of the English; * remarks full of truth, of good sense, and of political courage. How melancholy to reflect, that there would be still some chance of saving England from the general wreck of empires, but that it may not be saved, because one politician will lose two thousand a year by it, and another three thousand, a third a place in reversion, and a fourth a pension for his aunt! Alas! these are the powerful causes which have always settled the destiny of great kingdoms, and which may level Old England, with all its boasted freedom, and boasted wisdom, to the dust. Nor is it the least singular among the political phenomena of the present day, that the sole consideration which seems to influence the unbigotted part of the English people, in this great question of Ireland, is a regard for the personal feelings of the Monarch. Nothing is said or thought of the enormous risk to which Ireland is exposed,—nothing of the gross injustice with which the Catholics are treated,—nothing of the lucrative apostasy of those from whom they experience this treatment; but the only concern by which we all seem to be agitated is, that the King must not be vexed in his old age. We have a great respect for the King; and wish him all the happiness compatible with the happiness of his people; but these are not times to pay foolish compliments to Kings, or the sons of Kings, or to any body else: this Journal has always preserved its character for courage and honesty, and it shall do so to the last. If the people of this country are solely occupied in considering what is personally agreeable to the King, without considering what is for his permanent good, and for the safety of his dominions; if all public men, quitting the common vulgar scramble for emolument, do not concur in conciliating the people of Ireland; if the unfounded alarms, and the comparatively trifling interests

* It would be as well, in future, to say no more of the revocation of the edict of Nantz.

interests of the clergy, are to supersede the great question of freedom or slavery, it does appear to us quite impossible that so mean and so foolish a people can escape that destruction which is ready to burst upon them;—a destruction so imminent, that it can only be averted by arming all in our defence who would evidently be sharers in our ruin, and by such a change of system as may save us from the hazard of being ruined by the ignorance and cowardice of any general, by the bigotry or the ambition of any minister, or by the well-meaning scruples of any human being, let his dignity be what it may. These minor and domestic dangers we must endeavour firmly and temperately to avert as we best can; but, at all hazards, we must keep out the destroyer from among us, or perish like wise and brave men in the attempt.

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ART. V. *Caroli à Linné Species Plantarum, exhibentes Plantas rite cognitas, ad Genera relatas cum differentibus Specificis, nominibus trivialibus, synonimis selectis, locis natalibus, secundum Systema Sexuale digestas, editio quarta, post Reichardiamam quinta, adjectis vegetabilibus hucusque cognitis, curante Carolo Ludovico Willdenow.* Berolini impensis G. C. Nank, 1797, already published 3 vol. 8vo. in 7 parts, and part of the 4th. pp. 5,946.

THE former of these works cannot fail to be an acceptable present to all proficients in botany, on account of its containing so many of the plants lately discovered, arranged according to a system with which they have been long familiar. The latter, as an introduction to botanical studies, forms an useful manual for those who are desirous of acquiring a knowledge of the vegetable kingdom.

The Species Plantarum, which began to be published in 1797, is not yet complete; but the eight parts which have come into our hands, reaching the length of the class Monœcia inclusive, are sufficient to enable us to form an opinion of the merits of the work.

It contains not only the plants described by Linnæus, (as the title imports), but likewise such of those discovered since the death of that eminent naturalist, as Mr Willdenow has been able, on good grounds, to reduce to their proper place in the Linnæan system.

If the utility of botanical studies be at all granted, the advantages of a systematic arrangement of vegetables will be readily admitted. It is true, that the greatest part of those who are employed in cultivating the soil, may go on from year to year, raising

raising their wheat, clover, and potatoes, without troubling their heads about the class or order, the genus or species, to which their crops may be referred. Many medical practitioners also may be usefully employed during a long life, in administering opium, rhubarb, and senna, provided they know the proper doses of each, and the cases in which they ought to be employed, without knowing, or caring to know, that one is the inspissated juice of the *Papaver somniferum*, and the other the root of the *Rheum palmatum*. It is true, in like manner, that many artists are indebted to different machines, the mechanism of which they do not understand. Thousands make use of clocks and watches, who know nothing about pendulums or escapements, and who would be very much disposed to laugh at those who trouble themselves about such matters. But in spite of all this, there are some very good sort of people in the world, who think there may be some use in the study of botany and mechanics.

Though agriculture and medicine, the two professions which are usually thought to derive most benefit from the knowledge of botany, may be prosecuted without any acquaintance with methodical arrangement, yet, he who thinks of making improvements in either, by introducing into cultivation or practice, vegetables which have not formerly been attended to, or which may have been successfully cultivated or employed by others at a distance, would wish, in the one case, to be able to point out the species on which he had made his experiments, and in the other, to ascertain the particular plant, the cultivation or use of which he was ambitious of introducing. But besides all those to whom such knowledge may be useful, there are many worthy people who study botany merely for amusement, who would give a great deal for such a systematic arrangement as would enable them, with facility and precision, to reduce any plant to its genus and species. We shall take a short view, therefore, of what has been done towards accomplishing that object, that, from a knowledge of what has already been effected by the labours of others, some estimate may be formed of the obligations the lovers of botany lye under to Mr Willdenow.

The utility of many vegetables as articles of food, &c. the beauty and striking appearance of others, must have attracted the notice of men at a very early period; but until their virtues in curing diseases and healing wounds was discovered, it is scarcely to be supposed, that any great anxiety would be felt even for an accurate description of them. This, perhaps, is the principal reason, why, in almost all those nations with whose early history we are acquainted, physicians have been the first botanists. Indeed, had we a more intimate acquaintance with the

the history of the Jews and Carthaginians, we might have said all, and neither made an exception of the Royal Botanist, who treated of all plants, from the lofty cedar which adorns Lebanon, down to the diminutive vegetables which disfigure walls; nor of the Carthaginian Mago, who wrote twenty-eight books *de re Rustica*, which were thought worthy of being transferred to Rome, among the other valuable spoils of Carthage, and were translated from the Punic into the Latin language, by order of the Senate.

While the number of ascertained useful vegetables was small, those to whom they were known would point them out to their disciples, who, in that way, would become acquainted with their general appearances, and other sensible properties: But, when accidental discoveries, quackery, and intercourse between neighbouring nations, had augmented their number considerably, the necessity of accurate descriptions would become apparent.

Among the Greeks, though herbs were employed as medicines long before the Trojan war, and Cadmus had furnished the means of conveying their discoveries to posterity, yet many centuries elapsed before any writer appeared, who deserved the name of a botanist. Theophrastus the favourite disciple of Aristotle, who succeeded him in the direction of the Peripatetic school, and inherited his library, is the first author whose works have reached us, who obtained that appellation. Pythagoras, Hyppocrates, Cratejas, Aristotle, and many others, had treated indeed of vegetables before him; but their writings are either partly, or entirely lost, or contain but little of importance.

Of the ten books which Theophrastus wrote on botany, nine have been preserved, containing an account of more than 500 vegetables, which he divides into trees, shrubs, and herbs, a very humble attempt at methodical arrangement; yet, singular as it may appear, this clumsy distribution of vegetables prevailed, even among botanists, from his time, till near the end of the 17th century, and for some time cramped the first efforts made towards establishing a more perfect arrangement. His descriptions, as was indeed to be expected, are still more imperfect than his arrangement; for much more attention is required to detect those distinguishing marks by which closely allied genera or species are to be discriminated, than to trace general resemblances. Had he been aware, that all the trouble he had taken to point out the uses of the vegetables of which he treated, would have been lost for want of such descriptions as might enable his readers to recognize them, he probably would have bestowed more pains on that subject, and botany might have received more early improvement.

The

The same inaccuracy of description, and want of method, in arranging vegetables, pervaded the writings of all the ancient botanical authors, and rendered their works obscure, and frequently unintelligible. In reality, little or no addition was made to botanical knowledge by any of them, except in the number of plants they mention, from the time of Theophrastus, till some time after the revival of learning in Europe, a period of nearly 2000 years.

Dioscorides, who lived about the time when the Roman empire had nearly arrived at its greatest extent, mentions about 700 plants, which he divides as articles of materia medica, into aromatic, alimentary, medicinal, and vinous. That industrious compiler, Caius Plinius Secundus, whose ardent curiosity cost him so dear, in his *Historia Mundi*, 15 books of which are occupied with botanical and agricultural matters, mentions above 1000 plants, which he divides, according to the ancient arrangement, into trees, shrubs, and herbs. Neither this author, however, nor any of his contemperaries, seem to have considered botany as a branch of natural history, but merely as an account of *useful* vegetables; for he says, there are many more plants than those he has mentioned, which grow by the road sides, in hedges, and in the fields, which are of no use, and therefore have no names. All the succeeding authors who wrote on this subject, both European and Arabian, till about the beginning of the 16th century, were employed in copying their predecessors, and in making commentaries on their writings: at last, however, some, tired of studying the ancients, began to study nature; and, convinced of the necessity of methodical arrangement, made several ineffectual attempts to arrange the plants they had collected, by means of their leaves, stems, and roots. Conrad Gesner, a native of Zurich, about the middle of the 16th century, first suggested the propriety of arranging vegetables, by means of their flowers and fruit, but formed no system of his own. In 1582, Andrew Cæsalpinus, a Florentine physician, and professor of botany at Padua, published an arrangement of vegetables, according to the principles proposed by Gesner, of which, as the first that had appeared in Europe in any way deserving the name of systematic, some little account may be interesting.—He arranged all vegetables into fifteen classes, as follows.

ARBORES.

Arbores, corculo ex apice feminis - - - - - - - 1
——————— basi feminis - - - - - - - 2

HERBÆ.

Fructu,
- Simplici, e
  - Seminibus solitariis - - - 3
  - Pericarpiis solitariis unilocularibus carnosis, bacca vel pomo - - - 4
  - Pericarpiis solitariis unilocularibus siccis membranaceis - - - - - 5
- Duplici, e
  - Seminibus duobus nudis - - 6
  - Pericarpiis bilocularibus, vel duobus seminum receptaculis - - - 7
- Triplici, e
  - Pericarpiis trilocularibus vel seminibus tribus nudis, radice non bulbosa - 8
  - Pericarpiis trilocularibus, radice bulbosa 9
- Quadruplici, e Seminibus - - - - - - 10
- Multiplici, e
  - Seminibus pluribus intra calycem communem, petalo ad semen singulum unico - - - - - 11 & 12
  - Seminibus pluribus nudis, corolla seminibus communi - - - 13
  - Pericarpiis pluribus vel multifarium divisis 14
- Nullo visibili - - - - - - - - - 15

These he again subdivided into 47 subdivisions.

Two circumstances render this method imperfect, and prevented its general adoption. First, the marks of the classes are taken almost exclusively from the *fruit;* secondly, the ancient division is in great part retained, though a consciousness of its defects, had led the author in so far to disregard the authority of Aristotle and Theophrastus, as to attempt to improve it by classifying his vegetables under two divisions only; shrubs being left out altogether as a division.

After the lapse of a century, Dr Morison, a native of Aberdeen, and professor of botany at Oxford, by employing the parts of the flower and the general habit of the plant, in addition to those of the fruit, endeavoured to improve the method of Cæsalpinus, which had lain neglected ever since the death of its author. Morison also attempted to correct the defects of the ancient division, by dividing all vegetables into ligneous, and not-ligneous. The ligneous he formed into three classes, trees, shrubs, and undershrubs: the not-ligneous, *i. e.* herbs or grasses, into fifteen. The subdivisions of which amount to one hundred and eight.

In 1682, John Ray, a native of Essex, who has acquired celebrity in other branches of natural history, published a methodical arrangement

arrangement of vegetables, founded on that of Cæsalpinus and Morison, consisting of twenty-five classes, which he afterwards improved and republished in 1700. His improved method consisted of thirty-three classes, which is divided into two grand divisions, *viz.* plants destitute of buds, *i. e.* herbs; and plants producing buds, *i. e.* trees. Herman, professor of botany at Leyden, Christopher Knaut, the celebrated Boerhaave, and many others, formed systems, by altering and attempting to improve those of their predecessors.

When any set of objects is too numerous to be comprehended by the mind at once, they may, by means of marks of distinction or resemblance, be divided or united into smaller assemblages, which (if the analytic method be followed) may be again divided into subdivisions, or orders; these again into genera, and genera into species: or, if the synthetic method be adopted, species may be assembled into genera, &c.

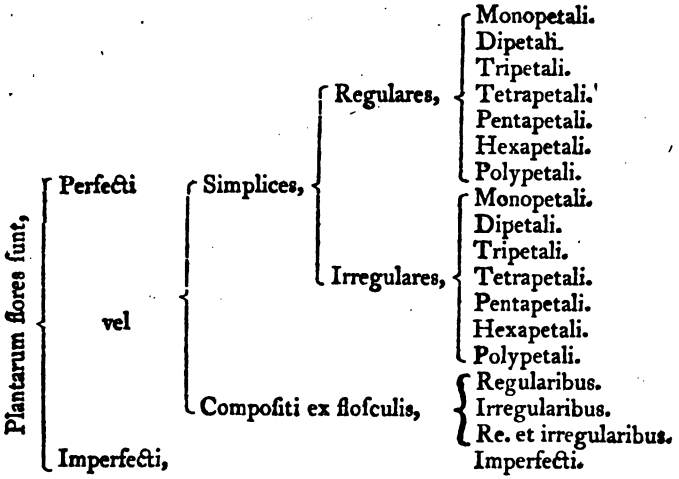
There are two ways of accomplishing this; the one, by uniting into the same assemblage, such species as, from an agreement in several particulars, seem to be connected by a close affinity established by nature; the other, by forming into arbitrary associations a number of species which happen to agree in some accidental circumstances. The former is called *natural*, the latter *artificial* method. All the authors of systems we have hitherto mentioned, adopted the natural method. In the vegetable kingdom, it frequently happens, that a great number of species agree in so many particulars, as evidently to demonstrate them to be members of the same natural family. Among the grasses, for instance, the family resemblance, the similarity in the form of the leaves, in the construction of the stalks, in the parts which compose the flower, and in the nature of the seeds, is so great in all of them, as easily to enable any one who may be acquainted with only one or two species, to recognize any other almost at first sight. There are other tribes of vegetables, the different species of which may be recognized with equal facility, even by those who have but a slight acquaintance with them; but this is by no means the case with all. Though nature generally exhibits a wonderful degreee of regularity, she frequently makes considerable deviations; and anomalous productions are to be found, which, though they possess the principal features of one family, yet, in some particulars, so far resemble another very distinct tribe, as to make it doubtful to which of the two they ought to be referred, without a minute investigation by one well acquainted with the distinguishing characters of both. Nearly allied families, likewise, frequently run into one another so imperceptibly, as to render it no easy task to draw the line of separation.

For

For these reasons, it is frequently difficult to define natural families, in such a manner as to comprehend all their irregular members, without at the same time leaving room for the admission of species which do not belong to them.

Whatever may be said, therefore, in favour of natural classes, and however fit they may be, for the use of those who are well acquainted with botany, at a time when the greater part of the vegetables this globe produces, shall have been discovered and described; while they are deficient in point of facility, they cannot be the most proper for beginners, nor could they be so even for botanists themselves, at a period when, comparatively, few plants were known.

A. Quirinus Rivinus, professor of botany at Leipsic, perceiving the defects of the natural systems proposed by his predecessors, endeavoured to form an artificial one, founded on the regularity and irregularity of the corolla, and on the number of the petals of which it was composed, which he published in 1690. It consisted of the eighteen following classes.




This author was the first who ventured to disregard the stamp of antiquity, and rejected entirely the ancient division, which had so long fettered all former framers of systems.

His design was good; but he was unfortunate in the choice of the part of the flower he fixed on for the foundation of his classes, as flowers are more liable to vary in the number of their petals, than in any other particular: he was however more successful in the selection of the fruit for the foundation of his orders,

orders, because it affords marks, which are subject to little variation.

Tournefort, whose system was more followed than any other, except that of Linnæus, particularly in France, and even in this country, till after the middle of last century, fixed on the form of the corolla for the foundation of his classes, many of which were very natural: but the great variety of forms the corolla assumes, many of which approach each other so nearly, as scarcely to be distinguished, render the application of his system to practice difficult.

Many systems, both artificial and natural, have been devised by different botanists, * all of which gave way to the artificial system of Linnæus, termed *sexual*, because the distinguishing marks of all his classes are taken from the parts of generation, *i. e.* the pistillum and stamina.

The Linnæan method owes its success, not only to the superior facility, as well as certainty, by which any plant, by means of it, may be reduced to its class and order; but to the attention the author has paid to the more minute divisions, and to the pains he has taken to give accurate descriptions of the species, and to affix to each its trivial name. The different publications of Linnæus, particularly his *System of Nature*, and *Species Plantarum*, have done more for the advancement of botanical knowledge, than the writings of any other man. Since the time his last supplement was published, a very great number of species have been discovered in different quarters of the world. Those which have been described, are dispersed through the writings of various authors; others are only to be met with in the *herbariæ* of the curious. Linnæus junior, in his supplement, has described several. Murray and Gmelin, in their editions of the System of Nature, have published only such as they themselves had an opportunity of examining, together with those described by Thunberg and Jacquin.

It was long the earnest wish of those who were occupied with such studies, that some person, properly qualified, would give them in a collected form to the world. Willdenow undertook the Herculean labour; and from the manner in which he has conducted this edition of the *Species Plantarum*, has shewn himself well qualified for the task. He has adopted none of the alterations in the classes, proposed by the



* Adanson, a Frenchman, to shew the facility with which they may be formed, and his own dexterity, has manufactured upwards of fifty of them.

authors we shall mention below; but has, with two exceptions, adhered very closely to the arrangement of Linnæus, at least in the larger divisions.

Notwithstanding the merits of the Linnæan system, it has without doubt many imperfections, which different botanists have endeavoured to correct, but hitherto without any very distinguished success. The two principal objections are, 1st, that plants, evidently connected by nature, are, according to it, placed in different classes; and that those which have no natural or general affinity, are sometimes arranged under the same class,—an objection to which every artificial system must be liable. 2dly, Plants, by means of it, cannot always be ascertained with such facility and precision as might have been expected in an artificial arrangement. The improvements which have been aimed at, have been suggested principally with a view to make the arrangement more natural; and indeed, Linnæus's own anxiety to remedy its defects in this particular, is one cause of the difficulty which is frequently experienced in reducing a plant to its proper place. In the class Diadelphia, for example, which ought to contain those plants whose stamina are united, by means of their filaments, into *two* groups, there is a subdivision in the order Decandria, containing a number of genera, characterized *Omnia stamina connexa*; though it is obvious, that any one who knows merely the general principle of the Linnæan arrangement, would naturally look for such a flower in the class Monadelphia.

Had Linnæus, instead of making this exception, improved the definition of his class by means of the form of the flowers, he would not only have obviated this difficulty, but rendered the class itself more natural, and made it comprehend those irregular members of the family which have their stamina unconnected. For there are many plants standing in the order Monogynia, of the class Decandria, which, from the form of their flower, and nature of their seed-pod, evidently belong to the class Diadelphia.

Any alterations, therefore, made with a view to render the arrangement more natural, which have a tendency to make it more complex, are certainly improper. Instead of depriving an artificial system of its principal recommendation, by patching or twisting it, it would be better, at once, to have recourse to natural classes, such as have been formed by Linnæus himself, by Batsch or Jussieu. But if an artificial arrangement be thought best adapted to the present state of botanical knowledge, such alterations only should be made, as tend to remove ambiguity and difficulty. Of all the alterations and attempts to improve

prove the Linnæan system, there are but few that merit notice. Liljebad has made the following changes. He joined the 7th, 8th and 9th, to the 10th class; the 11th to the 13th; and the 18th, 21st, 22d and 23d, he included in one, and thus reduced the number of classes to 16. He has had few followers; therefore, we shall not stop to point out the impropriety of some of these combinations.

Thunberg has reduced the number to twenty, by distributing the plants of the 20th, 21st, 22d and 23d classes, among those classes to which they are referable, according to the number and connexion of the stamina. His reasons for abolishing the classes Monœcia, Dicœcia and Polygamia, are, *1st*, The plants which belong to them are not always constant in point of sex; for culture, and a difference of climate, frequently removes a plant from the Monœcia, or Dicœcia, to the Polygamia. *2dly*, By arranging the genera which compose these classes according to the nature and connexion of their stamina, many of them will stand in the same class with others which they resemble in almost every particular, except in the circumstance of having their male and female organs placed in separate flowers, either on the same or on different plants. His reasons for abolishing the class Gynandria are not equally valid.

Gmelin, in addition to the alterations proposed by Thunberg, which he has adopted in his edition of the Syst. Nat., has likewise united the class Icosandria to Polygamia, and consequently reduced the number to nineteen. This union is certainly unnecessary, if not altogether improper, as these two classes are sufficiently distinguished by the insertion of their stamina; a distinction which he himself has retained in his subdivisions of the united classes.

Willdenow, we think, has done right in rejecting all these proposed reductions in the number of classes; for it rarely happens that any considerable alteration can be made in a long established system, without producing some confusion and inconvenience; therefore none ought to be made or adopted, but such as evidently tend to produce some very considerable improvements, which is not the case with any of those hitherto made on the sexual system. The only deviations he has made from the arrangement of Linnæus, are, *first*, to break up the order Monogynia, of the class Syngynesia, and to place the plants which composed it, according to the number of the stamina, without any regard to their connexion by the antheræ. The plants belonging to this order, certainly have no affinity to the others which compose the class Syngynesia, which becomes a perfectly natural assemblage after their removal. *Secondly*, He has removed a great number

of genera from the class Gynandria, and arranged them according to the number and connexion of their stamina. This class should comprehend those plants only whose stamina are attached to the pistillum; but Linnæus has introduced some whose stamina stand under the germen, attached to an elongation of the peduncle, which rises above the receptacle; and to the admission of these Willdenow objects, we think, with good reason.

Although the improvements made on the arrangement of Linnæus be unimportant, the changes among, and additions to, his genera and species, by Willdenow and others, have been very numerous. How far, in every instance, he has acted properly or otherwise, in making and adopting these, cannot be determined by any one who has not had access to the same sources of information as Willdenow himself, and who has not bestowed the same attention. From a pretty full examination of his voluminous work, however, we are disposed to rate his abilities as a botanist very high, and to place much confidence in his accuracy. His Species Plantarum, we are confident, will be highly prized by those who are best able to appreciate its merits. He has described a considerable number of species himself, and corrected such descriptions of former species as appeared to him not sufficiently accurate.

We have compared some of these corrections, made on the descriptions of species with which we are acquainted, and find they render the diagnosis more complete. He always mentions in what state he had seen the plants from which he has taken his descriptions; whether from a living plant or from a dried specimen; from one in flower; in fruit, or otherwise: so that an opinion may be formed how far the accuracy of his descriptions may be depended on. He likewise quotes his authority for every thing he has taken from others.

To give some idea of the great additions and many changes that have been made since the time of Linnæus, we shall now mention the number of the genera and species which have been added to the different classes, and notice the changes that have been made in each.

Genera added to the class MONANDRIA, viz.

*Monogynia*—Hellenia 4 species, Hornstedtia 2, Hedychium 1; Phrynium 1, the Pontideria Ovata of Linnæus; Lopezia 1, Phylydrum 1, Cucularia 1, Qualia 2, Usteria 1, Pollichia 1, Mithridatea 1.

*Digynia*—Lacistema 1.

28 Species of former genera have been added to this class, 16 of which have been described by Wildenow, viz. Amomum 8, 7 of which are described by Willdenow. Costus 2. Alpinia 2,

1 described by W. Maranta 2, both by W. Thalia 1. Boerhavia 6, 4 by W. Salicornia 5, 2 by W. Callitriche 1.

Genera added to the class DIANDRIA.

*Monogynia*—Pimelia, 4 species, composed of Passerina Gnidia, P. pilosa, and P. prostrata of Linnæus. Gallipea 1, Wulfenia 1, Cyrtandria 2, Bœa 1, Ghinia 2, Sciuris 1, Fontanesia 1, Lithophila 1, Linociera 1, Aruna 1.

*Digynia*—Crypsis 1, the Anthoxanthum aculeatum Lin. suppl. Schoenus aculeatus of the Spec. Plant.

172 Species of former genera have been added to this class, 44 of which are described by Willdenow, viz.

*Monogynia*—Jasminum 9, 2 by W. Ligustrum 1. Olea 2. Chionanthus 3, 1 by W. Syringa 2, 1 by W. Veronica 17, 7 by W. Pæderota 1. Justicia 57, 10 by W. Gratiola 6, 3 by W. Calceolaria 5. Pinguicula 1, and by W. Utricularia 2, both by W. Verbena 4, 2 by W. Cunila 1, and by W. Monarda 2. Rosmarina 1. Salvia 26, 8 by W. Collonsonia 1. Ancistrum 1. Anthoxanthum 1.

*Digynia*—Piper 29, 6 by W.

New genera added to the class TRIANDRIA.

*Monogynia*—Aristea 1, the Ixia Africana of Linnæus. Witsenia 1, the Antholyza Maura of Lin. Marica 1, Xiphidium 2, Oxylaphus 1, Macrolobium 3, Rohria 1, Tonsella 2, Fissilia 1, Mapania 1, Miegia 1.

*Digynia*—Mecklenbergia 1. Perotis 2, 1 of them the Saccharum Spicatum of Lin. Lursia 4, of which the Phallaris Orizoides of Lin. is 1. Pappophorum 1. Lappago 1, the Cenhrus Racemosus of Lin.

*Trigynia*—Donatia 1, the Polycarpon Magellanicum of Lin.

423 Species of former genera added to this class, 105 of which have been described by Willdenow.

*Monogynia*—Valeriana 6. Comocladia 1, and by W. Polycnemum 4, 3 by W. Crocus 1, and by W. Hyppocratea 2, 1 by W. Ixia 22, 9 by W. Gladiolus 28, 14 by W. Antholyza 1. Iris 16, 6 by W. Moræa 5, 2 by W. Wachendorfia 2. Commelina 3, 2 by W. Xyris 3, 1 by W. Kyllengia 4, 1 by W. Shoenus 26, 3 by W. Cyperus 47, 15 by W. Scirpus 32, 1 by W. Eriophorum 1. Cenhrus 3.

*Digynia*—Saccharum 6, 2 by W. Phalaris 3. Paspalum 9, 2 by W. Panicum 44, 7 by W. Phleum 1. Alopecurus 3. Milium 5. Agrostis 20, 7 by W. Aira 5, 1 by W. Melica 6. Poa 33, 10 by W. Briza 1. Dactylis 10, 3 by W. Cynosurus 10, 1 by W. Festuca 11, 1 by W. Bromus 9, 1 by W. Stipa 3. Arena 12, 2 by W. Arundo 5. Aristidia 3. Lolium 1, and by W. Rottboellia 10, 4 by W. Elymus 2, 1 by W. Hordeum 2. Triticum 3.

*Trigynia*—Ericaulon 3, 1 by W. Holosteum 1. Mollugo 1, and by W. Queria 1. Lechia 1.

New genera added to the class TETANDRIA.

*Monogynia*—Rupala 2, Opercularia 3, Carphalia 1, Mattuschkæa 1, Roussea 1, Froelichia 1, Scolosanthus 1, Ernodea 1, Siderodendrum 1, Haffmannia 1, Chomelia 1, Petitia 1, Myonima 2, Pyrostria 1, Cunninghamia 2, Coccosypsilum 3, Wallenia 1, Witheringia 1, Myrmecia 1, Labatia 2, Laciostoma 1, Bellardia 1, Glossoma 1, Monetia 2, Blackburnia 1, the Ptelea Pinnata of Lin. Skimmia 1, Othera 1, Curticia 1, Chloranthus 1, Gonatocarpus 1.

*Trigynia*—Boscia 1.

195 New species added to the class TETANDRIA, 74 of which have been described by Willdenow.

*Monogynia*—Protea 23, 4 by W. Banksia 4, 1 by W. Embothrium 5, all by W. Globularia 2. Scabiosa 7, 1 by W. Hedyotes 4, 2 by W. Spermacoce 14, 6 by W. Asperula 1. Diodia 5, 1 by W. Knoxia 1, and by W. Houstonia 1, and by W. Gallium 24, 10 by W. Cruciannella 3, 2 by W. Rubia 2, 1 by W. Siphonanthus 1, and by W. Catesbæa 1. Ixora 3. Pavetta 3, 1 by W. Petesia 1. Ægiphila 7, 4 by W. Callicarpa 6, 2 by W. Aquartia 1, and by W. Manettia 3, all by W. Penæa 1. Blæria 4. Budleia 4. Exacum 7, 4 by W. Plantago 11. Cissus 11. Cornus 4. Samara 3, 1 by W. Fugara 7, 4 by W. Ludweigia 2. Oldenlandia 6, 1 by W. Ammannia 2, 1 by W. Dorstenia 6, 1 by W. Pethos 5, 3 by W. Elæagnus 6. Struthiola 1. Rivina 1, and by W. Atchemilla 1, and by W.

*Digynia*—Cuscuta 3, 1 by W. Hypecoum 1. Galopina 1.

*Tetragynia*—Ilex 15, 3 by W. Sagina 1. Tillæa 4, 3 by W. Myginda 1.

New genera added to the class PENTANDRIA.

*Monogynia*—Direna 1, Bacopa 1, Fagræa 1, Sprengelia 1, Styphelia 8, Weigelia 2, Trigura 2, Cantua 4, 1 of which, viz. the C. coronopifolia, is the Ipomæa Rubra Syst. Veg. and the Polemonium rubrum Spec. Plant. Lin. Lightfootia 2; the one, viz. L. oxycoccoides is the Lobelia tinella of Linnæus; and the other, viz. the L. subula, is the Campanula capillacea of the same author. Sphenoclea 1, Thouinia 1, Solandra 1, Cyphia 6, 3 of which, viz. the C. volubilis, C. bulbosa, and C. phytium, are of the Lobelia of Lin., with the same trivial names. Goodenia 9, Solina 1, Ucriana 1, Chimarrhis 1, Dentilla 1, Vangueria 1, Canephora 2, Cephælis 12, Berteria 1, Schwenkfeldia 3, Bæobotrys 2, Stroemia 4, the S. tetrandra is the Cleome fruticosa of Lin., which he places in the *Tetradynamia Siliquosæ*. Shœpfia 1, Erithalis

Erithalis 2, Geniostoma 1, Tabarosa 2, Serissa 1, the Licium fætidum of Lin. Cryptostomum 1, Ardesia 8, Basovia 1, Lita 2.

Besides those already mentioned, other 42 genera have been added to this class. Of these we shall only mention such as contain species that have been transposed from former genera. Bumelia 12; two of these, viz. the B. tenax and B. fætidissima, are the Sideroxylon tenax and fætidissima of Lin.; and the B. salicifolia is the Achras salicifolia Lin. Zyziphus 10; of these the Z. vulgaris was the Rhamnus Zyziphus Lin. The Z. lineatus, Z. volubilis, Z. paliurus, Z. napeca, Z. jujuba, Z. lotus, Z. œnoplia, and Z. spina christi, were formerly species of Rhamnus which had the same trivial names. Scopolia 2; one of which, viz. the S. aculeata, is the Paullinia Asiatica Lin. Staavia 2, composed of the Brunia radiata and the B. glutinosa Lin. Elæodendrum contains 2 species, 1 of which, the E. argan, is the Rhamnus Siculus Linnæi. Strelitzia 2; the one the Heliconia alba, and the other the H. Bihaæ of Lin. Webera 3; one of which, viz. the W. corymbosa, is the Rondeletia Asiatica Lin.

*Trigynia*—Portulacaria 1, the Crassula Portulacaria Lin.

914 Species of former genera added to this class.

*Monogynia*—Helliotropium 16, Myosotis 7, Lithospermum 8, Anchusa 6, Cynoglossum 16, Pulmonaria 1, Cerinthe 1, Onosma 5, Borago 2, Lycipsis 2, Echium 11, Messerschmidia 1, Tournefortia 3, Androsace 4, Primula 10, Tricratus 1, Cyclamen 2, Hottonia 2, Lysimachia 5, Anagallis 1, Theophrasta 1, Ophierrhiza 1, Lisianthus 10, Epacris 2, Plumbago 3, Phlox 2, Convolvulus 57, Ipomæa 8, Campanula 21, Phyteuma 9, Nauclea 5, Rondeletia 10, one of which, the R. tomentosa, is the Petesia stipularis of Lin. Macrocnemum 2, Bellonia 1, Portlandia 2, Lobelia 13, Schævola 2, Cinchona 6, of which the macrocarpa is the same with the C. officinalis of Gmelin. Willdenow gives a very good description of the C. officinalis, on the authority of Vahl; which is as follows. 'C. foliis ovatis lanceolatis glabris, capsulis oblongis.' Psychotria 33, Coffea 7, Chiococca 1, Hamellia 4, Lonicera 6, Triosteum 1, Musscenda 1, Verbascum 5, Atropa 1, Physalis 5, Solanum 44, Capsicum 2, Cestrum 7, Lycium 3, Jacquinia 1, Chironia 3, Cordia 11, Ethretia 5, Varronia 3, Laugeria 2, Chrysophyllum 5, Sideroxylon 3, Rhamnus 15, Phylica 6, Ceanothus 2, Buttneria 4, Agenia 1, Myrsine 1, Celastrus 21, Evonymus 4, Diosma 12, Brunia 2, Escallonia 1, Mangifera 1, Hirtella 2, Ribes 8, Viola 9, Impatiens 5, Hedera 3, Vitis 4, Claytonia 1, Heliconia 2, Achyranthes 7, Celosia 8, Illecebrum 3, Theseum 1, Rauwolfia 1, Pœderia 1, Carissa 3, Cerbera 3, Gardenia 8, Nereum 4, Echites 7, Cameraria 1, Tabernæmontana 6.

*Digynia*—Pergularia 3, Periploca 6, Cynanchum 11, Apocynum 5, Asclepias 15, Ceropegia 4, Stapelia 46, Herniaria 1, Chenopodium 6, Beta 1, Salsola 9, Gomphrena 1, Ulmus 4, Hydrolea 1, Swertia 2, Gentiana 1, Dichondra 1, Eryngium 2, Hydrocotyle 4, Azorella 2, Astrantia 1, Bupliarum 7, Tordylium 1, Caucalis 5, Bunium 1, Conium 1, Selinum 3, Athamanta 2, Peucedanum 6, Cachrys 3, Ferula 3, Laserpitium 10, Heracleum 4, Ligusticum 5, Angelica 1, Sium 9, Sison 1, Bubon 1, Oenanthe 5, Æthusa 1, Scandix 1, Chærophyllum 3, Seseli 4, Smyrnium 2, Pimpinella 3.

*Trigynia*—Rhus 10. Viburnum 12. Sambucus 1. Tamarix 1. Xylophylla 3; Linnæus, on the authority of Brown, has placed this genus in the Pentandria Trigynia. Two of the species are Triandrius and Monoicus plants, viz. the Xylophylla arbuscula and falcata. One has hexandrious hermaphrodite flowers and female flowers mixt, viz. X. latifolia. Turnera 5. Pharnaceum 3. Basella 2. *Tetragynia*—Evolvulus 2. *Pentagynia*—Aralia 5. Glossopetalum 2. Statice 16. Drosera 2. Linum 6. Crassula 16. Mahernia 2.

33 Genera have been added to the class HEXANDRIA.

*Monogynia*—Strumaria 6; one of which, the S. filifolia, is the Crinum tinellum Lin. Cyrtanthus 3; one of them, viz. the C. augustifolius, is the Crinum augustifolium Lin.; and the C. obliquus, is the Crinum obliquum Lin. Eucornis 5; one of them, the E. regia, formerly the Frittilaria regia Lin. Eriospermum 3; one, viz. the E. latifolia, was the Ornithogalum capense Lin. Sanseviera 3; two of which, the Guineensis and Zeylanica, were formerly the Aletris hyacinthoides, and Aletris and Aloe hyacinthoides Lin. Lachenalia 24; the L. orchioides is the Phormium hyacinthoides of the supplement, and the Hyacinthus orchioides of the Sp. Pl. Lin.; the L. viridis, is the Hyacinthus viridis Lin.; the Scrotina, is the Hyacinthus serotinus Lin.; L. tricolor, is the Phormium Aloides of Lin. Veltheimia 4; two of which, the Viridifolia and Uvaria, were formerly the Aletris capensis, and Aletris uvaria; the latter was likewise the Aloe uvaria of the Sp. Pl. Lin. Bambusa 2; of which the B. arundinacea, is the Arundo Bambos Lin.

*Trigynia*—Wurmbea 3; one of which, the Longiflora, was the Melanthium monopetalum Lin.

358 New species of former genera have been added to this class. Bromelia 3. Tillandsia 8. Tradescantia 8. Pontederia 2. Massonia 11. Narcissus 3. Pancratium 5. Crinum 3; one of which, the Erubescens, formerly the C. Americanum Lin. Hæmanthus 9; one of which, viz. the H. ciliaris, has been changed from the Hæmanthus to the Amaryllis, and from Amaryllis

ryllis to Hæmanthus again. Amaryllis 24. Allium 12. Lilium 7. Frittilaria 2. Uvularia 3. Tulipa 1. Albuca 7. Hypoxis 3. Ornithogalum 23. Scilla 5. Cyanella 1. Asphoditus 4. Anthericum 30. Leontici 2. Asparagus 6. Dracæna 6. Convallaria 2. Polyanthus 1. Hyacinthus 2. We find he has retained the non-scriptus which Dr Smith in his Flora has called Scylla nutans. Aloe 6.; the A. picta, is the variety ϑ, λ, and μ of the A. perfoliata Lin.; the A. humilis, is the variety ο of the A. perfoliata of Lin.; the A. arachnoides, is the variety δ of the A. pumila Lin.; the A. verrucosa, is the variety β of the A. disticha Lin.; the A. carinata, is the variety γ of the A. disticha; the Al. plicatilis, is the variety ε of the A. disticha Lin. It is a difficult matter in exotic plants, particularly such as the Aloe, to distinguish species from varieties, because the only test by which they can be tried, is by the frequent raising of them from seed, observing whether the plants produced retain always the same appearance. Agave 3. Alstroemeria 1. Hemerocallis 2. Acorus 1. Orentium 1. Corypha 1. Calamus 7. Juncus 14; one of which, the J. maximus, is the variety δ of the J. pilosus Lin.; the J. spadicius, is the β of the J. pilosus Lin.; the J. luteus, is the variety ε of the J. campestris Lin.; the J. parviflorus, is the variety γ of the J. pilosus Lin.; the J. albidus, is the variety ε of the J. pilosus Lin.; and the J. sudeticus, is the η of the J. campestris Lin. Prinos 5. Berberis 1. Loranthus 13. Hillia 1. Frankenia 1. Peplis 1. Gahnia 1. Erharta 3.

*Trigynia*—Rumex 3. Melanthium 7. Helonias 1. Mediola 1.; the Dracæna volubilis of Lin. *Polygynia*—Alisma 2.

Heptandria. 5 Genera have been added to this class, together with five new species.

*Monogynia*—Pisonia 2. Æsculus 1. Dracontium 1.

*Digynia*—Limeum 1.

Octandria. 24 New genera have been added to this class.

*Monogynia*—Ornitrophe 6; one of which, the O. cobbe, is the Rhus cobbe Lin., and the O. comminia is the Rhus comminia of Lin.

*Trigynia*—Seriana 10; three of which, viz. the S. sinuata, Mexicana, and triternata, were the Paulinia sinuata, Mexicana, and triternata of Lin.

174 New species have been added to this class.

*Monogynia*—Tropæolum 1, Rexia 12, Oenothera 6, Gaura 2, Epilobium 4, Combretum 3, Amyris 10, Ximenia 1, Dodonæa 1, Lawsonia 1, Vaccinium 14, Erica 57, Daphne 12, Gnidia 6, Passerina 6, Bæckia 1.

*Digynia*—Weinmannia 2. *Trigynia*—Polygonum 14; one of which,

which, viz. the P. minus, is the variety β of the Polygonum Persicaria Lin., and the P. incanum is the variety γ of the P. Persicaria Lin. Coccoloba 6. Paullinia 6. Cardiospermum 2. Sapindus 6. *Tetragynia*—Forskolia 1.

ENNEANDRIA. 2 New genera have been added to this class. 24 New species have also been added.

*Monogynia*—Laurus 22. *Trigynia*—Rheum 2.

DECANDRIA. 28 Additional genera have been added to this class.

*Monogynia*—Podalyria 15; 7 of which, viz. the capensis, genistoides, tinctoria, lupinoides, calyptrata, and myrtillifolia, were formerly species of the Sophora, with the same trivial names; the P. alba is the Sophora alba of the Syst. Veg. and the Crotalaria alba of the Sp. Pl. Lin. Schotia 1, the Guajacum afrum Lin. Gærtnera 1, the Banisteria Benghalensis Lin. Gomphia 5; one of which, the Jabotapita, is the Ochna Jabotapita Lin. Casæaria 12; two of which, the spinosa and parviflora, were the Samyda spinosa and parviflora Lin.

402 New species have been added to this class.

*Monogynia*—Sophora 3, Bauhinia 7, Hymenæa 2, Cassia 23, Cæsalpina 3, Guilandina 2, Guajacum 1, Ruta 2, Myroxylon 2, Adenanthera 1, Trichilia 9, Swietenia 2, Melia 2, Zygophyllum 4, Quassia 1, Limonia 5, Jussieua 3, Dais 1, Melastoma 71, Kalmia 2, Ledum 2, Rhododendron 3, Andromeda 16, Gautheria 1, Arbutus 1, Clethra 2, Styrax 3, Samyda 6, Bucida 1.

*Digynia*—Royena 2, Hydrangia 3, Trianthema 4, Saxifraga 11; the S. aizoon is the variety ε of S. cotyledon of Lin. Mitella 1, Gypsophila 3, Saponaria 1, Dianthus 14; the sylvestris was formerly the variety ε of the D. caryophyllus.

*Trigynia*—Cucubalus 5, Silene 16, Stellaria 9; the Alsine, formerly the variety γ of the S. graminea Lin. Arenaria 11, Malpighia 11, Banisteria 18, Hiræa 2, Triopteris 7, Erythroxylon 10.

*Pentagynia*—Spondias 1, Cnestis 4, Cotyledon 11; the lutea is the variety α of the C. umbilicus Lin. Sedum 10, Oxalis 67, Lychnis 2, Cerastium 5, Spergula 2.

DODECANDRIA. 9 New genera have been added to this class. 40 New species of former genera have been added to this class.

*Monogynia*—Bocconia 1, Bassia 2, Blakia 1, Decumaria 1, Cratæra 2, Triumpetta 6, Peganum 2, Nitraria 1, Talinum 3, Lythrum 3, Sterculia 5. *Digynia*—Agrimonia 2. *Trigynia*—Reseda 1, Euphorbia 60. *Tetragynia*—Calligonum 1, Aponogeton 2. *Pentagynia*—Glinus 1. *Dodecagynia*—Sempervivum 6.

ICOSANDRIA. 8 New genera have been added to this class. 217 New species of former genera have also been added.

*Monogynia*—Cactus 4. Leptospermum 10. Metrosidoros 10; of

of which the M. villosa and diffusa, were formerly the Melaleuca villosa and lucida; the M. angustifolia, is the Myrtus angustifolia of Lin. Psidium 5. Eugenia 21. Myrtus 20. Amygdalus 2. Prunus 16; of which the P. cerasifera was the variety ξ of the Prunus domestica Lin. *Digynia*—Cratægus 11, *Pentagynia*—Mespilus 2. Pyrus 9. Tetragonia 4. Mesembryanthemum 32; of which the M. latum is the variety β of the M. linguiforme Lin.; the obliquum and longum, were the varieties γ and δ of the M. linguiforme Lin.; the M. caninum is the variety α of the M. ringens Lin.; the M. felinum, is the variety β of the M. ringens Lin.; the M. striatum, is the variety γ of the M. trispidum Lin. Spiræa 6. *Polygynia*—Rosa 17. Rubus 11. Fragaria 5; of which the elatior and chiloensis are the varieties β and γ of the F. vesca of Lin. Potentilla 12. Geum 5.

Polyandria—17 New Genera have been added to this class. Alangium 2.; one, the decapitatum, was the Grewia salvifolia Lin. Nelumbium 4; one of the species was the Nymphæa Nelumbo Lin.; another, the N. luteum, was the variety β of the Nymphæa Nelumbo.

202 New Species have been added to this class.

*Monogynia*—Maregravia 1. Ternstrœmia 4. Capparis 17. Actæa 1. Chelidonium 1. Sarracenia 2. Nymphæa 3. Sloanea 2. Mammea 1. Ochna 1. Filia 2. Latia 2. Grewia 6. Eleocarpus 2. Lecythis 6. Mentzelia 1. Loasa 5. Lagerstroemia 3. Cistus 35. Prockia 3. Corchorus 6. *Digynia*—Pæonia 4; of which the corallina was the variety β of the Officinalis Lin. *Trigynia*—Delphinium 4. Acenitum 8. *Tetragynia*—Titracera 10. Caryocar 2. *Pentagynia*—Aquilegia 1. Reaumuria 1. *Polygynia*—Dillenia 7. Lireodendron 2. Magnolia 4. Uvaria 9. Annona 9. Xylopia 1. Unona 3. Anemone 6. Atragene 2. Clematis 10. Thalictrum 7. Adonis 1. Ranunculus 17. Helleborus 3. Caltha 1.

Didynamia. *Gymnospermæ*—21 Genera have been added to this class. Bystropogon 7; one of which, the B. pectinatum, is the Nepeta pectinata Lin.; the B. suaveolens is the Ballota suaveolens Lin.; the B. plumosum is the Mentha plumosa Lin.; and the B. canariensis, the Mentha canariensis Lin. Hyptis 4; one of them, the H. radiata, is the Clinopodium. Plectranthus 6. His P. punctatus is the Ocimum punctatum Lin. *Angiospermæ*—Pontstimon 4; the P. pubescens is the Chelone ponstimon Lin. Spielmannia 1; Lantana Africana of Lin. Stemodia 5; one of which, *viz.* the S. durantifolia, is the Capraria durantifolia Lin. Ægenetia 1; the Orabana Ægenetia Lin. Achimenes 1; the Columnia longifolia Lin.

357 Species of former genera have been added to this class.—

*Gymnospermæ*

*Gymnospermæ*—Ajuga 1. Teucrium 34. Satureja 3. Thymbra 1. Hyssopus 1. Nepeta 11. Lavandula 2. Sideritis 9. Mentha 7. Lamium 5. Galopsis 1. Betonica 3. Stachys 11. Marrubium 3. Leonurus 2. Phlomis 14; one of which, the P. Italica, is the P. purpurea Lin. Mellucella 3. Clinopodium 1. Origanum 5. Thymus 11. Dracocephalum 4. Melitis 1. Ocimum 10. Scutellaria 2. *Angiospermæ*—Rhinanthus 3. Euphrasia 5. Melampyrum 2. Pedicularis 17. Gerardia 3. Chelone 1. Gesneria 7. Anarrhinum 4. Antirrhinum 29. Martynia 1. Torenia 1. Besleria 4. Brunsfelsia 1. Scrophularia 9. Celsia 2. Hemimeris 2. Digitalis 3. Bignonia 35. Citharexylum 3. Halleria 1; the H. lucida Lin. Premna 1. Lantana 7. Cornutia 1. Capraria 3. Lindernia 2. Bucknera 5. Orobanche 10. Lippia 2. Sesamum 2. Mimulus 2. Ruellia 22. Barbaria 2. Valkameria 3. Clerodendrum 3. Thunbergia 1. Vitex 6. Amazonia 1. Avicennia 1. Collumnia 1. Acanthus 3. Melianthus 1.

TETRADYNAMIA. 3 Genera have been added to this class. Pugionium 1.; the Bunias cornuata Lin. Cakile 2; the one is the Bunias Cakile, and the other the Isatis Ægyptiaca Lin.

165 New species have been added to this class.

*Siliculosæ*—Myagrum 3. Bunias 4. Crambe 4. Isatis 1. Subularia 1. Draba 9. Lepidium 9. Thlapsi 1. Cochlearia 3. Iberis 7. Alyssum 12. Peltaria 1. Biscutella 4. *Siliquosæ*—Dentaria 4. Cardamine 8. Sisymbria 25. Erisymum 8. Chionanthus 16. Heliophila 3. Hesperis 4. Arabis 9. Turritis 5. Brassica 12. Sinapis 6. Raphanus 4. Cleome 2.

MONADELPHIA. 10 New genera have been added to this class. *Triandria*—Galaxia 3; the G. ovata is the Ixia galaxia Lin.; and the G. graminæa is the Ixia fugacissima of Lin. *Pentandria*—Erodium 5; one of which, *viz.* E. ciconium, is the Geranium ciconium Lin.; the Erodium moschatum, is the Geranium moschatum Lin.; and the E. chium, E. guttatum, E. glaucophylum, E. incarnatum, E. arduinum, E. malacoides, E. maritimum, belong to the genus Geranium of Lin. with the same trivial names. *Heptandria*—Pelargonium 120; one of the two genera into which the Geranium was divided, the Pelargonium, contains 81 new species. *Octandria*—Connarus 7. The C. Asiaticus is the C. monocarpus Lin.

246 New species of former genera have been added to this class. *Triandria*—Sisyrinchium 6; one of which, the S. anceps, is the S. Bermudiana Lin. Ferraria 2. *Pentandria*—Waltheria 3. Hermannia 19. Melochia 7. Passiflora 19. *Decandria*—Hugonia 2. Geranium 13. *Enneandria*—Brownea 3. *Dodecandria*—Monsonia 2. Helicteris 2. *Polyandria*—Carolinia 1. Bombax

Bombax 2. Sicta 7; one of which, the S. dioica in the Syst. Veg. is the Napæa scabra, and in the Sp. Pl. the Napæa dioica; and the S. hastata, is the variety β of the S. cristata Lin. Malachra 4. Althæa 5. Malva 28. Lavatera 4. Malope 2. Urina 5. Gossypium 5. Hybiscus 36. Stuartia 1. Gordonia 3. Camellia 1. Gustavia 1.

DIADELPHIA. 23 New genera have been added to this class. *Decandria*—Amerimnum 5; one of which, the A. ebenus, is the Aspathulus ebenus of Lin. Rudelphia 2; one of them is the Erythrina planisiliqua Lin. Lebeckia 8; the L. contaminata, sepiaria, and cytesoides, are of the Genus Spartium, with the same trivial names. Rafwia 14; four of which, viz. the R. perfoliata, amplexicaulis, triflora, and opposita, belong to the Genus Crotolaria, with the same trivial names. Teramnus 2; one of them is the Dolichos uncinatus Lin. Stylosanthus 5; one of them, the S. procumbens, is the Hedysarum hamatum Lin.; and the S. elatior is the Trifolium triflorum Lin. Hallia 8; one of which, viz. the H. cordata, is the Glycine monophylla Lin. Dorycinium 3; one, the D. monspeliense, is the Lotus Lorycinium Lin.

754 New Species of former genera have been added to this class. *Hexandria*—Fumaria 16; one of which, the F. Haleri, is the F. bulbosa Lin.; and the F. parviflora is the F. spicata Lin. *Octandria*—Polygata 39. Securidaca 1. *Decandria*—Nissolia 1. Dallergia 5. Pterocarpus 3. Erythrina 8. Piscidia 2. Borbonia 2. Spartium 11. Genista 12. Aspathulus 37. Ulex 1. Amorpha 1. Crotallaria 26. Ononis 41. Anthyllis 8. Lupinus 9. Phaseolus 4. Dolichos 29. Glycine 30. Clitoria 1. Orobus 2. Lathyrus 16. Vicia 25. Ervum 1. Liparia 7. Cytisus 12. Geoffroya 2. Rebinia 12. Colutea 8. Glycyrrhiza 2. Coronilla 11. Ornithopus 1. Hippocrepis 1. Scorpiurus 1. Æschynomine 4. Hedysarum 59. Indigofera 25. Galega 23. Phaca 5. Astragalus 12; one of them, viz. the A. poterium, is the variety β of the A. tragacantha Lin. Psoralia 10. Trifolium 25. Lotus 12. Trigonella 6. Medicago 15.

POLYADELPHIA. 2 New genera have been added to this class. *Dodicandria*—Abroma 2; the A. augusta is the Theobroma augusta Lin.

64 New species have been added to this class. *Decandria*—Theobroma 1. *Icosandria*—Citrus 2. Melaleuca 9. *Polyandria*—Symplocos 1. Hypericum 49. Ascyrum 2.

SYNGENESIA. 71 New genera have been added to this class. *Æqualis*—Arnopogon 4; one, the A. asper, is the Tragopogon asperum Lin. Helmintia 1; the Picris echioides Lin. Rothia 3; one, viz. the R. cheiranthifolia, the Andryala sinuata of the Sp. Pl. and the variety β of the Andryala integerrifolia

of the Syst. Veg.; and the R. runcinata is the Andryala integerrifolia of the Syst. Veg. Hedypnois 5; one of which, the H. monspeliensis, is the Hyoseris Hedypnois Lin.; and the H. Rhagadiloides is the Hyoseris rhagadiloides Lin. Krigia 1; the Hyoseris virginica Lin. Vernonia 4; of which the V. prælta and V. glauca are the Serratula prælta and glauca Lin. The V. anthelmintica is the Conyza anthelmintica Lin. Liatris 8; of which the scariosa and spicata are the Serratida scariosa et spicata Lin. Acarna 7; one of them, the A. gummifera, is the Atractylis gummifera Lin.; and the A. cancellata is the Atractylis cancellata Lin. Onoseris 2; the one is the Atractylis purpureata, and the other A. Mexicana Lin.; the specific names of which have not been changed. Stoboea 9. The S. attractyloides is the Carlina attractyloides Lin. Lavinia 2; the one, viz. the decumbens, is the Coluta verbesina Lin.; and the other the verbesina Lavinia Lin. Kleinia 4; of which the K. perophyllum is the Cacalia perophyllum Lin.; and the K. suffruticosa is the Cacalia suffruticosa Lin. Mikania 14; of which the M. cordiflora, and the laurifolia are the Catalia cordiflora et laurifolia Lin.; the rest are of the Genus Eupatorium, with his own descriptions, except one, viz. the chenopodifolia, which is a new species. Balsamita 4; one of which, the B. virgata, is the Cetula grandis Lin. *Superflua*—Elychrysum 25; 16 of which are of the Genus Xeranthemum, with the same trivial names. *Frustranea*—Lapeirousia 1, the Osmites calycina of Lin. Didelta 2; the one, viz. the carnosa, is the Plymma carnosa, and the other is the spinosa of the same genus. Mussinia 6; one of which, the M. uniflora, is the Gorteria uniflora Lin. Berckheya 22; of which, the B. incana is the Gorteria fruticosa of the Sp. Pl.; and the Atractylis fruticosa of the Syst. Veg.; and the Gorteria asteroides of the Lin. Suppl. The B. obovata is the Gorteria spinosa Lin.; the B. squarrosa is the Gorteria squarrosa Lin.; the B. cetosa, ciliaris, and hispida, are the Gorteria cetosa, ciliaris, and hispida Lin.; the B. carlinoides and the cynaroides are the Gorteria barbata and herbacea Lin. *Segregata*—Brotera 1; the Carthamus corymbosus Lin. Rolandra 1; the Echinops fruticosus Lin.

1168 New species of former genera have been added. *Æqualis*—Tragopogon 5. Scorzonera 21. Sonchus 18. Lactuca 13; one of them, the L. crispa, is the variety $\gamma$ of the L. sativa of Lin. Prenanthes 21; one, the P. rubicunda, is the variety $\beta$ of the Prenanthes alba Lin. Liontodon 4. Aspargia 11. Thrincia 1. Picris 4. Hieracium 38. Cropis 30; of which, the C. scariosa is the variety $\beta$ of the C. versicaria Lin.; and the C. sprengeriana is the Hieracium sprengerianum Lin. Andryala 4. Hyoseris 5; one of which, the H. prenanthoides, was the Tragopogon

Virginicum Lin. Hypochoëris 2. Lapsana 2. Catananche 1. Cichorium 2. Scolymus 1. Arctium 1, the variety β of the A. lappa Lin. Serratula 11; one of which, the S. discolor, is the variety β and γ of the S. alpina Lin. Carduus 16. Cnicus 27. Onopordum 5. Cynara 4. Carlina 5. Atractylis 1. Carthamus 7. Spilanthes 3. Bidens 7. Cacalia 15. Ethulia 2. Eupatorium 42. Kuhnia 1. Ageratum 1. Pteronea 10. Stæhilina 2. Chrysocoma 6. Tarchonanthus 2. Calea 3. Santolina 3; one of which, the S. virides, is the variety γ of the S. rosmarinifolia. Athanasia 5. *Superflua*—Tanacetum 9. Artemisia 48. Gnaphalium 84. Xeranthemum 2; one, viz. the X. inapertum, is the variety β of the X. annum, and the X. Orientale the γ of annum of Lin. Baccharis 6. Conyza 62. Erigeron 19. Tussilago 13; one of which, the T. lyrata, is the variety β of the T. anandria Lin.; another, the T. albicans, is the Leontidon tomentosum Lin.; and the T. discolor is the variety β of the T. alpina Lin. Senecio 70. Aster 63. Solidago 27. Mutesia 10. Cineraria 32; of which, the campestris and longifolia are the varieties β of the C. integerrifolia, and the δ of the C. alpina Lin. Inula 9. Arnica 14. Deronicum 4. Perdicium 8. Helenium 2. Bellis 1. Tagetes 5. Pectis 2. Leysera 7. Zinnia 3. Chrysanthemum 12. Pyrethrum 16. Cotula 10. Anacylus 1. Anthemis 20. Achillea 29. Amelius 2. Eclipta 3. Siegesbeckia 2. Verbosina 7; one of them, the V. mutica, is the anthemis Americana Lin. Buphthalmum 9. *Frustranea*—Helianthus 9. Rudbeckia 4. Corcopsis 16. Osmites 1. Gorteria 4. Centaurea 56; one of which, the C. suaveolens, is the variety β of the C. moschata Lin. *Necessaria*—Milleria 2. Silphium 5. Melampodium 1. Unxia 1. Calendula 16. Arctotis 48. Osteospermum 8. Othona 9. Hippia 1. Eriocephalus 1. Iva 2. *Segregata*—Elephantopus 4. Oedera 1. Echinops 2. Stoebe 8.

Gynandria. 20 New genera have been added to this class. *Monandria*—Habenaria 2; one of which, *viz.* the H. macroceratilis, is the Orchis habenaria Lin. Pterygodium 6; five of which, the alatum, catholicum, volucris, caffrum, atralum, were formerly of the genus Ophrys Lin. with the same trivial names. Disperis 5; two of which, the capensis and villosa, were of the genus Arethusa, with the same trivial names; and one, the secunda, formerly Ophrys circumflexa Lin. Corycium 4; one, the orabanchoides, formerly the satyrium orabanchoides of Lin. Neotia 15; two of which, the spiralis and repens, were formerly the Ophrys spiralis, and satyrium repens Lin. Epipactis 14; of which, the latifolia was the Serapias latifolia in the Syst. Veg.; and in the Sp. Pl. the variety α of the Serapias Helleborine. The palustris

palustris is the Serapias longifolia of the Syst. Veg.; and in the Sp. Pl. the variety γ of the longifolia. The pallens is the Serapias grandiflora in the Syst. Veg.; and in the Suppl. the Serapias Lonchephyllum, the Ensifolia in the Suppl., is the S. xyphephyllum, and the variety β of the S. grandiflora in the Syst. Veg. The rubra is the S. rubra Lin.; the Nidus avis is the Ophrys Nidus avis Lin.; the ovata, cordata, and camtschatia are of the genus Ophrys, with the same trivial names. Malaxis 18. The monophyllus, palludosa, liliifolia, and lococtii, were formerly of the genus Ophrys of Lin. with the same trivial names; and the caudata, which is the Epidendrum caudatum Lin. Cymbidium 61. The coccineum, lineare, nodosum, scriptum, cucullatum, alcifolium, ovatum, guttatum, juncifolium, furvum, tenuifolium, pusillum, and ensifolium, were formerly of the genus Epidendrum with the same trivial names; the pulchellum and altum are the Limodorum tuberosum and altum Lin. The giganteum, tubulare, pedicellatum, and aculeatum, were formerly of the genus Satyrium, with the same trivial names; the Corallorhizon, formerly Ophrys Corallorhizon Lin. Vanilla 3; the Aromatica and Augustifolia, formerly Epidendrum vanilla, and the variety β of the same. Aerides 7; the retusum and arachnites, formerly the Epidendrum retusum and Flos aeris of Lin. Dendrobium 25; of which the carinatum, graminifolium, ruscifolium and moniliforme, were formerly of the genus Epidendrum, with the same trivial names. Stelis 9; Ophioglossoides, the Epidendrum ophioglossoides Lin. Stylidium 3.

Diandria. 145 New species have been added to this class. Orchis 40; of which, the tephrosonanthes variegata and fusca, were the Orchis militaris, the variety γ of the Orchis militaris, and the β and δ of the same. Disa 12. Satyrium 8. Ophrys 14. Serapias 1. Arethusa 2. Epidendrum 20. Limodorum 19. *Diandria*—Cipripedium 9; of which the pubescens, spectabile, and guttatum were the varieties β, γ, and δ of the C. calceolus Lin. Gunnera 2. Aristolochia.

Monoecia. 41 New Genera have been added to this class. *Triandria*—Zeugites 1, the Apluda Americanus Lin. Scleria 25; of which, the S. Hagellum is the Carex lithospermum Lin. Comptonia 1, the Liquidambar asplenifolium Lin. *Tetandria*—Empleurum 1, the Diosma unicapsularis Lin. Bochmeria 12; the cylindrica, spicata, alienata, interrupta, rubescens, were formerly the Utrica cylindrica, spicata, alienata, interrupta and arborea Lin.; and the B. ramiflora is the Caturus ramiflorus Lin. Diotis 1; the Axyris ceratoides Lin. *Pentandria*—Franseria 2; one of them, viz. artemisioides, the Xanthium fruticosum Lin. *Hexandria*—Bactris 2; one of which, the minor, is the Cocos guinarsis Lin. *Polyandria*—Castanea 2; the one the Fagus castanea,

and

and the other the F. pumila Lin. Caladium 15; of which, the C. ovatum, esculentum, sagittifolium, seguinum and auritum, are species of the genus Arum of Lin., with the same trivial names. *Monadelphia*—Sapium 3; the aucuparium and ilicifolium are the Hippomane biglandulosa and spinosa Lin.

640 New species have been added to this class. *Monandria*—Cynomorium 3. Ambrosinia 1. Zostera 3. Chara 5. Artocarpus 2. Casuarina 4. *Diandria*—Lemna 1. *Triandria*—Typha 2. Sparganium 1. Zea 1. Tripsacum 2. Coax 2. Olyra 2. Carex 61. Tragia 8. *Tetrandria*—Najas 1. Sicca 1. Alnus 3. Buxus 1. Uretica 49. Morus 2. *Pentandria*—Xantheum 1. Umbrosia 5. Amaranthus 10. *Hexandria*—Zizania 3. Pharus 2. Guettarda 5. Cocos 4. *Polyandria*—Myriaphyllum 3. Sagittaria 5. Begonia 21; one of which, the rotundifolia, is the variety of the B. obliqua Lin. Poterium 3. Quercus 59, of which the virens is the variety β of the Q. phellus Lin. Juglans 6. Fagus 2. Betula 11. Carpinus 2. Corylus 3. Platinus 2. Liquidambar 1. Arum 8. Caryota 1. *Monadelphia*—Pinus 23. Thuja 1. Cupressus 2. Plukenetia 1. Dalechampia 9. Acalypha 32. Croton 52. Jatropha 10. Ricinus 8. Agyneja 2. Phyllanthus 31. Stillingia 1. Areca 9. Trichosanthes 7. Momordica 5. Cucurbita 7. Cucumis 4. Bryonia 22. Sycyos 2.

From the judgment and accuracy displayed by M. Willdenow, in the part of the *Species Plantarum* which has already been published, we are persuaded that the Botanical World will expect with impatience the other Three Classes that are wanting to complete the system.

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ART. VI. *The Travels of Bertrandon de la Brocquière, First Esquire-Carver to Philip le Bon, Duke of Burgundy, during the Years* 1432, 1433. Translated from the French, by Thomas Johnes Esq.

IN the year 1432, many great Lords in the dominions of Burgundy, and holding offices under Duke Philip le Bon, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Among them was his first esquire carver La Brocquière, who, having performed many devout pilgrimages in Palestine, returned sick to Jerusalem, and, during his convalescence, formed the bold scheme of returning to France over land. This led him to traverse the western parts of Asia, and eastern Europe; and, during the whole journey, except towards the end of it, he passed through the dominions of the Mussulmen. The execution of such a journey, even at this day, would not be without difficulty; and it was then thought to be

impossible. It was in vain that his companions attempted to dissuade him; he was obstinate; and, setting out, overcame every obstacle; returned in the course of the year 1433, and presented himself to the Duke in his Saracen dress, and on the horse which had carried him during the whole of his journey. The Duke, after the fashion of great people, conceiving that the glory of his esquire-carver was his own, caused the work to be printed and published.

The following is a brief extract of this valiant person's peregrinations. 'After performing the customary pilgrimages, we went' says La Brocquière 'to the mountain where Jesus fasted forty days; to Jordan, where he was baptized; to the church of St Martha, where Lazarus was raised from the dead; to Bethlehem, where he was born; to the birth-place of St John the Baptist; to the house of Zachariah; and, lastly, to the holy cross, where the tree grew that formed the real cross.' From Jerusalem the first gentleman-carver betook himself to Mount Sinai, paying pretty handsomely to the Saracens for that privilege. These infidels do not appear to have ever prevented the Christian pilgrims from indulging their curiosity and devotion in visiting the most interesting evangelical objects in the Holy Land; but, after charging a good round price for this gratification, contented themselves with occasionally kicking them, and spitting upon them. In his way to Mount Sinai, the esquire-carver passed through the Valley of Hebron, where, he tells us, Adam was created; and from thence to Gaza, where they showed him the columns of the building which Samson pulled down; though, of the identity of the building, the esquire seems to entertain some doubts. At Gaza five of his companions fell sick, and returned to Jerusalem. The second day's journey in the desert the carver fell ill also,—returned to Gaza, where he was cured by a Samaritan,—and, finding his way back to Jerusalem, hired some pleasant lodgings on Mount Sion.

Before he proceeded on his grand expedition over land, he undertook a little expedition to Nazareth, hearing, first of all, divine service at the Cordeliers, and imploring, at the tomb of our Lady, her protection for his journey. From Jerusalem their first stage was Acre, where they gave up their intended expedition, and repaired to Baruth, whence Sir Samson de Lalaing and the author sallied afresh, under better auspices, to Damascus. He speaks with great pleasure of the valley where Noah built the ark, through which valley he passed in his way to Damascus; upon entering which town he was knocked down by a Saracen for wearing an ugly hat,—as he probably would be in London for the same offence in the year 1807. At Damascus, he informs us, the Christians are locked up every night,—as they are *in English* work-houses, night and day, when they happen to be poor.

poor. The greatest misfortune attendant upon this Damascene incarceration, is the extreme irregularity with which the doors are opened in the morning, their janitor having no certain hour of quitting his bed. At Damascus, he saw the place where St Paul had a vision. 'I saw also' says he 'the stone from which St George mounted his horse, when he went to combat the dragon. It is two feet square; and they say that, when formerly the Saracens attempted to carry it away, in spite of all the strength they employed, they could not succeed.' After having seen Damascus, he returns with Sir Samson to Baruth; and communicates his intentions of returning over land to France to his companions. They state to him the astonishing difficulties he will have to overcome in the execution of so extraordinary a project; but the admirable carver, determined to make no bones, and to cut his way through every obstacle, persists in his scheme, and bids them a final adieu. He is determined, however, not to be baffled in his subordinate expedition to Nazareth; and, having now got rid of his timid companions, accomplishes it with ease. We shall here present our readers with an extract from this part of his journal, requesting them to admire the naïf manner in which he speaks of the vestiges of ecclesiastical history.

'Acre, though in a plain of about four leagues in extent, is surrounded on three sides by mountains, and on the fourth by the sea. I made acquaintance there with a Venetian merchant called Aubert Franc, who received me well, and procured me much useful information respecting my two pilgrimages, by which I profited. With the aid of his advice, I took the road to Nazareth, and, having crossed an extensive plain, came to the fountain, the water of which our Lord changed into wine at the marriage of Archétréclin: it is near a village where St Peter is said to have been born.

'Nazareth is another large village, built between two mountains; but the place where the angel Gabriel came to announce to the virgin Mary, that she would be a mother, is in a pitiful state. The church hat had been there built is entirely destroyed; and of the house wherein our Lady was when the angel appeared to her, not the smallest remnant exists.

'From Nazareth I went to Mount Tabor, the place where the transfiguration of our Lord, and many other miracles, took effect. These pasturages attract the Arabs who come thither with their beasts; and I was forced to engage four additional men as an escort, two of whom were Arabs. The ascent of the mountain is rugged, because there is no road: I performed it on the back of a mule, but it took me two hours. The summit is terminated by an almost circular plain of about two bow-shots in length, and one in width. It was formerly enclosed with walls, the ruins of which, and the ditches, are still visible: within the wall, and around it, were several churches, and one especially, where, although in ruins, full pardon for vice and sin is gained.

'We went to lodge at Samaria, becauſe I wiſhed to ſee the lake of Tiberias, where, it is ſaid, St Peter was accuſtomed to fiſh; and, by ſo doing, ſome pardons may be gained, for it was the ember-week of September. The Moucre left me to myſelf the whole day. Samaria is ſituated on the extremity of a mountain. We entered it at the cloſe of day, and left it at midnight to viſit the lake. The Moucre had propoſed this hour to evade the tribute exacted from all who go thither; but the night hindered me from ſeeing the ſurrounding country.

'I went firſt to Joſeph's well, ſo called from his being caſt into it by his brethren. There is a handſome moſque near it, which I entered, with my Moucre, pretending to be a Saracen.

'Further on is a ſtone bridge over the Jordan, called Jacob's Bridge, on account of a houſe hard by, ſaid to have been the reſidence of that patriarch. The river flows from a great lake ſituated at the foot of a mountain to the north-weſt, on which Namcardin has a very handſome caſtle.' p. 122—128.

From Damascus, to which he returns after his expedition to Nazareth, the first carver of Philip le Bon sets out with the caravan for Bursa. Before he begins upon his journey, he expatiates with much satisfaction upon the admirable method of shoeing horses at Damascus,—a panegyric which certainly gives us the lowest ideas of that art in the reign of Philip le Bon; for it appears that, out of fifty days, his horse was lame for twenty-one, owing to this ingenious method of shoeing. As a mark of gratitude to the leader of the caravan, the esquire presents him with a pot of green ginger; and the caravan proceeds. Before it has advanced one day's journey, the esquire, however, deviates from the road, to pay his devoirs to a miraculous image of our Lady of Serdenay, which always sweats,—not ordinary sudorific matter,—but an oil of great ecclesiastical efficacy. While travelling with the caravan, he learnt to sit cross-legged, got drunk privately, and was nearly murdered by some Saracens, who discovered that he had money. In some parts of Syria, Mr de la Brocquière met with an opinion, which must have been extremely favourable to the spirit of proselytism, in so very hot a country,—an opinion that the infidels have a very bad smell, and that this is only to be removed by baptism. But as the baptism was according to the Greek ritual, by total immersion, Bertrandon seems to have a distant suspicion that this miracle may be resolved into the simple phenomenon of washing. He speaks well of the Turks, and represents them, to our surprise, as a very gay, laughing people. We thought Turkish gravity had been almost proverbial. The natives of the countries through which he passed pray (he says) for the conversion of Christians, and especially request that there may be never sent among them again such another terrible man as Godfrey of Boulogne. At Couhongue the caravan broke up;

up; and here he quited a Mamaluke soldier, who had kept him company during the whole of the journey, and to whose courage and fidelity Europe, Philip le Bon, and Mr Johnes of Hafod, are principally indebted for the preservation of the first esquire-carver.

'I bade adieu' he says 'to my Mameluke. This good man, whose name was Mohammed, had done me innumerable services. He was very charitable, and never refused alms when asked in the name of God. It was through charity he had been so kind to me; and I must confess that, without his assistance, I could not have performed my journey without incurring the greatest danger; and that, had it not been for his kindness, I should often have been exposed to cold and hunger, and much embarrassed with my horse.

'On taking leave of him, I was desirous of shewing my gratitude; but he would never accept of any thing except a piece of our fine European cloth to cover his head, which seemed to please him much. He told me all the occasions that had come to his knowledge, on which, if it had not been for him, I should have run risks of being assassinated, and warned me to be very circumspect in my connexions with the Saracens, for that there were among them some as wicked as the Franks. I write this to recal to my reader's memory, that the person who, from his love to God, did me so many and essential kindnesses, was a man not of our faith.' p. 196, 197.

For the rest of the journey, he travelled with the family of the leader of the caravan, without any occurrence more remarkable than those we have already noticed;—arrived at Constantinople, and passed through Germany to the court of Philip le Bon. Here his narrative concludes; nor does the carver vouchsafe to inform us of the changes which time had made in the appetite of that great prince;—whether veal was now more pleasing to him than lamb,—if his favourite morsels were still in request,—if animal succulence were as grateful to him as before the departure of the carver,—or if this semi-sanguineous partiality had given way to a taste for cinereous and terrefied meats. All these things the first esquire-carver might have said;—none of them he does say; nor does Mr Johnes of Hafod supply, by any antiquarian conjectures of his own, the distressing silence of the original. Saving such omissions, there is something pleasant in the narrative of this arch-divider of fowls. He is an honest, brave, liberal man; and tells his singular story with great brevity and plainness. We are obliged to Mr Johnes for the amusement he has afforded us; and we hope he will persevere in his gentlemanlike, honourable, and useful occupations.

ART. VII. *Considerations upon the Trade with India; and the Policy of continuing the Company's Monopoly.* 4to. pp. 160. London. 1807.

PRACTICAL men usually object less to the principles of philosophers, than to their application of those principles. A just hypothesis has a wonderful property of being acceptable to mankind so long as it remains quiescent; and it is only when the machine begins to *work*, that it experiences the difficulties of resistance and collision. Strange, that general rules should be conceived to have any other use, than that of being applicable to particular cases!

At the same time, it is notorious, that there may be a philosophical, as well as a popular bigotry. Philosophers are apt to make too little account of those limitations under which alone general rules can be adapted to the various and innumerable exigencies of conduct. The minute specialties which distinguish every thing from its like, and which are properly overlooked in forming generic propositions, ought to be most scrupulously kept in view when those propositions come to be acted upon in life. Hence, perhaps, it arises, that minds accustomed to classify and generalize, are not always the fittest for turning to use their own observations. Besides this, the habit of surveying things in the gross, is apt to be allied with a certain fearlessness of consequences, and a disposition to hold cheap the risks to which all changes are liable from unforeseen circumstances. *Chance* and *change*, indeed, are as closely associated in nature, as in the sayings of the wise; nor ought we to stifle that instinctive love to *whatever is*, that animal horror of innovation, which seems bestowed upon us, as a most suitable accompaniment for our limited capacity of foresight.

Whoever considers, that the old mercantile theory is now, in speculation, completely exploded, and then reflects how small an effect, comparatively speaking, so great a change of doctrine has produced on the conduct of the commercial world, will allow, that the attachment of practical men to philosophical principles, is, in a great measure, of the Platonic kind. Whoever recollects, on the other side, that so sagacious and cautious a reformer as Hume, was more than inclined to number our whole system of banks and paper-credit, among the wretched devices of the theory just mentioned, * and to recommend the abolition of this system, will

* *Essays* on Money—Balance of Trade—Public Credit.

will allow, that the wisest philosopher may build on too narrow a foundation of general principles.

How, then, are we to draw the line between popular and philosophical bigotry? If a practical rule be required for the purpose, a very simple one seems to result from the very state of the case. We should say to the men of practice and the men of philosophy, *Hinc vos, vos hinc, mutatis discedite partibus.* Let them, acting in the spirit of the golden rule of morals, respectively change places. We do not mean, in point of *fact;*—that would be a most melancholy exchange for the men of business;—but in imagination. When the question for example, is, how far a particular part of our commercial policy is to be governed by any given principle which is admitted to be of general application in political economy, let the practical merchant, whose prejudices may require a departure in the specific instance from the general rule, begin with fixing his eyes rather on the authority of the rule than on its liability to exceptions; and reason rather downwards from the principle to its consequences, than upwards from the consequences against the principle. Let him act the part of wit rather than of judgment, if we are truly told, that the former consists in discovering likenesses, and the latter in finding out differences. Thus, will he debar his passions from the exercise of their favourite calling,—that of *running away with his reason.* On the same occasion, let the philosopher candidly examine, whether the case before him may not successfully claim the rare honour, of being governed by a separate jurisdiction of its own. Let him endeavour to discover in it,—not indeed points to which a sophistical advocate may attach 'the thread of his verbosity,'—but grounds on which philosophical scepticism may make something of a fair stand. Let him then reconsider his general principle, and observe whether it has not been commonly laid down with too much latitude, and reasoned from with too little discrimination. Finally, let him add to his account an item, of what may be called unspecified *sundries,*—an allowance for the general hazard which attends all change, as such. Thus will he prevent the occurrence of a phenomenon peculiar to men of his profession,—that of having *his reason run away with his passions and natural impressions.*

The practical rule which we have just delivered, seems to us so simple and excellent, that we feel quite certain of its being approved by all, and adopted by none. A bold attempt, however, to act in the spirit of it, is in our intention on the present occasion, when we are to consider the important question of the monopoly of the East India Company. Steadily keeping in view the great doctrines of commercial freedom, to which our attachment is pretty well known, and from which, indeed, nothing short of

an immediate and large share of the patronage of the Honourable Company in question could alienate us, it is our object to consider, whether any thing more is to be said for the continuance of this monopoly, than would satisfy a sturdy participator in its profits, or a mere rhetorical prize-fighter, who loves the wrong side better than the right. By pursuing this course, we hope to give our readers a fairer view of the real merits of some of the questions involved in this controversy, than, amidst the scramble for gain, they will easily obtain from the interested advocates for either party,—or possibly from both put together. At the same time, we will avoid, as far as we possibly can, indulging ourselves in the delivery of any very definite opinion on the subject, but leave the reader to solve our sceptical doubts as sceptically as he pleases.

The work which affords us the opportunity of acting a part so sublimely philosophical, though probably not the best to which the progress of this dispute will give birth in favour of an open trade, is quite powerful enough to affect the monopolists with some portion of alarm. It is a fierce, animated, and ingenious, rather than a very masterly, attack on the East India Company. It bespeaks in the author a very competent acquaintance with Adam Smith, and a pretty extensive, though in some points, apparently, an inaccurate knowledge of the details of East Indian affairs. The last particular, however, we beg to confess, that we mention, if not doubtingly, yet with a proper consciousness of our own very inadequate reading on the subject. The conoscenti have, as we understand, agitated a question which strikes us as supremely unimportant, Whether the author is or is not a *nabob?* If a writer states truly, and reasons rightly, it seems to be a very idle inquiry, whether he is the importer or the mere retailer of the wares which he offers to the public. At the same time, we can perceive no harm in our suggesting it to be probable, that it is only the latter of these two characters which can with justice be ascribed to this gentleman. To torture the reader with proofs in favour of this idea, would be a culpable waste of letter-press, especially as some of these may collaterally appear in the sequel of our criticism. The only one we shall here notice, is somewhat amusing. The single passage in the book which bespeaks any thing like a claim on the part of the author, to the credit of a personal acquaintance with the East Indies, is the following.

'It is believed, that many articles of the first necessity might be cultivated in our Indian territories. For instance, I am positively assured, *and indeed partly know the fact*, that hemp of an excellent quality, and to any extent, might be raised in India, and might be brought to Europe,' &c. &c. p. 53.

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When a writer is eager, by a sort of *half hint* like this, to awaken a vague suspicion of his speaking from personal observation, it seems reasonable to conclude, that if he could have preferred a less ambiguous title to the reputation of originality, he would hardly have forfeited his claim by *laches*. After this, we may almost venture, in a similar spirit of important obscurity, to say, that we believe, '*and indeed partly know the fact*,' that our author has never crossed the Line.

This is one of those penmen who would write worse if they had a better temper; and who remind us of a torrent that is the more mischievous for rolling along with it a charge of mud and stones. Never was there a publication which breathed less of that honied adulation for which the East is renowned, than that which is now before us; and for this reason, among others, we can scarcely believe that it could possibly have proceeded from the polite pen of an Anglo-Orientalist. At least, on such a supposition, the author has certainly thrown away very little gratitude on his worthy patrons in Leadenhall Street. We doubt indeed, greatly, whether 'the Honourable the East India Company Bahadur,'—whose fame extends over the whole earth,'—'the wise as Solomon, rich as Crœsus, generous as Hatim, invincible as Secunder,' and every thing as every body,—have received so much blunt language from all the Rajahs and Princes 'Bahadur' whom they have deposed or created, as are here compressed into a thin quarto, by an author who, for any thing that appears, may be a mere trader on the capital of his wits. 'Malignity,'—'corporation of jobbers,'—'abominable spirit of monopoly;' these, and many others of the same cast, are the titles of ceremony with which he usually salutes the masters of India; to say nothing of the masked battery of irony, which occasionally opens upon those personages with such discharges as 'patriotic souls!'—'enlightened gentlemen!' &c. &c. The writer strongly reprobates the abusive and dictatorial language held by the Directors in their 'Third Report.' If the charge be just, (and, not having had access to the paper in question, we are compelled to take the fact upon trust,) we rejoice that the Directors have been disturbed in their monopoly of abuse, by an interloping competitor who really bids fair to beat them out of that market.

In delivering a few observations on this complicated question, we will adopt the usual partition of it; which we find to be also adopted by the author of these considerations. This divides the *commercial* from the *political* department of the subject. The Company *trade* with India; and they *rule* it. The division, however, between the two departments, is not, in all respects, absolutely marked; yet we know not that a better could have been found;

found; and, at all events, this has now the sanction of use in its favour.

The commercial part of our inquiry will be directed to some consideration of the relative advantages with which a commercial concern may be conducted by a chartered company of merchants, on the one hand, and by private adventurers on the other. Here we must, in some measure, restate arguments pretty well known; but this it is not our purpose to do, unless when they strike us as requiring either to be illustrated or to be qualified. It will be necessary to bring up the rear of our theoretical remarks with references to facts.

Politically, the administration of the East India Company may be viewed, with regard both to its effects on the welfare and happiness of our Asiatic fellow-subjects, and to its effects at home on the constitution. These two views it will be requisite to combine; and, no less so, to compare the influence of the present system in both directions, with what may be augured respecting the influence of the systems most likely to contest the honour of superseding it, in the event of its abolition.

We ought, perhaps, by way of preface, to take some notice of a topic, on which the author before us is particularly animated,—the origin and early history of the commercial association with which he is so much offended. This, however, seems to us most superfluous. We are told, that the early India Company made good its establishment under favour of the intense commercial ignorance generally prevalent at the period of its institution. Be it so. But, that those who patronized the institution were ignorant, does not necessarily prove the institution to be bad. The Bank of England, the most useful of all commercial organs, was instituted in times of ignorance; and, if the reader will take the trouble to turn over the history of its formation, he will find it difficult to determine, whether the arguments of its supporters at that period, or those of its opponents, were the more absurd. We are also informed, that the early India Company maintained its ground only by the most scandalous jobbing and bribery. Be this also true. A similar truth may be predicated of the union of Scotland and England.

Further, we do not think our author's representations on this subject quite fair. He quotes these stories of jobbing and bribery partly out of Anderson, without ever hinting to his readers, that Anderson, one of the most enlightened, surely, of the old commercial school, is a staunch advocate for the monopoly of the East Indian trade. Anderson, however, was far from singular in this predilection. Postlethwayt may almost be mentioned,—a man

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of liberality, and by no means incapable of *thinking away* his prejudices *.

Proceeding to consider the first, which is the purely commercial, part of this question, we will suppose that our readers are acquainted with the observations which it has drawn from Dr Smith, or, at least, that they will take instantaneous measures to verify our conjectures, by poring over every tittle of those observations, before they proceed with this humble commentary upon them. Like other commentators, however, we occasionally quarrel with our text. We could wish that Dr Smith had at the outset conceded, as it would have cost him but little to concede, the advantage that may, in some cases, result from planting an infant trade in the nursery-ground of an exclusive company. In the fifth book, however, of his work, he admits, that 'instances are conceivable, in which a *temporary* monopoly of this kind may be vindicated upon the same principles, upon which a like monopoly of a new machine is granted to its inventor, and that of a new book to its author †.'

The present question, however, is a widely different one. It is not, Whether an Exclusive Company can be *ever* useful? but, Whether it can be *for ever* useful? not, Whether a patent may be advantageously granted to the first adventurers in a particular line of trade? but, Whether that patent should not, after a season, expire? To retail the reasonings of Dr Smith on this head would be absurd; but we may be forgiven for attempting to mould some part of them into a shape more directly fitted to the present state of the controversy.

That it is for the advantage of every nation to lay out on any particular trade as much capital as can be profitably vested in it, is a proposition which the great author just named has pretty fully illustrated; but he has not particularly supported it against the common objection bottomed on a supposed distinction between a trade of foreign consumption and a home-trade. It being admitted, that the competition incident to an open trade would raise the prices of Indian commodities in India, and lower them in Europe, the champions of monopoly assert, that this fall of profits, however advantageous to this nation, on the supposition of the commodities imported from India being sold at home, must be the reverse of advantageous to it, when (as is now the case) they are mostly

* Mr Clarkson tells us, that, from having been a champion for the African slave-trade, Postlethwayt became, what his dictionary evinces him to have been, one of the strenuous opponents of that system of murder disguised in the garb of commerce.

† Book. V. ch. 1.

mostly re-exported for foreign consumption. In the latter case, they contend, that the foreign consumer must reap the whole advantage, and that at the expense of the English trader. This argument appears to have been first employed by Child, in the year 1677; * it has since been restated by authors of note; and, as we collect from the publication before us, is still built upon by the East India Directors. Fully, therefore, as its fallacy may be implied in several parts of the Wealth of Nations, we shall endeavour to deduce a direct refutation of it from the principles of that work. The present author, it must be observed, fights it only with the weapon of contempt; a weapon which, though perhaps more painful than that of argument, is unfortunately less effective; as a rusty knife may mangle, but will inflict a less deadly wound than a stilletto.

All trade is carried on for the mutual benefit of the traders on the one hand, and the consumers on the other; and, when it is left free, this mutual benefit both guides and limits its extension. At the first emancipation, indeed, of a particular traffic that has been monopolized, the sudden rush of capital into it may reduce its profits too low; but the first persons to perceive this evil, when it occurs, will obviously be those that suffer by it; and, some portion of this redundant capital being withdrawn into more hopeful employments, the evil will thus correct itself. When, therefore, a trade is permitted to expand itself quietly to the utmost, we may depend on it, that such expansion is beneficial to both the parties concerned, that is, to the trading world, and the consuming world. The profits upon it are, indeed, reduced; but then they are not so much reduced, as the capital invested in it is augmented; for profit is always the measure of the spontaneous investment of capital in a particular channel. Individual traders make less, but *the trade* gain more: *Privatus illis census erit brevis, Communis magnus.* Now, when the traders and the consumers both live in the same country, then, on an enlargement of the trade, the country gains both ways; in the increased accommodation to the consumers, and in the increased gains of the commercial world. When, as in the case before us, the traders live here, and the consumers are foreigners, then, though both parties gain by extending the trade, this country benefits only by the increased gains of the traders; but still, all this is clear gain. True it is, that, on this supposition, the argument for laying open, and consequently extending the trade, is only half as strong as it is on the former; but then let it be also noted, that, on this supposition, the argument for pursuing the trade at all, is only half as strong as it is on the former.

* See Anderson in anno 1677.

mer. Commerce can never be so profitable when it merely ministers to foreign consumption, as when it is employed at home; but it will every where be most lucrative when left to itself, and will seek employment abroad, only when home cannot profitably employ it.

Might we object to any other portion of Dr Smith's reflections on this subject, as not being fully perfected and rounded, we should perhaps regret, that he had not more scientifically explained the causes from which it happens, that an exclusive company carries on business to less advantage than the private merchant. Some of his expressions might induce an unguarded reader to suppose, that there was a real, as well as a fancied, opposition between the interests of the India Company, considered as merchants and as sovereigns; that it was really advantageous to a company to raise its profits, by narrowing its own market; and that those companies who have pursued this plan, instead of having miserably mistaken, or grossly neglected their own interests, had only too eagerly consulted it.

The truth is, as the wise need not be informed, that it is as certainly the ultimate interest of a body of monopolists, as of a set of private traders, to trade as cheaply and extensively as possible, and to invest in their concern, every atom of capital which it will absorb. They will evidently find it more lucrative, at the long run, to make smaller profits on a larger capital, than larger profits on a smaller capital. Those companies, therefore, who are said to have destroyed a part of the produce which they could command in India, from a dread of too much cheapening their sales in Europe, committed an absurdity, for which it was hardly worth their while to be so wicked. Corn, rice, and whatever constitutes the staff of life, have, indeed, the property of the Sibylline books offered to the Roman monarch; and any falling off in the ordinary supply of them, occasions a far more than proportional rise in their price. Had then the monopolists alluded to, been importers of such articles as these, they might have found a temporary advantage in inflaming the demand for their merchandizes, by suddenly stinting the supply, and thus starving their customers into a capitulation on their own terms. Even this, however, is ultimately a pitiful and short-sighted policy; but since mace and ginger are not bread-fruit,—since nobody but a Fakeer would chuse to live upon cloves,—and since a nutmeg is slow poison; how childish for a dealer in these commodities to play with the market for them, as if they were the prime necessaries of life! By wasting a part of the usual produce, he only teaches the consumer to manage with less; and by destroying the plenty of an unusually propitious year, he loses the opportunity

tunity of whetting the consumer's appetite for more. The reader will perceive, that we refer to that frightful story, so appalling to us in our childhood, of the Dutch and their spiceries: a story exemplifying such a flight of stupidity, as we should naturally expect from a Dutchman, in any case where trade was not the thing concerned. It is like a man putting out one of his eyes, in order to strengthen the sight of the other.

But it must not be imagined, that we disbelieve this horrible story; and it is most certain, that chartered companies are not apt to push forward their commercial dealings with that vigour which characterizes the speculations of the private capitalist. Why is this, if it be as certainly, as obviously, and as greatly, their interest to do so? We answer, that it is as certainly their interest to do so, but not perhaps as greatly, nor as obviously.

It is not *equally* their interest, because their charter secures them from the dread of competitors, which, in the mind of the private trader, forms a powerful ally to the simple desire of bettering his condition. The private trader is pushed forward by two impulses,—the hope of gaining, and the fear of losing. The chartered monopolist, for a long time at least, feels the hope without the fear; and, having the race to himself—though he knows that the faster he runs, the sooner he shall entitle himself to the prize—is yet equally convinced, that he cannot lose it, even if he walks. It is true that, in this state of things, he sometimes unexpectedly perceives an interloping rival at his heels; but his habits of oscitancy and confidence are now not easily shaken off; and the interloper, being better seasoned, (as the jockies would say), and less on his haunches, *slips him*, while the monopolist follows majestically behind, delighting the beholders with his magnificent curvettings and measured fire.

Besides, commercial exertion and alertness are not so *obviously* the interest of any large corporate society, chartered or not, as of the private merchant; that is, they are not so obviously the interest of the individuals composing such a corporation. A member of a numerous association, can seldom have the sensation that every thing depends on his single arm. Man, commercialy considered, is generally actuated by two feelings; the love of present pleasure, inclining him to indolence,—and the love of future pleasure, propelling him to action. Where action, however, is not evidently and directly connected with some future advantage, he will feel its necessity but faintly, and enter upon it with slackness. In large bodies, although the profits of all directly depend on the exertions of all, the individual profits of each man are not so immediately dependent on his individual exertion; and the love of ease, soon makes the individual discover this

this fact. He is one of many; the labour of one will hardly be missed, if the many labour,—while, whatever the many gain, the one will have his full share of it. This is undoubtedly the case with all very large societies, of whatever kind, that have coalesced for the attainment of a common object; although, to determine when it is that a combination becomes too large to be vigorous,—to find the point at which the inconvenience of weight begins to overbalance the advantage of size,—would be about as hopeless an undertaking, as to determine how many sheep make a flock, or how many soldiers an army.

The general explanation, which has been just offered, of the lassitude too often characteristic of exclusive corporations, appears to us more satisfactory than that which, referring particularly to the India Company, accounts for their alleged feebleness in trade, by supposing that their heads have been turned by their acquisition of territorial power and kingly state. All is not explained, by telling us, in seemly epigrams, that this great company stands behind the counter, clad in purple, like Prince Simoustapha in the Arabian Nights; and, while it rules with the *cittish* spirit of a trader, trades with the splendid profusion of a sultan. How will this solution account for the ruin of many a chartered body of merchants, which has enjoyed no territorial sovereignty, nor possessed any thing of royalty, but its extravagance? At the same time we grant, that even this is a better solution than that of the author before us, who has entered on the subject in a passage, the only metaphysical one, and the worst, that his book contains.

'Indeed, the very principle of the human mind, which prompts men to the purſuit of commerce, ſeems to make it impoſſible that it can flouriſh under the management of a company. The feelings of the merchant have not changed ſince the days of Horace—

"Impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos
Per mare pauperiem fugiens, per ſaxa, per ignes."

'Yet if the principle of trade be ſelfiſh, it is ſtrong becauſe it is ſelfiſh. No one, however, doubts that the purſuit of gain may be liberalized into an honourable employment. Its importance, at leaſt, cannot be queſtioned. He who, for his own advantage, promotes the exchange of commodities between different countries, or different parts of the ſame country, is a benefactor of the human race; for he promotes that which is the parent of induſtry, and the ſource of enjoyment. But that active love of gain which inſpires exertion, and which regulates its direction, is properly an *individual* ſentiment. It cannot animate bodies, becauſe in bodies there is no real moral perſonality. Though, in the fiction of law, a corporation may be a perſon, it but faintly reſembles the individual character, and never does approach to it but miſchievouſly. If ſuch bodies were animated with the feelings of real perſons, they would be too powerful: they would

would be Brobdignagians among the Lilliputians. It would be impossible to live near them. They are only tolerable when they are torpid and impotent.

'Of all undertakings, in which men can engage in common, trade, too, is that for which perhaps an association of great numbers is least fitted. The interest is too dispersed; and the managers, if they have no interest distinct from that of the other members, neglect their duty. An undertaking, the object of which is not gain, may succeed under a common management. Political associations, in which a social feeling, an *esprit de corps*, may exist, can prosecute their ends successfully; but the love of gain is not a *social* sentiment. If gain then be the object, success is impossible, because the body never can be animated by that which is an individual feeling; and if the undertaking be of imperial magnitude, who can expect success?' p. 9. 10.

There is a mixture of truth in these remarks, which renders the operation of cutting to pieces their many fallacies a task of some delicacy. A vague notion of that dissipation of interest which occurs in a great society, is here mixed up with a confused conception of the selfish nature of avarice, and with just so much knowledge of what is called the selfish theory in morals, as may suffice for the misunderstanding of it. Whether the love of gain be resolvable into the love of pleasure, or the love of power, or both, or neither, we will not here think of inquiring: whatever be the *philosophy* of the thing, its *natural history* is plain. That wish for individual gratification which we presume to be meant by 'the love of gain,' leads men to unite together, on this simple principle, that they find individual gratification to be best attained by the exertion of common efforts. In this manner, as the love of gain is one great cement of society in general, so it has produced innumerable junctions of men into smaller societies; such as, banks, guilds, gangs, combinations, dock companies, insurance offices, trading companies, and a host of fraternities, more or less judicious, and more or less effective, but all held together chiefly by the lucrative principle;—proof, for this very reason, against the assaults of philosophers, pamphleteers, and reviewers; and however frangible, not easily to be disunited by being gravely assured that they cannot feel the love of gain, and therefore are already in a state of disunion.

Having despatched all that we had to offer on one very important branch of the present question, we come to another of fully equal importance, although involving considerations that seem never yet to have been distinctly noticed. What is the measure of the inertness too commonly attendant on a chartered trade, and how far is that inertness likely to go? An exclusive company is not likely to be so energetic in conducting commerce as

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a nation of private adventurers; but by what interval, in all probability, will *its* energy fall short of *theirs?*

It is evident, how strongly these questions bear on an inquiry into the nature of a system which is mainly defended on the score of its political utility; for if commercial experience is to be sacrificed for a political compensation, it is necessary, before we can pronounce on the adequacy of the compensation, to ascertain the extent of the sacrifice. 'If there would be a manifest absurdity' (says Dr Smith) 'in turning towards any employment, thirty times more of the capital and industry of the country, than would be necessary to purchase from foreign countries an equal quantity of the commodities wanted, there must be an absurdity, though not altogether so glaring, yet exactly of the same kind, in turning towards any such employment a thirtieth, or even a three hundredth part more of either.' All this is undeniable; but it is of some moment to determine the magnitude of the absurdity in specific cases. Human life is nothing but a compromise of advantages; and as we submit to a small evil for the sake of a greater good, so we may submit to a small absurdity for the sake of a superior piece of wisdom. The navigation act is a commercial absurdity of this kind, tolerated and admired on account of its political wisdom; but if it were thirty times more absurd than it is, its political wisdom would hardly overbalance its mercantile folly. Such is the use of knowing, not only whether we lose by any given commercial arrangement, but *what* we lose by it.

We cannot, we acknowledge, conceive it possible to determine, by any general calculus, the degree to which trade is depressed below its natural level, by being placed under the guardianship of an exclusive company. The problem seems to be in all cases a *tentative* one. Reasoning, however, as we are now professedly doing, from theory, we should, on this point, stand somewhere about midway between the monopolists and the anti-monopolists. We should expect the depression to be considerable; but yet, in times like the present, not nearly so great as it appears in the representations of the common advocates of commercial liberty. These gentlemen always consider it as amounting to almost all the difference between riches and beggary: but we cannot, in fairness, believe this account of matters, and shall shortly submit to the reader the grounds of our scepticism.

It is to be observed, that the indefinite extension of a trade, which is consigned to a monopoly, is not opposed by any *physical* impossibility. Nothing is requisite, but that the monopolists shall have a distinct and vivid perception of what, as we have already observed, is undeniably their interest. An *impulse* is

wanting; an impulse, however, not arising from that prospect of imminent ruin, which, while it calls for exertion, paralyzes it,—but acting constantly, steadily, and pressingly, at a period when it may yet operate with effect.

Now, we think it may be pretty reasonably presumed, that the present times are not likely to witness a repetition of those stupid exploits of selfish rapacity, which disgraced the Dutch East India Company in the dark ages of commerce and common sense; and that, in proportion as a nation becomes enlightened and free, the various classes of its mercantile men will more plainly perceive, and more liberally consult, their true interests. And yet it would be very foolish to expect much from this *natural* acumination of the sight of an exclusive Company, were it not that, under the circumstances supposed, its perceptions will probably be much clarified by *external* illumination. In this country, for example, so considerable a corporation as the East India Company, is, by a thousand stimulants from without, pushed forward to the vigorous discharge of its commercial duties. The days are past in which it could live on a system of bribery, or on the favour of a party. It is surrounded and watched from hour to hour, both by the jealousy of friendship, and by that of enmity. It is the interest, indeed, of ministers to conciliate this powerful body; but then it is also their interest to conciliate the commercial world at large and the public. The cause of the anti-monopolists, meantime, can never want advocates, either in Parliament or out of it; and all parties act, and every part of the cause is tried, in the *open court* of public opinion,—a judge who can neither be bribed, nor deceived, nor daunted. When a company is thus circumstanced,—inspected by the public,—elbowed on both sides by the rivalry of private interlopers,—poked forward from behind by Government, to justify the national patronage which it has received,—fronted by a formidable host of commercial writers, eloquent from discontent, and of philosophers, keen because they are poor;—when a company, we say, is thus situated, if we allow (what will not very zealously be denied) that they are in love with their monopoly, it is hard, indeed, if they do not exert some of those efforts for its maintenance which are alone likely to be successful. They must feel the necessity of rendering their cause good if they would have it plausible. Their inclination to *do their possible* must be perpetually strengthened; and, in this case, the inclination is itself, in a great measure, the means.

The affairs of such a company are managed by a body of governors or directors. We will own the truth;—to a mind more habituated to the theory than to the practice of commerce, and rather

rather better acquainted with its principles than its sweets, the idea of an East India Director is apt to present itself under the image of an antiquated, discreet, untractable, humdrum sort of personage, whose company may with advantage be avoided. But, overcoming this little natural prejudice, and looking at matters liberally, we should certainly be disposed rather to expect that, in a country where many facilities are afforded to the development of talent, the cabinet-council of any powerful body would be likely, *cæteris paribus*, to attract to itself its due share of prudence and ability; and, in fact, we doubt not but that this is exemplified by the present Court of East India Directors. The motto of a free country is '*potiri rerum dignissimum;*' and this principle, while it feeds the heart of the state with life, also animates and inspirits its various members. But the wiser the Court of Directors, the more liberal will be the professional character of the Company.

Another great consideration is, that these Directors have an immediate and a deep stake in the continuance, that is, in the welfare and credit of the monopoly. However little they may be thought to take trouble for the sake of their constituents, we generally hear a good deal of their fondness for power and patronage. Now, the dullest and most mechanical understanding among them must perceive by what tenure these possessions are held. The Company, if we have rightly described their situation, are strictly on their good behaviour. If their rulers are duly impressed with a sense of this fact, (and how can they be otherwise?) it would be easy for them to act upon their conviction, and, by the adoption of a judicious policy, to transfer very considerable animation throughout the whole mass of their dependants. It is enough for a very small spot about the heart to feel, and its influence will instinctively radiate to every extremity. The agents of the Company, throughout the continent of Asia, will, on the very principle of self-interest, speedily discover, that the advancement of their fortunes and fame hinges upon the activity with which they promote the common cause.

It may be said, that we have too good an opinion of the advocates of monopolies; that these gentlemen are still apt to resort to some of those ancient commercial doctrines, which this argument appears to set out of view as obselete; that, among other things, they still fight for the impossibility of driving a distant traffic, without the encouragement of monopoly-prices. To which we answer, that, even allowing this to be a fair account, the value of our argument, if it possess any, consists in its resting on a much more stable basis than the reasoning faculties of any person, individual or corporate. It only assumes, that men *will* act

for their own benefit if they clearly see *how*; and, however the monopolists may, to serve a turn, declaim in favour of monopoly-prices, (in truth we doubt this fact), they do not dream of denying that it is their *own* interest to push their trade to its utmost extent. If we have not yet learned, that men may do right while they argue wrong, we are mere antediluvians, that have accidentally come into the world too late. A very sensible author, who, in the year 1701, wrote against the monopoly of the Indian trade,* actually admits, that the emancipation of it would so reduce its profits as to make it a mere losing and untenable concern. A private trader to India, who could hold this sentiment, should certainly be eager to withdraw, after a season, his capital from a country which must otherwise be its grave; yet we should be much surprised if he were to act on a conception so absurd.

We have put all this argument, in extenuation of the sins of exclusive companies, rather strongly; yet there is undoubtedly a good deal of truth in it. The influence of the checks which it supposes to be operating on the abuses of the system, acts in a manner somewhat complex; but this complexity can form no objection to them, if they only do the thing; and they cost, be it remembered, little or nothing. How far the argument is decisive of the present question, we shall not attempt exactly to determine: it certainly, however, in our humble apprehension, does not go the length of demonstrating, that an English trading company can trade as profitably as an independent merchant.

But our more elderly readers, well knowing what havoc practice is prone to make among the conclusions of a fine theory, will be now languishing for facts. In so far, however, as they may feel inclined to hear stories of the many exclusive companies that have heretofore lived and died, it is not our purpose to gratify their wishes. Our reason is this: We have no doubts respecting the real value of the facts afforded by the history of these companies, provided they were carefully sorted and judiciously turned to account; but to make such use of them would require a far more extensive analysis, than we have the leisure or the means to undertake. With regard to the allusions that are sometimes made to them *en masse*, these are perfectly suffocating. Almost every man of common reading could, at command, gabble over the titles of a dozen companies, and four or five of them East India Companies too, that have existed, and are no more.

But

* Considerations upon the East India Trade, (we believe, by Mandeville), ch. 3.

But to what purpose is all this? The antimonopolist argues, that since every considerable company, except the present worshipful assembly in Leadenhall Street, has become bankrupt, this must be the natural death of companies. The monopolist argues, that since one, and that the greatest, of these companies, has sustained itself so long after the ruin of the rest, the rest must have owed their bankruptcy to mismanagement. As a barren *generality*, we know not which of these is the best.

To exemplify, by one instance, these observations. Several of the chartered bodies just referred to, have been fairly driven out of the market by private adventurers. This circumstance unquestionably supplies some strong presumptions in favour of individual adventure; but, thus nakedly put, it seems to supply little else; and that for the three following reasons.

In the *first* place, we are not convinced that the success of private traders *against* a company, is an exact measure of what would be their success *without* a company. Burke has somewhere, we think, remarked the advantages which revolutionary conspirators against a regular government, derive, in the prosecution of their projects, from the very facilities of general intercourse afforded by the existence of a regular government. The observation is just, and bears, although remotely, on the subject before us. In a somewhat similar manner, the sharp-shooting marauders, thieves, and croats, in the train of an organized army, probably make more prisoners, and carry off more booty, than an equal number of the disciplined troops; but it does not follow, that any thing would be gained by disorganizing the whole army, and resolving it into a rabble of independent irregulars. Our limits will not allow us to trace out this idea into its consequences; but some of them would be found curious, and we therefore start it for the amusement of our readers.

In the *next* place, instances of the discomfiture of exclusive companies, by the prowess of independent commerce, cannot, unless they be very nicely dissected, afford instruction upon that which we have described as a main part of this question; we mean, *how far* the system of free, is cheaper than that of chartered, commerce. A man who cannot swim, may be as effectually drowned in a horse-pond as in the Bay of Bengal; and a company may be, in time, ruined by the competition of a rival who trades cheaper by only two *per cent.*, no less than by that of him who makes a superior profit of fifty *per cent.* Something might possibly, in this particular, be inferred from the degree of rapidity with which the ruinous effects of the competition took place; but this would surely be a most coarse and unsatisfactory

rule of competition. Who would think of determining the relative weight of two bodies placed in a balance, by merely observing, with his eye, the celerity with which the heavier scale descended?

*Lastly*, we will simply revert, without much comment, to the observations which we have already so fully stated, with relation to the presumeable difference between the situation of former chartered companies, and that of a company in the present enlightened age and country. That a system grossly and uniformly mismanaged should not be improved on the imminent approach of destruction, is not matter of surprise; it guesses the nearness of its death only from that *numbness* which disables it. It is otherwise, if it has fair, reiterated, and urgent warning, while the danger is yet contingent; in this case, we may expect it to be roused; and if deliverance be within the bounds of possibility, we need not despair. This, we conceive, to be a possible circumstance of discrimination between the cases of the present East India Company, and of former associations of a similar nature.

It is now necessary for us to direct the attention of our readers more particularly to the commerce of India. The great question is, whether, and how far, this commerce is capable of extension? The presumption clearly is, that, to a certain degree, it is capable of extension; but how stand the facts? and if they accord with the presumption, what do they determine with respect to the degree in which this commerce might be extended?

We regret our inability to decide, in any thing like a satisfactory manner, these interesting inquiries. In truth, no task can be more difficult; for, how can inquiries with regard to a possible event, be completely decided, except by experiment? Conjecture, indeed, may do something, but then it must be built on the most careful observation; in the present instance, perhaps, on local observation. A diligent attention to the real effect upon India of our present mode of Indian administration, a perfect acquaintance with the character of its inhabitants, a minute knowledge of the actual steps taken by the British authorities in that quarter of the world, to promote cultivation and commerce, an extensive insight into the present commercial state of Europe, a thorough intimacy with general principles, and a habit of comprehensive reasoning,—these are some of the requisites for the task just mentioned. After this, we need hardly add, that we expected it to be but moderately performed by the trotting and galloping pen of the present author; but we certainly expected a nearer approximation to it than we have found. We hoped, at least,

least, for a few hard facts; instead of which, he has put us off with many hard words.

The general strain of the facts here adduced, and the corollaries of reasoning, amounts to this:—Such and such articles are produced in India, and, *undoubtedly*, they would be produced in far greater quantities, 'if it were not for the dead weight of the Company, and their monopoly.' That this assertion is partly true, we have already intimated our belief; but we want to learn, how facts accord with that belief. What documents are there on the subject? What is actually doing, in the way of direct encouragement, to the growth of Indian industry? The Directors profess to send out strict annual orders to their servants in the East, enjoining a diligent search for new channels of trading adventure. Are these orders really sent? Do they arrive? Are they obeyed? Are they successful? The answer is,—*the dead weight of the Company, and their monopoly.*

It was our intention, however, to cull, if possible, out of this vast store of information, every particle which seemed capable of being turned to any profit; a work of no very great labour, excepting the toil of search; when, to our great mortification, the merest accident gave us reason for strong suspicion, that what facts the author reports, he does not report with accuracy. Chance threw into our way a printed document on the subject of the Indian hemp, about which (as has been observed) this author 'partly knows' so much. It is, like the book before us, anonymous; and far be it from us to vouch for the accuracy of either; but the document to which we refer, is very minute in all its statements, and has the air of demi-official authority. It bears the date of last year. * Now, let us compare accounts. The writer whom we are reviewing, says,

'The Company and their servants, however, *have given no facility to the proper cultivation of this article* (*Sunn* hemp), *and its introduction into this country.* On the contrary, *they have neglected or opposed* this object.'

The paper before mentioned tells us, that the Court of Directors have been at vast pains and expense, to promote the cultivation of Sunn hemp in various parts of Bengal; that 'the culture has not only been attended to by the most scientific men in India,' but the best means of dressing, and the most commodious mode of packing it, have been minutely studied, 'as, *upon reference to the voluminous records on this subject, will appear;*' that 'the East India Company have, in this country also, taken no small trouble in their endeavours to introduce it to public use, at an expense individuals could not have subjected themselves to.' Now, the



* Observations on the Sunn hemp of Bengal.

worst that can be supposed of this account, is, that it is the Company's own partial statement of their achievements; and then, we have them here laboriously recommending to public use, (for such is the whole drift of this paper), an article, the use of which 'they have *neglected or opposed.*'

Really the cause of free trade is not so desperate, as to require such lavish employment of stratagem in its support. This, however, is not the single instance of our author's inaccuracy. A detection in one instance, induced us very carefully to sift several others of his statements, which we found equally erroneous, but which our limits will not suffer us now to canvass. They refer to cotton, silk, sugar, and so forth. The conclusion is, that our author 'partly knows' a great many things.

To make him some amends, we must observe, that, on this branch of his subject, he treats with successful severity an opinion he tells us, by the Directors, that British capital ought in no event to be exported to India, for the purpose of stimulating the productive powers of that country. We have not been able to examine the statements of the Directors on this point; but the opinion just quoted, seems, when delivered in all its latitude, so much at variance with their common topics of argument, and so unnecessary for their cause, that we cannot help hoping our author has here done them injustice. We can conceive cases, in which the opinion, or at least something like it, might be held *sub modo*, with perfect impunity.

The private trade of the Americans with India is very largely discussed in this publication; we know not with what accuracy of information, but certainly with some force and plausibility. Through this track we do not follow him, because it does not, in our apprehension, form an essential part of the debateable ground of the question. The Americans will certainly out-trade the East India Company, when we are at war, and perhaps, also, when we are at peace; but this, like the rest of the examples so often adduced in the present controversy, fails to prove the fact of a very *decided* inferiority, on the part of the Company, in commercial skill and alertness. At the same time, perhaps, it proves that the Indo-American trade should be somewhat more clogged than it is. We would not be harsh towards foreigners; but if there be fair political reasons for imposing partial restraints on a particular branch of our own commerce, we see not that it is our bounden duty to love strangers better than our own countrymen. But it is impossible for us to attend with minuteness to this part of our author's remarks; and still more preposterous would it be to waste much of our reader's time upon the state of the private Indian commerce from this country, or the encouragements,

ments, be they less or more, afforded to the private traders by the Company, who seem now to have become something between a regulated and a joint-stock company.

We ought, perhaps, to make a few comments on the state of their finances; but without supposing him intentionally to have misrepresented any thing, we cannot trust the accuracy of our author's accounts. That a good deal of disorder now pervades the financial concerns of the India House seems generally admitted; possibly more than is admitted by the Directors; and yet, possibly, they are not so near the last stage of dilapidation as the present writer would fain persuade us. We say this, however, as much on general principles, as from particular inquiry. We know perfectly, how easy it is to prove the approaching ruin of any thing on earth, if we are only allowed to do it by calculation. The financial world seems divided into two orders of men, the *croakers* and the *boasters*. The former can demonstrate by figures, that every nation in Europe, Asia, Africa and America, is on the borders of bankruptcy; that as for England, she was ruined long ago, only that she has the ingenuity not to discover it, and to walk about, like some of the worthies of the Romish calendar, with her head in her hand; that the sinking-fund is only a destructive remedy against destruction; and that, whereas it was formerly thought that nothing but accumulation could save us from the ruinous consequences of war, so now, it is certain, that nothing but war saves us from the ruinous consequences of accumulation.

We need not describe the opposite sect of the boasters, as this gentleman seems in no danger of being converted by them. His accounts are gloomy in the extreme; but, without any great disposition to think very favourably of the pecuniary state of the India Company, our knowledge of his own sect, made us from the first quite sure, that he would be led to exaggerate the embarrassments under which the Company labour. An impartial representation of them, indeed, is highly desirable to the public, who have no time to turn up musty leger-books, and can hardly expect an accurate account from the newspapers. But we cannot give the praise of impartiality to this author, so far as we have had means of examining documents. Our means, however, were not quite so ample as might have been wished; but as the parliamentary papers which he has quoted, are of easy reference, we did not fail to examine these, and have found in his pages what must in fairness be considered errors of magnitude.

He says,

'Let any man, however, take the trouble to look over the accounts annually submitted to Parliament under the name of the India Budget, and

and he will see good reason to dispute this plea; he will see that the revenues of India, up to 1802–3, for ten years, were,

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| | L. 94,756,281 |
| The charges - - - - | 83,253,417 |
| | L. 11,502,864 |

—being more than eleven millions above the actual charge.' p. 62–3.

Now, we instantly took this advice, and turned over the debates * on this budget; where we find that the author omits the following diminution of this balance.

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|---|---|---|
| Interest on the bonded debt - | L. 8,163,218 | |
| Supplies to Bencoolen - - | 1,357,969 | |
| | | L. 9,521,187 |
| Subtract this from the above sum of 11,502,864*l.*, | | |
| and the remaining net revenue is only - | | 1,981,677 |

Again,

'In the Reports, in 1792, it is admitted, that there was a loss on the India exports; and there is no reason to suppose there is a profit now. Take this account, however, as it is given: there are various payments, part of which are called political; but in the whole, including every charge, and comparing the payments and profits, (including in the latter the articles mentioned), there is the following balance.

| | |
|---|---|
| Total profits - - - | L. 13,779,507 |
| Total payments - - - | 12,797,796 |
| Total surplus in ten years - | L. 981,711 |

'In this account, there are many articles which are not commercial profits. Such are the profits on private trade, amounting, in ten years, to 1,482,056*l.*; and the amount of annuity from Government, in ten years, above 362,000*l.* Thus we have near two millions, which do not arise from trade;' &c. p. 60.

Now, on looking into this matter, it does appear to us, that the Company were not so wrong in their manner of making up this charge. By the act of the 33d Geo. III., the old duty and allowance of 7 *per cent.* paid to them on the private trade, are reduced to 3 *per cent.*, for which they bear the expense of unshipping, selling, and otherwise managing the imports in that trade; and the same act also requires them to furnish annually a certain quantity of tonnage for that trade. Paying and including in the charges deducted from their own commerce the expense incurred on account of the private trade, we should think they may fairly set the 3 *per cent.* received from the private traders against that expense; or, which is the same thing, if they deduct that expense from the profit of their own trade, the allowance which they

* See Debates, 19th July 1804.

they receive on account of the private trade, may, without any great inaccuracy, be added to their account of profit.

Further, for a loan out of their commercial capital to Government, they receive an annual interest of 36,200*l.* Now, we presume that, as they charge their trade with the interest which they pay on the money they borrow from the bank and otherwise, they may bring the interest received from Government to the credit of their trade.

We have noticed other inaccuracies, which induce us to regard all these accounts of the author's with an eye of some suspicion. But we cannot descend into any further details. So far as this part of the present work goes, we do think the question still rests very much on those general grounds, in which, in the former part of our remarks, we have attempted to place it. It is certainly surprising, that India should offer so small a vent for our commerce, both of exports and imports. But the character of the people, indolent and feeble as it is, may certainly afford, in part, an explanation of this phenomenon. We think, too, that the argument used by the Company, from the immemorial use of bullion in the export trade to India, by no means a contemptible one. At this moment the practice continues of carrying silver to India for goods; and this not only on our part, but on that of all the other nations, the Americans themselves not excepted, who possess a commercial footing in those regions. This surely looks as if European commodities could not find a market of any extent in the East. Perhaps, also, some allowance should be made for the effects of the institution of *casts*. Certainly, notwithstanding a sort of latitude which is afforded to the Hindus, as Mr Colebrook informs us, these unnatural partitions seem, in practice, to be maintained with extraordinary punctilio; and one effect of this absurdity must be, that, supposing a great increase of demand for any particular species of labour, the supply cannot be furnished in time to meet it. But we have no space to develop these ideas. We shall, therefore, depend on the candour of the reader for supplying whatever he finds defective in our short statement of them. In the case of China, at least, it seems pretty certain, that no great extension of our commerce could, on any system, be effected.

We know not by what accident the commercial part of the present inquiry has occupied us much longer than we originally intended. Some attention, however, must now be paid to the political grounds on which the East India Directors defend their monopoly. This is generally thought to be the strongest part of their case, and we will, therefore, use every effort, consistent with our limits, to do it full justice; but, so far as we shall

espouse,

espouse, in this discussion, the cause of monopoly, we must be allowed to do so on our own terms. The Company have the vanity to think their own existence indispensably necessary, both to the political welfare of India, and to the constitutional independence of the mother country. The commercial democrats have the sternness to maintain, that the existence of the Company is destructive to both. The parties are, as usual, both in the wrong; but, of the two, the vanity of the Company, we are inclined to think, is more nearly right than the sternness of the democrats.

The present writer seems to have felt that, on this topic, the monopolists for once happened to stand on the popular ground. Not that the remotest hint to this effect escapes him. On the contrary, he is here even unusually lofty and determined; but when we perceive an author, or any other noble animal, suddenly begin to plunge and rear, it is always a matter of inquiry, whether this happens because he has lighted on an unexpected piece of smooth turf, or because he finds his fore-feet unexpectedly subsiding into a bog? In fact, for the treatment of such a subject as this, a subject involving within its possible horizon all the principles of legislation, the author of the 'Considerations' is far too much in a hurry, and somewhat too much in a passion. A great deal may be said on his side of the question, but, till he gets older, he is hardly the man to say it.

We can afford space only for a small portion of our author's political lucubrations; and we give one which may convey a notion, as far as any single portion can do so, of the very diversified whole.

'Were the governors of India directly commissioned by the government, and responsible to it, they would be compelled to act right at their peril. At present, they act under no superior; they get orders from the Directors which they despise; they know that, between the Board of Controul and the Directors, all unity of power is destroyed. They are not the servants of the King, whom they would not dare to disobey, but of the Company, whom they are ashamed to obey. In the mean time, between the India House and the Board of Controul, it is impossible to decide whether a man acts by the direction of one or the other, or according to the views of the one or the other. The whole system, therefore, is of a complexity which banishes unity of principle and consistency of object. No one knows what is obeyed or disobeyed, where opposite and different masters exist. Obedience is not enforced, when the one master is afraid of giving to the rival master a right of interference, should he insist on his particular mandate. No controul therefore exists, when the executive authority is thus stripped of its power to direct. No responsibility exists for disobedience, when there is no regular command. There is no remedy for abuse of trust, where the administrative

adminiſtrative ſuperiors are afraid of giving each other an advantage by preferring accuſations, and when they are content to murmur but have not courage to correct. The conſequence is, that, without imputing blame to individuals, the ſyſtem itſelf leads to diſorder; and at laſt we ſee charges of malverſation made, which only excite contention, without promiſing amendment; and juſtice is purſued through channels ſo impracticable, that thinking men muſt prefer the impunity of guilt to retribution ſo obtained.' p. 142. 143,

It cannot be denied, that thoſe, as well as the reſt of the author's ſentiments on this head, are partly juſt, or that they are unfolded with ſome cleverneſs; but we find in them, we muſt ſay, a good deal of vulgarity, cant, and confuſion. The writer lays down no very definite principles, and ſcarcely alludes to a ſingle fact. He ſeems almoſt to think that this wicked Company is at the ſame time a grand council of the Great Moguls, grinding and chewing the immenſe population of Hindustan as if it were a mere betel-nut, and alſo a wretched knot of little petty-fogging clerks, under the orders of the Board of Controul; and then, while eloquently proving that they muſt be the one or the other, pronounces them to be wretched governors, because they are neither. We believe, however, that we underſtand him; though we ſhould not chooſe to ſay ſo much for himſelf. He has here lent a good deal of countenance, not indeed deſignedly, to the common objections of the third rate theoriſts of the Continent againſt all mixed governments;—objections to which every mixed government muſt be, in a meaſure, liable from its very nature; but to which that mixed government is peculiarly liable, which, having been the manufacture of rude times, has been gradually altered, ſhaped, and modified into a better form.

It is hardly poſſible to conceive any government of balanced powers, which ſhall not afford room for *general* declamations againſt its occaſional incongruity; not to mention that, even in theory, ſomething in point of efficiency, or at leaſt of deciſion, muſt be loſt by the perpetual reaction of oppoſing checks. 'We enable' (ſays our author) 'the Court of Directors to appoint the chief governors of India, and the Government retains the power to recal, or, in effect, to annul the appointment. The Directors propoſe meaſures, and the Government has the power to alter and to amend.' We ſay all this may be bad; it may be dreadful; but it is not *neceſſarily* ſo. We enable, in this country, the King to appoint his miniſters; and Parliament retain the power to vote againſt them, that is, to annul the appointment. We enable him to declare war without conſulting any body; and Parliament may nullify his act, or worſe, by refuſing ſupplies. Does it follow, that (to borrow, *mutatis mutandis*, his phraſeology) 'by

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this complicated system, the King is nothing, or the Parliament is nothing, and often both?' 'Do we not (he asks) hear it laid down as a general principle, the Company *must not quarrel with the Government?*' 'Do we not (it may be retorted) hear it laid down as a general principle, that *Parliament must not quarrel with the King?*' How far back must we go, in the history of this country, even to discover that the Monarch has the power of a *veto!* But what, after all, is this to the *comitia centuriata*, and the *comitia tributa*, of Rome, two bodies naturally opposed, but which yet coexisted for centuries, when either of them might legally have annihilated the other by a single vote?* All this shows the folly of looking merely at the *formal* part of a government when we would explain its nature.

It must not be supposed, however, that we are for holding 'forms to be indifferent;' especially after the contrary has been so triumphantly proved by Hume. Yet the view which that author takes of this subject in the Essay † to which we refer, does not lead him directly to note a distinction that was very doubtless in his thoughts; the distinction, we mean, between *forms* and *fictions*. A form may be kept up efficiently; or it may be kept up *pro formâ*. Supposing, in the instance mentioned by Hume, of the Polish monarchy, the Crown, by a series of events, or a concourse of accidents, to be virtually fixed in a particular family, while yet it was called elective, and while the shell of all the old system remained, the elective monarchy would be a mere fiction. Forms, therefore are not indifferent, but fictions are so; and it is in carefully distinguishing these two, in carefully taking into account the one, and neglecting the other, that the labour, and the nicety of what may be denominated legislative criticism, entirely consists.

With all our kindness, however, for the constitution of the East India Company, we cannot as yet quite place it on a level with that of England; and our author is welcome, if he pleases, to consider our argument, comparative of these two forms of government, as a mere *reductio ad absurdum*. We are only for *particularizing*. Whether a mixed government be a conspiration or a confusion, a conflux or a contest, an Italian concert or a Dutch one, can never be determined, but by a minute investigation, first of the law of union, and then of the manner and degree in which this law has been modified by the influence of circumstances or by opinion.

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* See Hume's Essays.
† Politics a Science.

Under this limitation, we agree with the author that the government of the Company in question is a great *anomaly*, and can adopt all the verbal variations with which he has *set* this remark. That a thing is *unique*, however, does not prove it to be absolutely a monster; while it very satisfactorily, we think, proves this, that in judging of it, we must not apply old rules without the greatest caution. To call the Directors 'Sovereigns,' is, indeed, in strictness, a misnomer. If they were so, we should be perfectly sure, that they ought to be dethroned; but, in point of fact, as well as in point of law, they are only a constituent part of the sovereign authority of India. The power is lodged jointly in the Court of Directors and the Board of Controul; both mutually checking each other, and both collectively checked by Parliament. There are probably many vices in this constitution of things; but whether those vices are susceptible of reform, or whether they are to be reasons for a revolution, is a matter of very serious inquiry, and cannot be decided without an infinitely more scientific view of the question, than we find in the publication before us.

To enter into the large field of disquisition which might here be opened, is as much beside our purpose, as it is beyond our ability. All that we shall do, is first to mention the two principal defects apparently chargeable on the political constitution of the India Company, supposing (as we have a right to suppose) that it has received all the reforms of which it is actually capable; and then to describe what, in this case, would be its principal virtue. After this, we may consider those plans for the government of our Oriental possessions, which are most likely to be candidates for adoption, in the event of the system now established being superseded.

The *first* defect which we charge upon the constitution of the Company, is one to which we have already alluded, as attaching to the nature of a mixed government. Time, in such a government, is often lost; and *time is power*. This, however, is a sacrifice well made, for liberty. It is an invariable rule, that, when matters once come to length of stride, despotism, and above all, individual despotism, must win the race; but yet, nobody wishes for despotism in this country. To have named this topic, however, is enough; and it would be mere waste of time to dwell on truths so trite as to have become the standing text with the better sort of tavern-orators.

*Secondly*, Some vice seems to us necessarily to reside in the constitution of the East India Company, from its being what we may call an *episode*; from its interests not moving exactly in the same orbit with the other powers of the state, but tracing out rather the path of a satellite. From this circumstance, their concerns do not

excite that unremitting and impassioned attention, with which the two parties that at any time divide Parliament, are apt to regard matters of which the responsibility rests solely with the minister.

We have, on a former occasion, hinted at this circumstance, as being one of those which explain the listlessness, so apparent in this country, with respect to Indian affairs. The writer under our review has something of the same idea; but, were we vain enough to assume the credit of having suggested it to him, we should be truly mortified at the mutilation which it had undergone in his hands. The matter is, not that it cannot be known who is legally responsible for our national transactions in the East;—in every particular case, this may very easily be ascertained. The whole of the difficulty arises from this very simple circumstance, that, in every regular battle, there cannot be more than two sides. Now, the Directors being an independent body, distinct from the Cabinet-Council of the day, might be annihilated by a vote of Parliament, while yet the state of parties remained unaltered. But in most transactions of any magnitude, there will be one portion of responsibility resting on the heads of the Directors, and another on the administration; and though to allot these portions may be very easy *after* the transaction has been investigated, it is not so easy *till* the investigation. In calling out for inquiries, therefore, into the details of Indian politics, the opposition, however suspicious appearances may be, are playing, if we may so express it, a *contingent stake*. The inquiry may or may not be found to affect ministers; that is, it may or may not, so far as party-views are concerned, be a *lost move*. It is perfectly otherwise with our European politics. Whatever misfortunes here occur, ministers are too surely responsible; and should they attempt to devolve the odium on those whom they have employed, they are responsible for having employed such instruments. If the distinction between these two cases be not so strongly marked as we have described it, and if, in particular cases, it has, for a season, altogether disappeared, at least there is commonly an approximation to it. But party-men are too much guided by party-views; and since the politics of India can seldom be made matters of party,—therefore, excepting flagrant instances of misconduct, and not always, perhaps, excepting even these, our national proceedings in that country excite but a languid attention in the two houses of Parliament. This is an evil, for which we know not a very efficient or direct remedy, so long as the Government of India moves in a sphere of its own. The evil would evidently exist, even if the Company were formally represented in Parliament, because such an arrangement, however it might

might convert the supposed representatives into party-men, could never make a partisan of the Company itself. In the mean time, it is necessary to remember, that the evil is of a limited extent, that it may very probably admit of still further limitation, and that India has a sort of parliament of its own, though a very imperfect one, in the court of stock-proprietors.

Such, it strikes us, are the two principal imperfections necessarily adhering to the constitution of the Company. The great virtue of this constitution unquestionably is, that by means of it, the immense patronage of India is prevented from falling into the hands of the minister of the day, in which it might prove a most efficient and dangerous instrument of corruption. This consideration is, it seems, carefully held up to public view by the Company and their advocates, and it indubitably forms a fair argument in their favour; nor does it appear to us of the smallest moment to inquire, whether the motives from which it is urged, be patriotic or selfish. 'We ought' (says this author) 'to know the men who raise the objection, better.' But, with great submission to him, we ought not to know either the men who raise the objection, or the man who has here endeavoured to refute it. We ought to know only the *pro* and the *con*, and to determine accordingly.

The fund of patronage which a colony, using that term properly, affords to the crown, is by no means in proportion to its size; because size gives it political weight, and consequently, a voice in its own government. Where even the appointment of a colonial officer is left solely to the king, the minister may often be obliged, in making it, to consult the wishes of the colonists. In some instances, however, a colony has had the sole power of chusing even its own governor; as, for example, Connecticut and Rhode-Island, before the disruption of America. It is obvious, that this can never be the case with the inhabitants, white and black, of our East-Indian possessions, while they continue, as now, without a recognized constitutional existence. Were India to become a colony, the crown might be more safely trusted with what patronage the colonists would quietly suffer it to retain; but it is to be recollected, that if the Company were abolished, a long interval must elapse before India could be completely colonized, allowing that it would ever be colonized at all; and that, during this interval, the tide of ministerial influence might be so swelled by the patronage of that country, as very seriously to menace our liberties. In the hands of the Company, all this power may reside, at least with safety to the balance of the constitution.

The author answers this argument by saying, that to talk thus,

is to traduce the English constitution, which sufficiently provided checks against mal-administration, without the necessity of resorting to an anomalous, monstrous, and dangerous authority, which it neither knows nor sanctions. But this reply, to treat it favourably, seems extremely vague. To say, that we ought not to annex, *in perpetuum*, to the office of cabinet-minister, one or two hundred more of close boroughs, or, which is equipollent, a command of as many dead votes, appears to be no libel on the constitution, but rather the reverse. If the constitution knows nothing of the India Company, it knows as little of India and its patronage, and its peculiar relation to this country. The case is a new one. But if we are, in a sort of Talmudistic spirit, to make an amulet of the *letter* of the constitution, why do we not act fully up to our own principle? Why do we not extend all the forms of our own system to our fellow-subjects in the East? Why do we not issue writs for *darkening* the House of Commons with representatives of the black population of India? Why do we not increase our peerage by a body of delegates from the Hindoo or Mussulman aristocracies; not forgetting to variegate the bench of bishops, by interspersing it with fifty expounders of the Koran, and one hundred and fifty Pundits learned in the Vedas?

The *spirit* of the constitution surely forbids any great increase of ministerial patronage, or at least, without the institution of additional checks somewhere. The misfortune, however, of committing all this patronage to the ministry, and then instituting checks, is, that the patronage will only enable them to buy off the checks. The plunder will defend itself. It is somewhat whimsical in this writer to contend, that the controul of Parliament will prevent the evil, when the very objection to the evil is, that it weakens that controul. This is, as if the crew of a vessel driven by a current, should attempt to stop her course by all hands pulling the ropes. It seems, therefore, a question at least, whether we ought not to vest the influence alluded to, in some other independent quarter; no matter whether it be the India Company or not.

There is, however, this argument for chusing the Company as the deposite of Indian patronage, in preference to any new body, that it is already established; and however we may modify it, or whatever is to be done with its commercial privileges, the known principles of legislation enjoin us, rather to avail ourselves of forms already in use, than to be eager for the credit of inventing others. Some share in the management of Indian affairs, must, of course, go along with this patronage, wherever it is lodged; because it is preposterous to pay men, and give them no work for

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their pay. Neither let us be too much alarmed by the mere 'whistling' of such 'names,' as *complexity, anarchical government*, and so forth; or of such cant ambidexter phrases as *imperium in imperio*; all which may be used against the worst system and against the best. The charge of *confusion*, as we have already observed, may easily, so long as men deal in generals, be urged against every one of those organized combinations of obedience and resistance, which we call governments; along the whole interval between the dreadful unity of despotism, and the uniform multiplicity of anarchy; between the point where all is obedience without resistance, and the point where all is resistance without obedience.

The author informs us, however, that the Directors are already a dangerous instrument of influence in the hands of ministers, and that, if they were not so, they would be too powerful, and amazingly apt to rebel. Whatever be the fact, we see no reason why they should necessarily be either the one or the other. If the balance be not exact, make it so. But, in saying that the Company is now '*a slave*' to the cabinet, the author, we think, hardly does them justice, and too much forgets recent events. We do not mean, however, to praise the present constitution, or the late acts of the Company, or to blame them. All we say is, that this constitution may be made a good one, if it is at present otherwise.

With respect to the government of the Company in India, if indeed we can call them governors, it was formerly oppressive enough; but we are much afraid, that this would have been the case under any system. The African slave trade continued long after the African Company became bankrupt. Our colonies in America did not treat the Indians of the West much better than the early adventurers from this country treated their namesakes in the East. There is, in effect, no instance, or hardly one, in history, of a stronger nation having come into close contact with one decidedly weaker, it being supposed that the weaker has no chance of a powerful ally, but the strong became oppressors. We ardently hope, that we are now repairing, in a measure, these wrongs. Of the late wars, indeed, in India, the Directors themselves profess to disapprove. This is a good symptom; and if (as is said) they act, in this instance, not from a sense of justice, but of interest, we rejoice that they have discovered the necessary coincidence of their interests and their duties. It was for not seeing this, that they have been all along censured. But they must yet do much, before they think of resting on their oars, or living on their fame.

We have now afforded the best sketch in our power, of the

present form of Indian administration, *taking it*, however, be it always remembered, *at its best possible*. To examine particular regulations on the subject, is beyond our knowledge and our ability. It is now incumbent on us, shortly to consider, what, if the Company should be abolished, is the most probable alternative?

There seem to us to be four answers to this question, and these four, we suspect, conveniently include all the rational answers that can be made. In the event supposed—

*First*, The trade may be laid open, and the system of government transferred to the King and Parliament; while yet the entrance of settlers into British India continues to be greatly clogged, and all political existence to be denied them.

*Secondly*, The trade may be laid open, the entrance of settlers freely permitted, the Company altogether abolished, and the patronage transferred to the Crown.

*Thirdly*, The same as the first; only, that the political power and the patronage of the directors remain with them.

*Fourthly*, The trade and country may be both entirely laid open, while the Directors retain their patronage, and generally the degree of political power which they now possess.

With respect to the *first* plan, we shall make three remarks. In the first place, this plan leaves, in unabated force, all the objections so strongly urged by Dr Smith, and so eloquently by Burke, against the mischiefs resulting to the East Indies from their being necessarily made the prey of temporary residents. What force there is in those objections, we cannot stop to inquire; and shall only hint, that, though the system of temporary residence may have its faults, yet those faults are capable of much correction by law, and, in fact have, in the present instance, received such correction; and further, that the opinion, that the hope of in future providing for their children by procuring them employments in the same line, and other conspiring causes, may greatly tend to inspire the Anglo-Indian residents with something of a patriotic feeling towards the country where they pass the best years of their lives.

In the next place, this plan would lay very serious restraints on that freedom of trade, which is the main object of its establishment. It would in fact make the commerce of India, if we may affix to it such a title, a sort of regulated royal monopoly. It would raise a hope of freedom that must be disappointed; and probably, any frequent exercise, by a royal government, of a power of excluding residents, would be still more odious than the preventive monopoly of the Company, which saves men the trouble of being sent home, by hindering them from being sent out.

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In the last place, the objection of the probable abuse of patronage, when lodged in Ministerial hands, not only remains, but applies with augmented force. If the ports of India be made all free, while yet a good deal of jealousy is to be exercised in watching the movements of those who arrive in them from abroad, it must be most evident that the charges of *inspection* will be prodigious, and of course a door is opened to the creation of new offices.

Nothing more, we conceive, need be said of a plan, which seems to unite in itself the evils of almost all the systems that can be adopted. It would, indeed, prevent the possibility of colonization, but perhaps at a greater expense than the advantage is worth.

The *second* of the plans which we mentioned, is that perhaps which will most conciliate popularity. Before, however, any thing can be said upon it, a previous question ought to be agitated; Would a complete liberty of commerce in the East Indies, and an unqualified permission of ingress to European settlers, tend to colonization? The Directors seem to believe, that India would, by these regulations, be converted into a prodigious colony in the course of half a century. To this sentiment we cannot entirely accede. Our view of the subject amounts to this,—that it, in some measure, depends on accident, whether or not, under the supposed circumstances, India would become a colony; but that the affirmative opinion is the most probable. Our zealous author, however, can never even enter the same room with the Company; he, therefore, flies off at all points, and declares the apprehension of colonization to be 'wholly chimerical.' Hardly a single Englishman, he contends, will ever think of settling in the East Indies; an opinion hardly quite consistent with his ideas of the immense opportunities afforded by the East for the extension of commerce, and of the probability that the emancipation of the Indian trade would occasion a considerable influx of British capital into that quarter of the world. He cannot but know, that men love to follow their capitals into distant lands, and that, wherever we find foreign capital fairly domiciliated in a country, we may surely reckon upon our not having long to look for the capitalist.

The great argument which he uses on this point, is founded on a comparison between America and Hindustan; a comparison which we do not think decisive. America was indeed a new country, and afforded an infinitely greater scope for the elasticity of population to operate, than can be expected in a country that has been settled for centuries. But the author seems to forget, that no old country is fully peopled; and if we may say that

population is universally checked by what he calls 'the nature of things,' yet it is rather by the *artificial* nature of things that this happens. England is not peopled nearly to its level. Now, the primary causes of this circumstance seem to be, the natural reluctance of the middling classes to descend into a lower stage of life by burdening themselves with numerous families, the unequal division of property, and the impediments to the cultivation of new land. It is therefore opinion, principally at least, that keeps down population. It is the reverence of men for ancient institutions; it is the omnipotence of custom; it is resignation; it is indolence. Supposing, however, an order of men, much superior to ourselves, were suddenly introduced into this country; an order greatly more athletic in limb, infinitely more enterprising,—in understanding incomparably more masculine,—'looking' farther 'before and after,'—despising our superstitions of opinion,—keenly ambitious,—and determined to support themselves on the produce of the country;—conceive them, indeed, to enter on a solemn promise to respect 'the ancient landmarks which our fathers have set,' and perhaps with an intention of being just and merciful;—with all this, allow them to be but *men*: and we firmly believe that every one of them would, by some means or other, find here that subsistence which he wanted; and that, by obvious consequence, this race of heroes would multiply, while our pigmy-generation would gradually dwindle away. But we have here put the case weakly. If, in the situation just feigned, we suppose this country to be previously peopled to the very powers of its last waste acre, the very same event would undoubtedly occur. We do not say that it would be a set of wolves carving out breathing-room for themselves in a fold crowded with sheep; but it would certainly be men making way among children.

We need not apply this imagined event; the parallel is obvious. Our author, when denying the possibility of the introduction of an European population into Hindustan, overlooks the superior energy of the European character, and that surest magic, 'the ascendancy of strong minds over weak ones.' We may almost quote on this subject, without any gross misapplication of its meaning, the noble exclamation of the poet;

> 'Mind, mind alone, bear witness, earth and heaven!
> The living fountains in itself contains.'

The great obstacle, certainly, to the event supposed, would be, a strict and impartial discharge of justice in our courts in the East. This would certainly prevent any violent and grievous oppression of the natives by the European adventurers; but there are a thousand ways in which we might gradually press upon them,

them, without a direct violation of law. We are to observe further, that one third of the lands of India is waste, and that the rest, productive as it is, is very meanly cultivated. The first sound of a free Indian trade would attract a hundred different vessels from our coasts. Speculation would be prodigal and improvident; for, after all, even commerce can be romantic. All this would lead in many ways to a settlement; but this at least flows inevitably from the preceding remarks, that supposing, by some accident, (against which, who shall ensure us?) an European plantation once to begin in our Indian provinces, it *must* proceed. The weak must gradually yield to the strong; the lazy to the laborious; the timorous to the daring. The European population would, indeed, gradually degenerate; and there would be a pretty numerous mixed race; but the genuine natives must, after all, decline.

The probability of these events forms a very formidable objection to those measures from which they must originate. We will not consider, how much or how little of danger, might accrue to this country, from the colonization of British India. We are quite content with the evils which, if we have rightly conceived what would be its process, it must necessarily inflict on the native population of Hindustan. How the American Indians, a far hardier race of men, have been perpetually compelled to recede before the destroying march of European colonization, it is unnecessary for us to mention; or to deduce from this, and many other similar facts, inferences and illustrations of the subject that has just been considered.

Thus much may certainly be objected to the second of our plans; to say nothing of the observation we have repeatedly made, that in its first effect it would probably tend to increase, in an exorbitant degree, the indirect power of the Crown.

But if we suppose either of these plans to be modified, by placing the government of India in some corporate body similar to that in which it now resides, the objections to both plans would in part be weakened. We have not, however, room particularly to trace the effects of either of these arrangements; neither is it necessary; as, if the reader thinks the task worth performing, nothing can be easier than, with due qualifications, to apply to them the remarks which we have already taken the liberty of hazarding. In effect, without violating our promise of withholding a determinate opinion on the matters agitated in this article, we may venture to say, that it is our inclination to prefer the third plan to the first, and the fourth to the second. But the reader, we doubt not, will not much trouble himself

about our conclusions on the subject, and will be better pleased if he shall have toiled through the prolix article with which we have presented him, to be left to the undisturbed exercise of his own judgment.

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ART. VIII. *Jugement sur Buonaparté, addressé par le General Dumourier à la nation Française, et à l'Europe.*

*Analysis of the Character and Conduct of Bonaparte, addressed to the French Soldiery, and the People of Europe, by General Dumourier.* Translated from the French by Mr Elder; to which is subjoined the original text, 8vo. pp. 122. London, Hatchard. 1807.

MR Elder states in the dedication of his translation, that he requested a friend, who lives in habits of intimacy with General Dumourier, to inquire whether or not he was the real author of this piece. The General answered that he was, and that he gave full liberty to publish his declaration to this purpose; adding, at the same time, a good deal of invective, in the style of the pamphlet itself. Satisfied with this evidence, Mr Elder was anxious to make the work known in our language, conceiving that it is calculated to produce an excellent effect in the present crisis, by giving 'a most intelligent and faithful exposition of the conduct and character of a usurper, whose flagitious darings have spread ruin and desolation throughout a great portion of the European world, and even menaced Great Britain with invasion'—and by proving most satisfactorily, that 'notwithstanding his successes have been unusually rapid, he is not entitled to the character of a general on whose judgment an army can safely rely in any pressing emergency.' Such are Mr Elder's views of his subject; and as for his author, he is 'universally considered the most skilful, experienced and gallant officer of the present age, and hath likewise been distinguished in France, and on the Continent, as the most profound statesman that has ever adorned the annals of his country.' Bonaparte and Dumourier being thus satisfactorily disposed of, we may just mention, before proceeding to the original work, that Mr Elder's proper task of translation, is very ill executed. He nowhere does justice to the spirit of his author,—frequently mistakes his meaning,—and in almost every paragraph, takes liberties with the composition, which are as much beyond his province, as to pass judgments on the military character of those two celebrated men.

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The '*Jugement sur Buonaparté,*' is distinguished by most of the qualities which may be remarked in the former productions of General Dumourier,—great fluency of argument—such ingenuity as always convinces the reader that he could have said an equal number of equally plausible things on the opposite side of every question which he discusses—considerable rashness in stating decided opinions upon very difficult subjects—and, on all occasions, an exclusive attention to his own side of the argument—a certain facility in bringing together various details, which is apt sometimes to pass for the talent of forming large and comprehensive views, when in reality it may only be an enumeration of particulars seen partially through the medium of some theory—a style, frequently declamatory, but always lively. Those who chuse to peruse this tract in the original, will at least be entertained by it; and it would be in no small degree interesting, could we believe that it contained the sober and matured opinion of one distinguished commander upon the genius of another, and that no considerations of interest, with reference to the people of this country, whose prejudices it flatters—and no feelings of personal irritation towards the government of France had entered into the author's mind, while preparing to pronounce sentence upon the professional merits of his great contemporary. At any rate, the subject is extremely important. The fortunes of the world hang, at this moment, in a far greater degree than at any former period of its history, upon the will, and the destiny of a single individual; and, unhappily, there is no point of material consequence in the situation of any European country, which may not be discussed, without a digression, under the title of General Dumourier's work. We shall, therefore, lay before our readers the opinions of this clever speculatist, and shall suggest the remarks to which they lead, both respecting the individual who is the more immediate subject of the treatise, and the present state of Europe in general.

Our author sets out with some remarks upon the unfairness and the folly of judging by the event. He inveighs, in the common way, against the thoughtlessness of mankind, who estimate merit only by the standard of success, and give those honours to fortune which should be reserved for talents and virtues. The uniform good luck which has attended Bonaparte, has, it seems, dazzled the world, and prevented them from perceiving that he is merely a fortunate adventurer; one who owes to pure accident, whatever he has not gained from the weakness of his adversaries. He does nothing according to principle or system; his rashness could only be kept from working his instant destruction, by the infatuation

fatuation of his enemies. His whole career has been a series of desperate blunders, the least of which, in any other period of the world, must have proved fatal. His crimes are still more astonishing than his temerity; and as his fortune cannot hold out much longer in spite of the latter, so his punishment is surely preparing by means of the former. In government, violence and caprice;—in policy, falsehood and precipitancy;—in military affairs, want of science, of circumspection, of self-command,—supplied by nothing but a blind and headlong reliance on his own fortune. Such are the boasted talents which have made Buonaparte illustrious, because men have been dazzled by the mere accident of his success, and never inquired how little he deserved it.

It is singular enough, that our author, after these satisfactory observations, immediately falls into the very train of reasoning which he had been condemning so sharply. The term of Buonaparte's unaccountable success, he says, is at last arrived; Providence has reserved for the Emperor of Russia to stay this scourge of nations; he is stopt in his career, and about to receive his punishment. And now, he adds, when the false glare of good fortune is for the first time removed, we are enabled to form a just estimate of his pretensions to the character of greatness. In short, this tract was written immediately after the news arrived of the battle of Eylau. General Dumourier then concluded, that every thing was going wrong for the French cause. He saw the tide of fortune turned, and he immediately formed, or at least pronounced, his judgment upon Buonaparte, entering, as was then supposed, on a long course of disasters. So that this extraordinary man, while covered with unparalleled triumphs for ten years of almost constant victory, is only to be marvelled at, because he succeeds without deserving it; and as soon as he receives something like a check, it is no longer fortune, but desert. Let him succeed a hundred times; it is all good luck. If he fail but once, it is his own fault; and this single failure is made the rule for judging of all his former successes. It may, however, at once expose the futility of our author's reasoning, if we mention the following topic, to which indeed, in common with other declaimers on this subject, he frequently recurs. After asserting, that he owes every thing to good fortune, and to the weakness of his enemies, that 'all the powers of the Continent have supplied the stones of which the pedestal of this colossus is built,' and that 'his career has been brilliant but easy;' our author adds, 'if indeed he could have stopt after the peace of Amiens,—if he had not seized the iron crown,—if he had not assassinated the Duke d'Enghien,—if he had pardoned Pichegru

and

and Georges,—if he had preserved, by cultivating the arts of peace, the best fruits of his victories, and had restored the lawful princes to the throne of France—'*alors Buonaparté eût été le plus grand homme que l'histoire passée, presente et future, eût presenté à l'admiration des siècles.*' This at once destroys his whole doctrine of Buonaparte having only an ordinary genius; for surely, the addition of extraordinary moderation and virtue, to common-rate talents, cannot constitute 'such greatness as the world never saw.' And if our author means to tell us, that true greatness of character depends as much upon worth as genius, he is only repeating a verbal criticism, as trite as it is trivial; which, if admitted to its utmost extent, merely proves, that a character may be very great, without attaining the utmost conceivable pitch of greatness.

General Dumourier proposes to justify his disbelief of Buonaparte's military talents, by a particular analysis of his conduct and that of his enemies, during the three last campaigns;—the war with Austria in 1805; with Prussia in 1806; and the present war with Russia, down to the battle of Eylau. It is unnecessary, and might perhaps appear presumptuous, to follow this analysis minutely. Certain general considerations, which occur to persons not conversant with military affairs, are sufficient answers to the author's inferences, even were we to admit the whole of his details, through respect for so great an authority. But there are also defects in his reasoning, on points of military science, too obvious to have escaped him, had he not been warped by his theory, and set out predetermined to find every thing wrong which both Buonaparte and the allies have done, and every thing quite practicable which either party has omitted.

The campaign of 1805, according to our author, was a contest which party should commit most mistakes. England having done nothing to create alarm on the North coast of France, and Prussia shewing no symptoms of hostility, but, on the contrary, remaining firm in her neutrality, as Buonaparte well knew, from the venality of the cabinet of Berlin;—he was enabled to reinforce Massena, and to march with all his troops into Suabia. The blunders of Austria at the outset were obvious; they have never been denied. But the hostile seizure of the Elector of Bavaria's person, and the forcible incorporation of his army with the Emperor's, are surely not the omissions which we have most reason to regret. General Dumourier forgets, that the Elector accused the Emperor of having suddenly demanded the dismission and incorporation of his army; and of having, on a refusal, seized upon the electorate. The Emperor too admitted, that, whatever

ever were his demands, he had ordered his army to march, whether they should be complied with or not.* Here, then, was just as much violence as heart could wish; but the execution was not so prompt as such violent policy requires; and Austria had the full credit, without reaping the benefit, of those reprehensible councils. We take the liberty of suggesting, that the grand error, in so far as regarded Bavaria, was the omitting to ascertain, beforehand, whether the influence acquired by France over the court of Munich, from the affair of the indemnities, had been extinguished,—or, indeed, expecting that it should be extinguished,—or ever imagining that the Elector could hesitate which of the two dangers he should chiefly shun, a rupture with France, or a breach with Austria. Then, if the war could not safely be commenced without Bavaria, it should have been delayed; or, if it must be commenced, and in spite of Bavaria, it should only have been begun, when Austria was able, at one and the same time, to give France the alarm, and to march through that electorate. Such movements, indeed, require a certain time; and Buonaparte must necessarily have learnt that they were in preparation. Then, he could hurry his army through Flanders and cross the Rhine, as soon as he was assured of the dispositions of Austria. But in what does superiority of policy, aye, and of military address, consist? Is there no skill in moving exactly at the right time,—and to the proper place,—and with the requisite degree of celerity? The plain truth is, that Austria went to war too soon;—and, having resolved on war, she delayed her operations too long. France committed no such mistakes; and beat her accordingly.

But, though the campaign in Suabia occasioned the loss of Vienna and the retreat from Italy, our author says, that, until the battle of Austerlitz, the affairs of the allies might easily have been retrieved. Buonaparte had advanced to a vast distance from home,—both armies were in want of provisions,—a general engagement alone could have saved the French. The allies, therefore, should have left a garrison in Olmutz, and an army of observation in Teschen;—they should have rapidly marched off towards the Upper Palatinate, by Prague and Egra. In that country they would have found abundant supplies, and might have fallen upon the camp at Schellenberg on the Danube without delay; thus forcing the enemy to retreat, in order to avoid being cut off from his communication with the Rhine. This retreat, our author conceives, would have proved fatal to him, pursued as

* See *Historical Representation*, Sept. 29. 1805, and *Austrian Answer*, October 16.

as he must be by the Archduke and the Hungarian insurrection; —and so there would have been an end of Buonaparte, and the French revolution.

We fear, however, that our author is here taking it all his own way, and fighting both for the allies and their enemies. He cannot surely think, that Buonaparte would have been idle while this grand march was going on. If it was so greatly for his advantage to accept the battle which they gave at Austerlitz, he would have moved off to intercept them as soon as they pointed towards Prague, and would have brought them to an engagement, or stopped their manœuvre. The distance between Olmutz and Prague is nearly 150 English miles. Was Buonaparte to remain in his camp at Brunn, and starving too, while the allies were moving over this space, at the rate of ten miles a day? Or, if the execution of the movement depended on its celerity, are we to believe that the Russians and Austrians were certain of marching with greater expedition than the French? Our author admits, that both armies were in want of provisions;—they could not therefore remain stationary;—and from every thing which has appeared in the different campaigns between the French and their enemies, we are entitled to conclude, that, if the chance of defeating them in a pitched battle was small, the chance of beating them by manœuvres, and particularly by rapid marches, was infinitely smaller. What reason have we, from any of the late campaigns, to imagine that the Austrians and Russians *could* have marched away, and fought or not as they chose, during their whole movement? Is it not much more likely, that Buonaparte, seeing part of the army quietly in garrison at Olmutz, and part observing him in Teschen, (which was a diminution by no means inconsiderable, of the chief force), would have allowed the rest to advance until he could just get between them and their own country, and would then, by a rapid movement, have overtaken and brought them to a battle with his whole forces after his usual manner, leaving the forces in Olmutz to garrison that town, and the army in Teschen to observe him, until he had time to pick them up after destroying the main body? Fatal as the battle of Austerlitz was, such a catastrophe would have been much more so. It would indeed have laid open to him the whole frontier of Russia. The idea of his having been in such danger at Austerlitz, is, however, infinitely less chimerical, than the notion so fondly cherished by some persons in this country, that his chief danger was after the battle, and that the allies might have destroyed him without difficulty, if they had only delayed the negotiations a few weeks longer. The indecency, indeed, with which we upbraid those monarchs whom our councils have brought to the verge of ruin,

ruin, because they refuse to plunge deeper and lose all, is one of the most disgusting circumstances attendant upon the late continental policy of England. General Dumourier talks of, what he is pleased to term the '*pacifico-mania*,' upon several occasions; but he is much too sensible a man to blame Austria for the peace by which she preserved her existence.

The particulars of the campaign against Prussia, have not undergone so much discussion, and are less fully known, than those of the war in Suabia or Moravia. The mistakes which our author imputes to the cabinet of Berlin, and its generals, are numerous, and cannot be vindicated. They gave the enemy time to assemble his army by marching separate and inconsiderable divisions from the south of Germany upon the Mayne, instead of advancing into Franconia as soon as war had been resolved on, and thus carrying it on, as Frederic the Great had done, at the expence of a foreign and hostile territory. In the whole detail of the plan which they did adopt, the greatest want of generalship is observable; and the quick surrender of the strong places, one after another, can only be ascribed, our author thinks, to the cowardice or disaffection of their commanders. He also blames the King of Prussia, and with perfect justice no doubt, for taking possession of Hanover, and thus offending the best and most attached of his natural allies. He avoids saying one word, however, upon the policy of this country, in being offended at such conduct, in the peculiar circumstances of the Continent; nor does he blame the King of Prussia for the most fatal of all his errors, the rupture with France. It is scarcely possible that so acute a person as General Dumourier should have passed over those points; we must rather impute his silence on them to his dread of the '*pacifico-mania*,' above hinted at. Like Mr Gentz, and a large body of reasoners (shall we call them ?) in this country, our author seems afraid of reprobating, under any circumstances, any thing that has the semblance of hostility, lest neutrality should gain ground; or of admitting that peace is ever politic, lest the doctrine should make its way, that war must never be resorted to. They all along forget, that they have not to argue with quaker statesmen, but with men who deprecate premature resistance to France, only because it is sure of being ineffectual;—who, far from wishing to see the Continent sunk in a state of apathy to French aggressions, only deplore partial and unavailing struggles, because these must *indeed* produce, from entire prostration of strength, the lethargy so much and so justly to be feared.

Having, in our author's view of the subject, by his rashness and audacity, destroyed the Prussian army, contrary to all the rules of military science, Buonaparte might have completed the conquest

conquest of Europe, had he possessed the great qualities which enable a man of genius to profit by his successes. The winter was already set in; he had only to occupy that season in consolidating and arranging the dominions which he filled with his troops; in improving the pacific dispositions of Austria; in recruiting his army and clothing it at the expense of the conquered countries; in raising a subsidiary German force; in availing himself of intrigue to separate his adversaries—and the business was finished. 'Si sa tête fougueuse eût pu se plier à une pareille conduite, c'en était fait de la liberté du monde.' Instead of this, however, he pushed on his exhausted army, and rashly disclosed his whole projects. The extent and boldness of these terrified all Europe, but united none of the sovereigns more firmly against him. Indeed, so infatuated or intimidated were they, that not even his unparalleled folly, in betraying his own secret, would have worked his ruin, had he not happily been at length defeated by the Russians,—compelled to retreat after some vain boasting and parade, reduced to act upon the defensive, and to await what every man of sense now foresees must be his doom.

The project which Buonaparte so heedlessly disclosed, was, it seems, of this nature. He was to restore the Polish monarchy under one of his generals, obtaining the consent of Austria, in return for Silesia, and drawing from the new kingdom a numerous addition to his army. He was to procure two diversions, by making the Turks attack Russia in the Ukraine, and the Persians threaten her in Asia. He was to gain over the King of Sweden by giving him the Prussian part of Pomerania, and the Russian provinces on the Gulf of Finland, which would have reduced Russia to nearly the same situation from which Peter the Great raised her. Finally, but which might as well have been placed first, as it is the foundation of the scheme, he was to have overthrown the allies in a decisive battle, which would enable him to give the law at St Petersburgh.

The different branches of this vast plan General Dumourier examines separately. There was no chance, he contends, of Austria agreeing to the reestablishment of Poland, unless Buonaparte could suddenly threaten her with his whole army and that of his allies on the Rhine, having previously completed the conquest of Silesia to tempt her withal, and delaying the prosecution of the war beyond the Vistula until he obtained her acquiescence. The Poles themselves were not disposed to make any exertions. This part of the argument is, in our apprehension, perfectly just. Our author, however, reasons from the event, respecting the disposition of the country; and states merely as a fact, what might easily have been gathered from

from the well known state of the nobles and their peasantry. The Turkish government was too feeble, he thinks, to make any diversion; and he exults not a little in the march of the Russians into Moldavia and Wallachia, as if this very movement were not a most important diversion in favour of the French. The Persians, he argues, were too much divided among themselves, and had too narrow a front for offensive operations, to give Russia any trouble worth guarding against by detaching troops. This part of the plan, indeed, seems exceedingly doubtful; and we see no reason to believe that the French intrigues in Persia had any reference to the immediate operations of the war. To the scheme of seducing Sweden, our author can only object, by boasting of the great spirit which the young monarch has displayed; and demanding, in a way rather declamatory than convincing, whether such a prince *could* be gained over by Buonaparte? He seems altogether to have forgotten, that, not many years ago, this same prince was as keen an enemy of England as he now is of France; happily, indeed, with just as little effect, but with equal demonstrations of hostility and 'spirit.' Perhaps he was pushed on by Paul; but the present speculation supposes that France shall have become more formidable than Paul: and who shall answer for any monarch's conduct, when such an enemy offers him the choice—of destruction by continuing a contest without an object,—or aggrandisement by becoming his ally?

Because the King of Sweden dislikes France, has he lost his fear of Russia? Do his personal feelings sway his court and his people? Is not a French alliance an hereditary favourite in that country; and the hatred, founded on the just dread of Russia, a feeling still more deeply rooted? What could be more tempting to the nation, what more likely to tempt the King, even if intimidation were out of the question, than an arrangement which should restore the ancient independence of that country, substituting, for the influence of its powerful neighbour, the old alliance with a more distant state? Nor need we go further than this part of the project (which is in the highest degree likely to have been in the contemplation of France) to refute the view's of Buonaparte's character which our author exhibits. Let us be just to an enemy, and ask ourselves, if he can really be a slave to caprice and irritation,—hurried away by every gust of passion,—a being of mere rashness and audacity,—actuated by no principles of sound policy,—who, at the moment of greatest personal animosity towards the Swedish monarch, formed the scheme now imputed to him, of restoring Sweden to her ancient rank, and trusting (as safely he might trust) to her hands, thus strengthened by himself, the maintenance of his cause in the north of Europe?

Our author concludes with a great deal of invective against the folly of attempting a march into Russia during the winter. In this mad project, he says, Buonaparte has at last been defeated; and driven, as he must speedily be, out of Poland, he will find all the rest of Europe in rebellion against him;—the German states, aided by Sweden,—Austria,—Spain,—Portugal;—the Neapolitans, assisted by the English from Sicily,—the Swiss,—the Dutch,—the Flemings. But it is to the French themselves that our author looks most willingly for the usurper's final destruction; and, taking for granted that the other nations of Europe are striving, as the fugitive conqueror passes them, who shall give the blow, he closes his tract with an eloquent exhortation to the French people, to rise in the mean time as one man;—to rescue the flower of the army from the hands of its present chiefs, and free it from the corrupt mass of foreigners which has been mixed with it;—to restore the Bourbons, and follow the paths of wisdom and virtue, which alone lead to happiness. Of all this agreeable dream, little indeed now remains. Were there not so much of melancholy in the subject, there would be something very ludicrous in following our author's fine fancies, after the fatal reverse of fortune, as he will probably call it, which confounded them the very moment they had been promulgated. Of the fragments of his castle which lie scattered before us, we shall select one as a specimen of his way of building. We wish the love of this art were confined to himself, or that the overthrow of one more structure could cure the passion for such employment, which is almost epidemical in the present day. He has just been vanquishing Buonaparte, almost to the last man, in several engagements; and he thus proceeds to reap the fruits of his victories.

'Laiſſons courir ce fou à ſa perte, les Ruſſes ſeuls ſont ſuffiſants pour en purger la terre. Plaignons les braves ſoldats, devenus, la plupart malgré eux, les ſatellites de ce tyran du monde. Tournons nos regards derriere lui. Tous ſes moyens de grande défenſive arrangés, il reſtera encore aſſez de troupes à l'Empereur Alexandre pour détacher par la Baltique dans ſa *Scherenflote* vingt mille hommes, qui peuvent joindre dès le printemps le Roi de Suede dans l'iſle de Rugen.

'Ce jeune Monarque, à l'exemple du Grand Guſtave Adolphe, développera en Poméranie avec le ſecours Ruſſe et le ſubſide Anglais une armée de cinquante mille hommes, et s'étendant dans la Baſſe Saxe depuis Dantzick et Colberg juſqu'à Hambourg, doublera cette armée avec les inſurgents de la Pruſſe, de la Heſſe, paſſera l'Elbe, délivrera la Pruſſe et la Saxe, et établira une grande guerre au centre de l'Allemagne, à laquelle ſe joindra neceſſairement l'Autriche. Qui s'oppoſera à ces deux grands orages, s'étendant du Danube à la Mer Baltique? La faible Ligue du Rhin? Non, elle ſe diſſoudra, et chacun de ſes

membres expiera ſa faibleſſe, en joignant Guſtave et l'Empereur d'Autriche pour délivrer l'Allemagne.

' Le ſenſible, le philantrope Buonaparté, cet être bienfaiſant qui ne reſpire que pour le bonheur du monde, qui offre la paix à tout moment, qui ne répand le ſang, ne pille les propriétés, n'opprime et n'avilit les peuples que par l'impulſion d'une delicate fraternité, rentrera en Allemagne le fer et la flamme à la main, jettera les hauts cris ſur la perfidie d'une nation égarée qui ſe refuſe à la félicité dont il la comble, attribuera cette erreur criminelle au machiaveliſme et à l'or de l'Angleterre, et cherchera à effectuer une retraite difficile au travers de ces peuples ingrats, et de rentrer en France où il rencontrera la même ingratitude.

' Regardons encore plus loin. La nation Portugaiſe qu'il a tant preſſurée et avilie, qu'il fait menacer depuis pluſieurs années d'être effacée de la liſte des nations pour devenir une province de l'Eſpagne, profitera l'éloignement du *Conquérant du Nord* qui eſt à huit cent lieues, trainant à ſa ſuite toute la force militaire de France et d'Italie, pour reprendre ſon ancienne energie, récouvrer ſa liberté et ſon honneur, ſe délivrer des tributs arbitraires dont elle eſt accablée, et aider la nation Eſpagnole à en faire autant. Ce ſeront encore deux peuples aveugles et ingrats qui échapperont à la bienveillance de *l'Auguſte* moderne.

' Peut-être même encouragés par l'impunité, puiſque vu ſon éloignement il ne pourra les atteindre, pousseront-ils, pour aſſurer leur liberté, leur audace criminelle juſqu'à couronner les Pyrénées, et jetter des eſcadres et des troupes ſur les côtes du Midi et de l'Oueſt de la France pour protéger les inſurrections des provinces, qui trouvent mauvais qu'on arrache la fleur de leur jeunesse de ſes foyers pour aller aſſeoir une famille avanturiere ſur tous les trônes de l'Europe, et qui ne voyent la fin de ces guerres ruineuſes et dévorantes, la ceſſation du gouvernement militaire et deſpotique, et le retour de la ſûreté des propriétés, des lois, de la morale, du commerce, des manufactures, de la vraie liberté, du bonheur de la France, et de la paix univerſelle de l'Europe, que dans le rétabliſſement des Bourbons ſur un trône qui leur eſt bien dû en expiation du martyre du vertueux Louis XVI. et de leurs longues ſouffrances. '

We have stated upon a former occasion, and long before the event, our reasons for never indulging in such hopes as these. But, at any rate, they are now mere dreams of a night that is passed away. Let us, instead of disputing what would have followed from events always highly improbable, consider the situation in which they have actually been placed, and the prospect which is spread before us. Such a speculation is more than merely gratifying our curiosity. If attended with some risk, from the rapid progress which affairs are making at the moment of discussion; it is likely, on the other hand, to teach us some lessons which may the more speedily prove serviceable.

The fatal impolicy which produced the coalition of 1805, is unquestionably the cause of the disasters now so generally deplored. Satisfied with having a just cause of war, Russia and Austria

Austria never inquired whether they had a safe opportunity; or rather, England, resolved at all hazards, and without delay, to turn out the Continent against France, never considered that a pretext for going to war was quite unnecessary,—that the mere relative strength of France would, according to ancient rules, furnish sufficient ground for attacking her,—but that it also rendered the attempt ruinous if it failed, and prescribed such a degree of caution in making it, as should give a fair chance of success. The event is but too well known. Austria, unable to withstand the first shock of the war, or to keep her ground until Russia came to her assistance, was in a few weeks so reduced, that she owed her existence to a peace which left her quite incapable of moving again, whatever might happen to make new exertions desirable. Had the strength which was wasted in 1805 been reserved for the next year, and joined to the united efforts of Russia and Prussia, we do not say that the Duke of Brunswick would have marched to Paris, but such a front would have been opposed to France, as must have rendered it highly dangerous for her ruler, either to continue his aggressions in Germany, or to attempt the invasion of this country. With the countries beyond the Alps and the Pyrenees in a state of equal discontent, his own people heartily sick of the war, his conquered provinces still more anxious for peace, he would probably have thought in good earnest of 'ships, colonies, and commerce,' and would have deferred to a better season his projects both of continental and maritime aggrandizement. A peace might have been obtained, such as his neighbours could safely trust; or, if he determined to try another campaign, the resistance which he has in point of fact lately experienced, entitles us to conclude, that, unavailing as it has now proved, if augmented by the exertions of Austria, it would have induced him to pause, even before any efforts were made against him in the south.

But we are following the example of General Dumourier, and only indulging a pleasing fiction, which makes the reality more intolerable. After the ruin of Austria, and the advanced positions which the enemy immediately occupied, no rational statesman could entertain hopes of the remaining part of Europe opposing an effectual resistance to him. To avoid an open rupture, was the only policy which remained. Russia had still some name left. Her unwieldiness, and the weakness of Prussia, were as yet unknown. Rather than discover those secrets by experiment, it is probable that France would have remained satisfied with some petty encroachments,—quite sufficient, no doubt, to justify war, and in happier times, to prescribe it; but much rather to be connived at than resented after the fate of Austria,—which Prussia had done nothing, and

Russia scarcely any thing to stay. The conduct of the Court of Berlin was indeed such as to merit even more abuse than has been lavished upon it, if the awful punishment had not since followed. Unfortunately England had, at that moment, no voice in its councils, having, from views, excuseable perhaps, but not the less to be deplored, gone to war with Prussia, because a just cause of hostility was afforded, and lost sight for a while of the maxim, that whatever is not French should be treated as English. * If experience could teach nations, as it is said to do the most indocile of individuals, we might now expect one truth to be received as the dear-bought fruits of the last ten years, that no measures against France have any chance of success, in which Austria is not the chief actor, and that, for this purpose, she must be also the prime mover of those schemes. We must wait her time,—we must accommodate ourselves to her situation,—we must nurse her resources, and adapt our conduct to her views. Upon her we can always rely, with the confidence which strong mutual interest alone can give.—When her time comes, and a sufficient number of the other nations have an interest in joining the league,—when cabinet and people feel alike disposed to fight,—then the aggressions of France may be considered as about to check themselves, and it will be safe for England to assist a continental war. In the present state of Europe, and for a long time to come, the best service she can render her allies, is to exert herself actively in preventing them from seeking new wars with an enemy whom they cannot face; and it is her own interest to view as her allies, at least to this effect, all nations which are either unsubdued, or forcibly retained in friendship with France.

The restoration of peace on the Continent, is, therefore, in our view of the subject, a very fortunate event. Russia and Austria, if they are altogether unable to make head against France at present, retain, nevertheless, resources which prudent management may

* This queſtion of the rupture with Pruſſia on account of Hanover, was never diſcuſſed; becauſe, if the late Miniſtry, probably from expectations of peace, were inclined to reſent the conduct of Pruſſia, their adverſaries were too happy to get a new war at any price, and more eſpecially a war for Hanover. It is painful to reflect, that this was one of the moſt popular acts of the late adminiſtration. The country cared, indeed, very little about Hanover; but the charm of finding ſome more enemies, and that, too, at a time when there was ſome fear of a peace with France, was not to be reſiſted. It is perhaps not too much to affirm, that Hanover became a ſort of favourite with the people, becauſe it furniſhed the ground of a ſpirited quarrel; although, in former times, a continental war uſed to be the object of averſion, if it had any relation to the King's German dominions.

may once more render formidable. The bravery of the Russian troops, and the severe battles which it has cost to beat them, must certainly contribute to render peace still more popular in a country subject to an unsparing military conscription. Happily, too, Austria made no effort, and therefore was not defeated. Some kind of doubt, consequently, remains with the French, whether they could have triumphed over the whole force of the Continent; and they can have no doubt, that such a victory would have cost them much dearer. The neutrality of Austria, then, and the good conduct of the Russians, will probably render it more convenient for Buonaparte to give such terms at present, as could scarcely again have been expected, unless, in the most unlikely of all events, his complete discomfiture. Had Austria given him cause of alarm, he certainly would have turned short about upon her, and with the assistance of his different auxiliaries on the West and South, acting under some of his thousand finished commanders, would have speedily prevented any further movement from that quarter. Had Russia then persisted in the contest, he would have followed up his victories, cost what they might, until he reached the fertile provinces which lead to St Petersburgh. But this would have been his last war with Russia. The peace which sooner or later must have come, would, in that case, have left to some dependent state the task of checking so troublesome and doubtful an enemy. Sweden, if any such question can admit of certainty, would surely have been reared up to fill this office; and instead of Russia being left entire to assist Austria at some future period, she would probably have been excluded from all share in the politics of Europe, by the restoration of a power too feeble ever to cope with France, and only strong enough to aid her.

Happily this change, which, together with the establishment of their power in Poland, has been a favourite plan of the French statesmen since the reign of Lewis XV., is not likely at present to take place. France will, in all likelihood, be satisfied with the reduction of the King of Prussia to a state of dependence, and the erection of some part of his dominions into a separate and French principality; thus gaining a new depôt for intrigue, and an advanced post for French troops to the east of the German powers, and in the neighbourhood of Russia. The consequences of such an arrangement, while Buonaparte's influence in France, and the military character of his people continues, need scarcely be pointed out. It renders all hope of an effectual resistance, by the joint operation of Russia and Austria, nearly chimerical. The utmost that can be said for it is, that the complete success of the plan, the restoration of Poland and Sweden, would have been much worse.

Thus, then, the Continental powers will find it necessary to remain under the influence of France, and, tired of hostility which has only reduced them lower each time, they will bethink themselves of conciliating her friendship or forbearance. The adoption of some measures unfavourable to England, will probably form part of the price for which this is granted; and the interruption of our commercial intercourse with the north of Europe, is likely to be one of the first fruits of the new order of things. If a similar prohibition be extended to Portugal, our whole direct intercourse with Europe will be confined to the trade of Sicily. Even this we shall only retain, while France thinks it better to confine our forces in that island; and we shall then owe to that 'war in disguise,' which has been painted as the enemy's only means of annoying us, the power of selling a single bale of goods to any of our European customers. Under such circumstances, we certainly cannot expect to dictate terms to our only remaining customers the Americans. But this will be the smallest part of the evil. A rigorous enforcement of the prohibition against our goods may be apprehended in most of the places subject to our enemy's influence; and though it is true that no such exclusion can be completely effected, it is equally certain that the conversion of the greatest part of our regular trade into contraband, will exceedingly diminish the amount of our commercial dealings, and narrow, in the most alarming degree, those resources by which a war of rapidly increasing expense must be carried on. By such means, even if all direct hostility against us were out of the question, it is probable that the enemy expects to diminish, not certainly our hatred of him, but our horror at peace. A great number of failures in the mercantile world—the ruin of many colonial proprietors—the general increase of price in all imported articles—not to mention the return of numbers of our ruined countrymen from their residences abroad—would no doubt spread a degree of consternation throughout this island, not the less violent because it succeeded to a few years of exulting confidence in our immutable prosperity. While the income of the people suffered, the demands for the public service would necessarily increase; and the weight of new taxes would become almost too heavy even for those who have talked of cheerfully giving up half their property to save the rest.

But it is probable that, though the alarm and real vexation which must then be diffused, must induce the people to wish for peace, they would find that they had waited too long, and lost the opportunity. For, in what situation will our enemy stand with respect to invasion? He may try it when he chooses, and has nothing to fear if he fails. There is no longer the

the most remote chance of a diversion in our favour; and if we destroy his whole invading squadron, or annihilate his army after it lands, we have only obtained security until he shall make a second attempt. Formerly there were many serious obstacles to the project being tried;—for, if he engaged in it, he had to apprehend that the powers of the Continent would seize the opportunity of attacking him; and he could not doubt that they would fall upon him, if he was repulsed,—while the people of France were likely to be disheartened, perhaps discontented by the failure. Now that the Continent is subdued, and left without the possibility of resisting for years to come, he has none of these dangers to think of;—our utmost efforts must end in barely defending ourselves. That the invasion will be attempted, too, with means which never before were at his disposal, cannot admit of a doubt. If he sets about it in good earnest—that is to say, if we make a grand exertion of this sort absolutely necessary, by refusing to treat—he has not only an abundance of soldiery quite unexampled in any country, but the power of obtaining ships and seamen both in the north and south of Europe. His points of attack are no longer confined to Brest, Boulogne, and the Texel. The north of Germany, the Danish dominions, and the Tagus, will in all human probability be added to his sea coast, or so far subjected to his influence, that he may use their harbours as his own. Whether the British navy can be suddenly augmented, so as to blockade every armament which he may fit out over this vast extent of coast,—and whether, if we had as many fleets as we now have ships, all the harbours capable of containing an armament are likewise capable of being blockaded, are questions that need only be stated to be answered.

If then we must at length, and indeed, expect to *fight the battle on our own shores*, it may be prudent to consider how dreadful the consequences would prove, even of the most unsuccessful war which France could carry on in this commercial territory. That it could not be a very short struggle, or indeed a contest perfectly free from the greatest of possible dangers, must appear evident to every one who reflects on the superior skill of the enemy's officers, the experience of his whole army, and the present state of Ireland. When the certain injury is so great—when there is a possibility at least of a still greater calamity—and when the utmost we can gain by such losses and risks is merely the repulse of the invader, leaving him nearly in the same situation as before, and ourselves much weaker; it becomes us to consider whether it would not be just as wise to terminate the war at present, if an honourable peace can be procured. We cannot possibly gain by continuing this contest. On the contrary, such of our allies as remain steady to us

will be ruined; and the resourses of those who either are disposed or compelled to leave us, will be turned against us. The enemy is, in all probability, willing to treat once more—he thinks he shall gain by a peace the only thing which war cannot give him, colonies and trade;—and, satisfied with subduing the Continent, he may be inclined to forego the chance of conquering us. If he really has no such views, and will only make peace upon extravagant terms, we must, of course, resolve to fight the battle out, and endeavour to forget by whom our safety has been endangered. But, in the present state of the Continent, if a peace can, upon tolerably good terms, be procured, it will surely be the height of folly to throw away the last chance of bringing back France to the pursuits of civil life, and rendering her a safe and quiet neighbour.

It is an exceedingly prevalent notion in this country, that the enemy is worse off than he affects to be, because he offers moderate terms to those powers whom he pretends to have conquered. He overruns Austria; and when he comes to talk of peace, he takes but a trifling part of her dominions, leaving her still a great nation. 'Is it possible' say the reasoners to whom we are alluding 'that he can really have gained such victories? No; he must feel that he can do no better;—he is afraid—he has got into some scrape—there is something rotten at home—or he knows that he shall be defeated if the war lasts.' Such have been the inferences from the enemy's moderation in former treaties; and, no doubt, the peace which he is about to make with our allies, will be liable to the same remarks. Nothing, however, can be worse founded than opinions of this sort; and nothing can be more fatal, than the delusions to which they give rise. The enemy knows very well, that by taking something at present, he may get more hereafter; and he is aware that he can only continue master of the question of peace and war, with a neighbour whom he has defeated, by giving, in the first instance, moderate terms. If he did otherwise, the treaty might be broken at a moment which did not suit him. To encroach gradually after the war has ended, is a part of the same policy which teaches him to move rapidly while it continues. We must lay our account, then, with his not remaining quiet now, any more than he did after the treaty of Presburg. But to delude ourselves with the hope, that because he is moderate in his terms, compared with the successes which he claims, therefore his pretensions are false; and to derive from them another inference, that by keeping alive some war on the Continent, or at least continuing at war ourselves, as a rallying point to the allies, we shall, in the end, beat him,—is a species of folly which would be ridiculous, were it confined to a few, and productive of less melancholy effects.

It

It is common with the same class of politicians, to receive, as something akin to disaffection, every gloomy description of our own prospects, or those of our allies. When such a representation is made, they do not inquire whether it be true or false, although that is the only question; but they say, it tends to promote despondency. Those who fairly and honestly state the case as it is, are called prophets of evil, and preachers of despair—are plainly accused of wishing to see their own predictions realized—and more than suspected of assisting in their fulfilment. To all such thoughtless or designing persons, one answer may be sufficient. The evil foretold is a misery which must directly affect every human being in the country—it is an invasion of a large French army, either successful, or with difficulty repelled. This is a prospect which no rational creature can take any pleasure in contemplating. 'Then do not speak of it,' say the railers, 'it dispirits the people.' Not so—A nation, whom the timely view of their real situation can dispirit, will assuredly never face the danger when it comes near. But it is very possible to ensure a panic, with all its fatal consequences, among the bravest people, by feeding them with false hopes, stimulating their natural spirits by artificial means, and blindfolding them till the moment when the immediate approach of the danger requires them to act. Above all, a strong and general popular feeling against peace is to be dreaded by every wise statesman, if it be the result of such delusions; for, when the crisis is at hand, and the truth is known, a still stronger aversion to the war is likely to seize the multitude, and all spirit-stirring topics will surely fail. The mischiefs of such popular infatuation were felt, but in a very subordinate degree, during the Grand Alliance war; when the general aversion to a treaty upon moderate terms broke off the negotiations; and, being followed by an equally violent clamour for peace, brought about the most inadequate bargain that two nations ever made.

The wiser conduct is to look our situation in the face, while there is yet time to better it. We have constantly and gloriously vanquished all our enemies at sea;—we have gained the most honourable victories over superior forces by land;—we have suffered not a single reverse which can stain our reputation. But our allies have been destroyed, rather than conquered,—the world has need of repose,—and the war can no longer benefit any one except our enemy. This is our situation. We can lose no honour by fairly agreeing to treat;—by yielding something to the misfortunes, not of ourselves, but our friends—and by endeavouring to be *really* at peace, as soon as we have put an end to the war.

Art.

ART. IX. *Cobbett's Political Register.* 11 vol. 8vo. pp. innumerable. London 1802—1807.

WE are induced to take ſome notice of this Journal, becauſe we are perſuaded that it has more influence with that moſt important and moſt independent claſs of ſociety, which ſtands juſt above the loweſt, than was ever poſſeſſed before by any ſimilar publication. Its circulation and its popularity are, we think, upon the whole, very creditable to the country. It is written with great freedom, and often with great force of argument. It flatters few national prejudices—except our love of detraction and abuſe; and has often had the merit of maintaining bold truths, both againſt the party in power, and the prevailing ſentiments of the nation. It conſiſts, in general, of ſolid argument and copious detail; with little relief of general declamation, and no attraction of playfulneſs. It is a good ſign of a people, we think, when a work of this deſcription is generally read and ſtudied among them. It can only be acceptable to men of ſome vigour of intellect, and ſome independence of principle; and it was, upon the whole, with feelings of pride and ſatisfaction, that we learned the extent of its circulation among the middling claſſes of the community, and the great ſuperiority of its influence over that of the timid and venal prints, which ſubſiſt by flattering the prejudices of a party, or of the nation at large.

The author's original anti-Jacobiniſm was, like all other anti-Jacobiniſm after 1800, extravagant, ſcurrilous, and revolting. But this died away; and, for the three or four laſt years, till very lately, his influence, we believe, has been rather ſalutary, and we have been well pleaſed that ſuch a journal ſhould be in exiſtence. Diſguſted as we have often been with his arrogance; irritated by his coarſe and clamorous abuſe; and wearied with the needleſs vehemence and diſproportioned fury with which he frequently deſcanted on trifles, we could ſtill admire his intrepidity, and reſpect his force of underſtanding; and were glad to have a journal in which ſalutary truths could be ſtrongly ſpoken, and which might ſerve as a vehicle for independent ſentiments, and a record of neceſſary, but unpopular accuſations. With this general impreſſion, we could eaſily make allowance for the exceſſes into which the author was habitually betrayed, either by the defects of his education, or by his known political partialities; and after ſetting aſide his raving about the funds and the committee at Lloyd's—his traſh about the learned languages—and his ignorant ſcurrility about Mr Malthus—we had ſtill ſome toleration in ſtore for his zeal for the Bourbons, his horror at revolutions, and his jealouſy of the democratical part of our conſtitution.

Within

Within the laſt ſix months, however, he has undergone a moſt extraordinary and portentous transformation. Inſtead of the champion of eſtabliſhment, of loyalty, and eternal war with all revolutionary agency, he has become the patron of reform and reformers; talks hopefully of revolutions; ſcoffingly of Parliament; and cavalierly of the Sovereign; and declaims upon the ſtate of the repreſentation, and on the iniquities of placemen and penſioners, in the very phraſes which have been for ſome time laid aſide by thoſe whom he uſed to call levellers and Jacobins.

The inconſiſtencies and apoſtaſies of a common journaliſt, certainly are neither ſo rare nor of ſuch importance as to deſerve any notice from us. But Mr Cobbett is not quite a common journaliſt; and his caſe is ſomewhat peculiar. He has more influence, we believe, than all the other journaliſts put together; and that influence is ſtill maintained, in a good degree, by the force of his perſonal character. He holds a high tone of patriotiſm and independence; he puts his name to all his publications; and manfully invites all who diſſent from his opinions, to meet him in the fair field of public diſputation. Another peculiarity in Mr Cobbett's caſe is, that he ſtill ſtoutly aſſerts his conſiſtency; and maintains, that with a very moderate allowance for the exaggerations of a diſputant, and for actual changes in the poſition of our affairs, the doctrines which he now promulgates are the ſame which he has held and expreſſed from the beginning. He has neither profeſſed to be converted like Mr Redhead Yorke, nor attempted to ſneak ſilently to the other ſide like the herd of venal pamphleteers. Though our quarrel with him, therefore, be entirely on the ſcore of the tendency of his later productions, the queſtion of their conſiſtency or inconſiſtency with his former profeſſions is by no means indifferent to the iſſue. There are many who believe in him, partly at leaſt, on account of the ſturdy honeſty to which he lays claim, and the tone of confidence with which he predicts what is to come, and pretends to have predicted whatever has actually occurred; and there are few, perhaps, of thoſe who have received any impreſſion from his writings, whoſe faith in his reaſonings would not be diminiſhed by a conviction of the inconſiſtency or verſatility of his ſucceſſive opinions, or a ſuſpicion of the ſhare that paſſion or party may have had in their formation. It is not, therefore, from any paltry or vindictive motive, but for the purpoſe of reducing his *authority* to its juſt ſtandard, that we think it neceſſary, before entering upon the examination of his late doctrines, to make a few remarks on his title to the praiſe of conſiſtency, and to exhibit ſome inſtances of what has certainly appeared to us as the moſt glaring and outrageous contradiction.

The

The first thing that would strike any one who had only known Mr Cobbett as the author of the Porcupine, and the earlier volumes of the Political Register, on looking into any of his later numbers, would be the terms of high and unmeasured praise with which he speaks of the political principles and proceedings of Sir Francis Burdett. We were perfectly certain, that these same principles had formerly been the object of his most furious reprobation, and had an obscure recollection that the worthy Baronet himself had occasionally been subjected to the discipline of his pen. In looking back to the Register for the year 1802, we were surprised, however, to find the excess and scurrility of the abuse which was then poured out on the present idol of the author. Some of the following passages form so extraordinary a contrast with those which Mr Cobbett's readers have lately been in the habit of perusing, that we cannot resist the temptation of transcribing them.

In the Register for July 1802, (vol. II. p. 51.), this loyal politician observes, 'To read the bills and advertisements which have been published in the county of Middlesex, one would believe that the contest was not between two gentlemen, but *between the magistrates and the thieves;* and that the great body of those who have espoused the cause of Sir Francis Burdett, have done so with a hope, that, *if he were successful*, there would be an end to all legal punishment; and that *crimes of every sort might be committed in perfect security.*' The same observation is repeated at p. 90. of the same volume, where it is facetiously observed, that 'the road to Brentford is lined with ragged wretches from St Giles's, bawling out, Sir Francis Burdett, and no Bastile; and, at the Hustings, there are daily some half dozen convicts, who have served out their time in the house of correction, amusing *the rabble* with execrations on the head of Mr Mainwaring,' &c. In the same spirit, the worthy Baronet is repeatedly branded as the friend of the convicted traitor O'Connor, and the acquitted traitor Horne Tooke, and held up to detestation as 'the demagogue with his crew,' or 'his gallows-hating citizens.' It would be endless to quote the passages in which this temper is indicated. The following may serve as a pretty fair specimen of the tone in which they are composed. 'To reason with such a man' (as Sir Francis Burdett) 'would be absurd. He must be treated with *silent contempt, or be combated with weapons very different from a pen.* While, however, we declare our *abhorrence* of the principles and conduct of the man who, in alluding to the British government, speaks of "*hired* Magistrates, Parliaments and *Kings;*"—while we *detest and loathe Sir Francis Burdett;*—while we could *trample upon him* for the *false, base* and insolent insinuations

insinuations respecting our and his Sovereign,' &c. &c. Pol. Reg. vol. II. p. 151.

Those who are in the habit of reading the Political Register, may find an amusing contrast to these effusions in almost any of the numbers which have been published for the last six months. For the benefit of those who do not see that Journal, we shall extract a few passages. It is needless to quote any thing which he says in his laboured and pertinacious defence of the patriotic Baronet on occasion of his rupture with Mr Whitebread; in the course of which, he complains bitterly of his old favourite John Bowles, for having used 'the most false and scurrilous expressions relative to Sir Francis.' In vol. XI. p. 439, he is represented as having been uniformly hated by every party which had existed in his time, because they were *all* bent upon fattening on the public money, and knew that he would oppose them. In p. 871. of the same volume, he says to the electors of Westminster, 'If you succeed in causing Sir Francis Burdett to be returned to Parliament, you *will have done more for the* country in fourteen days, *than has been done for it during the last hundred years.*' At p. 990, there is this unequivocal confession of faith, 'We, the people of England, *feel that Sir Francis Burdett is our best friend;—we participate in his principles;*—we rely on his talents and integrity;—*we approve of his declarations;*—we despise the circulators of the a-hundred-times refuted *calumnies* against him, and look forward, with confidence, to the day when those calumnies will be drowned in the unanimous applause of a *no longer besotted people.*' After this, it cannot surprise us to find our exulting author congratulating the country upon his being able to open a new volume with an account of 'the *chairing* of Sir Francis Burdett,' which he is pleased to consider as the memorable sign of an æra in politics; and afterwards stating, that 'when the worthy Baronet's head became visible above the crowd, the air rang with a shout, in which, had the King been in town, he would have heard the voice of his people—the sound of that voice which he will, ere long, hear from all his subjects, the voice of love and admiration of those who are the real friends of the country, and of indignation at those who are its real enemies,' &c. This, we believe, is enough for our purpose; though it would be hard to withhold from our readers that spirited and liberal paragraph, in which Mr Cobbett, in expressing his indignation at the idea that the name of the ignoble Lord Howick should ever be connected with that of his darling patriot, is pleased to say, that if any man had told him that such a connexion had been hinted at, 'he would almost have been tempted to spit in his face!'

Now,

Now, we should like to know in what way Mr Cobbett, or Mr Cobbett's admirers, can reconcile these passages. They will scarcely venture to say, that Sir Francis Burdett has abandoned the principles which he held in 1802. Whatever may be his errors or his demerits, the worthy Baronet is entitled, at least, to the praise of consistency; and his late political addresses are at least as obnoxious to zealous loyalists and antijacobins, as those which excited Mr Cobbett's indignation at the first of those periods. But the *times*, it will be said, have changed;—they have come round to Sir Francis, and have carried Mr Cobbett along with them!—This will not do; there is no man in his senses who will say, that in 1802 there was more to be apprehended from Jacobinism than in 1807, or that there was less need to clamour for a reform in parliament, and a check to corruption, at the former than at the latter period. It remains, then, that Mr Cobbett himself has changed.—We cannot help it; nor do we think there is any great harm in it: the change is perhaps for the better: for though we can by no means go along with the rapturous encomiums which he now bestows on the object of his former detestation, we really felt quite as much disgusted with the abuse which he then poured upon him. We never thought that the constitution was in any great danger from the worthy Baronet's plan of universal suffrage, and annual parliaments; and certainly are not of opinion, that his return to parliament is the most propitious and important event which has happened in England for the last hundred years. Both opinions appear to us to be somewhat absurd and irrational; but we cannot help thinking it a little extraordinary, that they should both have been zealously maintained by one and the same individual, and that this individual should take it into his head to value himself upon his political consistency. The merits of Mr Cobbett's new creed, we shall take occasion to appreciate by and by: we think it already pretty apparent, that it bears no great resemblance to his old one; and may perhaps be permitted to hint to his admirers, that it might be as well, if one whose faith is so liable to be unsettled, did not persecute with such intolerance all who ventured to oppose it.

But his conduct to Sir Francis Burdett, perhaps is influenced by some private attachment, and his judgment of other public men is more temperate and consistent. We can see no proofs of this;—all are treated in the same way,—praised extravagantly to-day,—abused outrageously to-morrow. We do not recollect any one (except perhaps Mr Windham) of his original favourites, upon whom he has not heaped the ordure of his ignoble abuse; and scarcely one whom he reprobated at the beginning, who has not been compensated at last by the most preposterous encomiums.

Mr

Mr Pitt, at the beginning of his career, was the greatest of the great, the saviour of Europe, the most magnanimous of statesmen; lately, his readers have only heard of him under the appellation of 'that shallow-brained boaster,'—that patron of peculation,—that poor, hollow, bombastic declaimer, &c. Of Mr Fox, he said in 1802, that he never thought him a person of any political importance, or one who could ever have any weight in the councils of the nation, (vol. ii. p. 338); he is even guilty of the atrocious absurdity of averring, with all the seriousness and animosity which he can muster for the occasion, that he believes the only object of that illustrious person's journey to Paris, in 1801, was *to make himself minister of this country by the help of Bonaparte.* (p. 343.) He thanks heaven, that of all his manifold sins, that of *ever* having, either in thought, word or deed, been an adherent of Charles Fox, is not among the number; and that he only breaks through the *silence of disdain*, on account of the consequence which he derives from the friendship of the First Consul, (p. 714.) He more than insinuates his affection for rebels, regicides, and traitors; resents his 'loathsome calumnies' on the House of Stuart, and his 'miserable attempts to defend the characters of Russel and Sydney;' and concludes with asking, 'Where, Sir, shall I find, in all the cumbrous volumes of harangues which you have uttered during the last ten years of treasons and conspiracies against the throne and the life of your Sovereign, one single sentence or phrase expressive of your abhorrence of those diabolical machinations?' (p. 719.) To this despicable, disloyal, detestable statesman, Mr Cobbett has himself stated (vol. vi. p. 515.) that he afterwards *went over;* he calls him repeatedly, 'public-spirited and magnanimous,' and declares, that, out of the five great questions to which his life had been devoted, there never had been but one on which they disagreed. In a Number published since his death, he speaks of the departed statesman in the following terms. 'He who was in his nature kind and indulgent to a fault; who was *wonderfully gifted* in the faculty of perceiving and of judging; whose *heart and mind were always disposed to the right side;* and who only wanted, as Major Cartwright observes, the resolution to say nay to bad men.' (vol. xi. p. 593.) The truth of this character might atone for much hastiness or error; but nothing can expiate the base scurrility with which it stands contrasted; nor was it fit that an encomium on Mr Fox should be pronounced by lips polluted with libels which only atoned for their malignity by their gross and contemptible absurdity.

The minor characters are treated in the same manner. Mr Sheridan is a very eloquent and patriotic person, while he is opposed to Mr Addington; when he stands against Sir Francis Burdett,

Burdett, he is a peculator,—a player,—and a tool of corruption. Horne Tooke is branded through many volumes, as a republican, Jacobin, and demagogue. He is even accused pretty distinctly of having been guilty of high treason; and yet we find, in a late Number (vol. xi. p. 872.), a most gracious and polite invitation to him to come forward for the public service; 'nor do I believe' says Mr Cobbett 'that if the gentleman who is represented as having such absolute power over Sir Francis Burdett were once more to stand forward in public life, he could in a short time hence meet with any of the *prejudices* which have heretofore existed against him.' Even Mr Bowles, who is now the constant object of Mr Cobbett's scorn and derision, was once considered by him in the light of a respectable coadjutor. In the second volume we hear of his valuable pamphlets, and of Mr Cobbett's entire acquiescence in the sentiments they contain. The sentiments of Mr Bowles, for which we certainly entertain no great respect, were always, we believe, the same which he now professes.

Now, what is it that we infer from this strange alternation of praise and blame in the pages of Mr Cobbett? Why, that nobody should care much for either; that they are bestowed from passion or party prejudice, and not from any sound principles of judgment; and that it must be the most foolish of all things, to take our impressions of the merit of any individual, from a man whose own opinions have not only varied, but been absolutely reversed, within these four years. The consideration of this versatility in Mr Cobbett's likings and dislikings, has, we will confess, been a considerable encouragement to us in the task of reviewing his lucubrations. When we first felt it to be our duty to point out the pernicious parts of his tenets, we were a little appalled by the prospect of the weekly abuse with which we lay our account with being rewarded; but when we discovered, in the course of our reading, how kindly he repays the victims of his occasional reprobation, we grew quite easy upon that subject;—satisfied that, if he should abuse us for a month or two to come, he will make us ample amends in the long-run, and end by being the most devoted of our admirers.

Hitherto we have only spoken of Mr Cobbett's opinions of men; and though they are opinions of public men, and delivered on public principles, we are willing to admit the plea, that they may have been influenced by the caprices of personal affection, and that the charge of inconsistency is not completely made out, unless it can be shown that his opinions have undergone as great a change with regard to the substantial measures of policy which he has always been occupied in discussing, as with regard to the merits

merits of the individuals by whom they have been proposed. And here it may be proper to remark, that it is no test of consistency at all, for a writer to be able to say, I have always been an enemy to peculation; or, I have uniformly been a friend to the constitution. No man in this country ever pretended to defend peculation, or to impugn the constitution in direct terms; nor have any parties ever been arrayed against each other, who were not perfectly agreed as to these and other general propositions. It is not then in his uniform professions of attachment to the constitution, or of hostility to those who endanger it, that we are to look for the evidence of Mr Cobbett's political consistency. It is in the specific measures which he has succesively held out as necessary for its defence, and the views and arguments by which he has at different times affected to support it.

After having been himself, for ten years, by far the loudest and most violent of those who endeavoured to terrify us with the dangers of Jacobinism, and the example of the French revolution, Mr Cobbett could sit down coolly, on the 11th of July 1807, and write these words. 'For the last fourteen years, 'alarms referring to the French revolution, have from time to time 'been played off upon this nation, and that too with woeful and '*disgraceful* success. To these alarms, artfully excited and kept 'up, the country owes almost the whole of her present difficul-'ties; for, had it not been for the fear men entertained of the 'overthrow of all order, law, and religion, Pitt never could have 'held so long that power, by the exercise of which he entailed such 'a train of curses upon us. Let the people look to this. Let them 'take care not to be alarmed again into an approbation of seven 'years suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Let them take spe-'cial care not to be persuaded, that the only way to have their 'liberties secured, is to have them taken away from them.' (vol. xii. p. 36.) This is pretty well for a general specimen of consistency; but it is better to be somewhat more particular.

The points upon which Mr Cobbett has descanted with the greatest zeal and animation for the last four months, are, 1st, The necessity of a reform in the representation; 2d, The benefit of frequent elections; and, 3d, The necessity of removing all placemen as well as pensioners from the houses of Parliament. Now, upon each of these subjects, we have had the benefit of perusing his opinions some years ago; and the comparison of those opinions with the doctrines which he now maintains with so much zeal and confidence, furnishes a contrast, we are happy to say, not less instructive and amusing than that which has been already presented in his judgments of individuals.

Upon the subject of parliamentary reform, we have a pretty

decisive diatribe in an angry letter to Mr Wilberforce in January 1803. The leading accusation against that gentleman is, that he had once patronized that detestable cause. 'Of the clamours for 'parliamentary reform,' says he, 'first begun by you and your 'associates, how numerous and how great have been the evils! 'No small portion of the discontents and dangers which have ex-'isted in England and Ireland, arose from the doctrines promul-'gated by the parliamentary reformers; whose wild notions, inco-'herent plans, and nonsensical phrases, were adopted by all those 'seditious and treasonable combinations which,' &c. He then falls foul, in still stronger terms, of the reform societies of 1782 and 1785; and after stating, in italics, that 'Horne Tooke, who 'was prosecuted for high treason, pleaded, in defence, that *his* 'society had in view no other object than that which had been 'pursued by you and your coadjutors,' he goes on to conclude, that 'the principles broached and promulgated by you and your 'associates, were such as led to the commission of high treason, 'the most heinous of all earthly offences—the compassing and 'imagining the death of the King.' vol. III. p. 35. There are many other passages in which the same principles are delivered; and not only the rebellions in Ireland, but the revolution in France, referred to the pernicious example of those among us who first set on foot 'those wild and presumptuous projects' for parliamentary reform.

After this, it is really edifying to hear Mr Cobbett exclaiming, in the bitterness of his heart, 'the people know very well how the House of Commons is chosen;' and actually quoting the words and resolutions of the very reformers of 1782, in order to ask Mr Perceval whether, in such a state of the representation, it be not a mockery to call an election an appeal to the sense of the people, or 'whether men ought to be 'reviled, and punished as traitors and seditious libellers, because 'they are discontented with such a state of things,—because 'they wish for, and seek, an improvement in the representation. 'And I put it to your reason," he adds, 'whether the upholding '*such a state of things*, and such revilings and punishings, be the 'likely means of calling forth the zeal of the people in defence of 'the government.' vol. XI. p. 863. Throughout all the later numbers, indeed, his main ground of accusation against the Whigs, as well as the followers of Mr Pitt, is, that none of them took any measures, while in power, for carrying into effect those great plans of parliamentary reform, for which they had affected so much zeal while in opposition.

Upon the same important subject, combined with the consideration of the effects of frequent election, we have a still fuller and more elaborate picture of Mr Cobbett's original sentiments,

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in his summary of politics for June 1802. He there observes, on occasion of a recent dissolution of Parliament, that 'the people had been told, in two *factious* addresses, that they are not represented in the House of Commons; that that assembly is no longer what it used to be; and that, until it be reformed, it is in vain for them to hope for any good from that quarter.' How exactly those factious addresses coincide with Mr Cobbett's own sentiments in his late letters to the Electors of Westminster, none of his readers can fail to perceive. In 1802, however, he not only calls them factious, but goes on to state, that 'the words *representation* and *elective franchise*, have done much towards confusing the brains, and corrupting the hearts of his Majesty's subjects; and though he has not the power of dissipating the *fatal delusion*, it is yet his duty to contribute his mite to the attempt.' In the prosecution of this laudable endeavour, he presents his readers with a picture of the miserable state of the representation in one of the states of America, 'where the elective franchise was as universal as even Sir Francis Burdett could have wished it;' and assures them that the choice frequently fell upon bankrupts, swindlers, quacks, atheists, &c. The rationale of all which he gives very much at his ease as follows. 'The cause of their preposterous choice is this. The mass of the people of all nations are so fond of nothing as of power. *Men of sense know that the people can in reality exercise no power which will not tend to their own injury.* Hence it is, that in states where the popular voice is unchecked by a royal, or some other hereditary influence, that voice is, *nine times out of ten, given in favour of those fawning parasites*, who, in order to gratify their own interest and ambition, profess to acknowledge no sovereignty but that of the people, and who, when they once get into power, rule the poor sovereign with a rod of scorpions,' &c. He then quotes an American pamphleteer in proof of the shocking state of the legislatures in that republic; and concludes, 'Such, Englishmen, is the description of a legislative assembly, where "equal representation" prevails; where almost every man has a vote at elections; and where these elections do annually occur. The *ambitious knaves*, who flatter you with high notions of your rights and privileges,—who are everlastingly driving in your ears the blessings of what they call the elective franchise, wish to add to the number of electors, because they well know that they would thereby gain an accession of strength,' &c. vol. I. p. 795.

Compare, with these passages, the whole tenor of the author's late addresses to the electors of Westminster, and, in particular, his late anticipation of another Westminster election, which, he says, 'will be a great good,—an unmixed good;—a good indis-

putable,—a good which will make up for many and many an evil;' and the passages where he says, 'So unequivocal are the advan-'tages of an election, to the people at least, that I should suppose 'there are very few persons unconnected with the late ministry 'who must not rejoice at the prospect. To chuse our representa-'tives, is among the most precious of our rights. It is our just 'franchise; and can there be a voter in the whole kingdom who 'objects to have an occasion to exercise it? Can the exercise 'of it come too often?' &c. &c. In the same tone he quotes, with warm approbation, the *excellent* speech of Mr Frend (vol. XII. p. 10.) in which it is stated, 'The public demands that the mem-'bers of the House of Commons be the representatives of the 'public, not the choice of a few private individuals; that Parlia-'ments be frequent, so that the members may not lose sight of 'their duty to their constituents,' &c.

Mr Cobbett's great modern theme, however, is his detestation of placemen and pensioners; and the leading argument—if we must call it argument—of his late Numbers, is directed to show, that there can be no salvation for England till every individual of this hateful description be excluded from the Houses of Parliament. This, so far as we can gather, is the sum and substance, the beginning and end of the reform by which alone we can be saved from destruction. We are wearied now of turning over the close printed pages of his former Numbers for doctrines exactly opposed to this. We are very much mistaken, however, if they are not to be found there; and are perfectly positive that no hints of this new creed are to be met with in any writing of his published so long as two years ago. This, of itself, is quite decisive as to the state of his former opinions. Placemen and pensioners have sat in Parliament for upwards of a hundred years; and yet Mr Cobbett had been ten years a patriotic journalist in this country, before he found it necessary to say one word against this dreadful abuse. He will scarcely pretend that there are more placemen now in Parliament than there were three years ago; and if their existence there be now so mortal to the constitution that nothing short of their total expulsion can give us a chance for its preservation, it surely must have been his duty to have proposed such a measure before Sir Francis Burdett put it into his famous address to the Electors of Middlesex. The merits of the doctrine itself we shall consider immediately. We are now speaking only of Mr Cobbett's consistency in insisting on it as obviously indispensable to our salvation. We have just fallen by accident upon the following passage, in an abusive letter to Mr Wilberforce in December 1802, in which the propriety and legality of placemen sitting in Parliament seems to be pretty clearly taken for

for granted. Discoursing of Parliamentary disinterestedness, he says—'Though present experience teaches us that some men 'certainly wish for office, to gratify their own covetousness and 'vanity; there are others, and, I trust, *a far greater number*, who, 'in their pursuit of power, are actuated by the noble motive of 'advancing the power and happiness of their Sovereign and their 'country. That considerations of a private nature,—the desire of 'posthumous, and even of present fame, may mix themselves a-'long with this great leading public motive, I allow:—But, Sir, I 'defy you to show me, in the conduct of a *placeman* of this de-'scription, any presumption that he has made the choice of his '*electors* subservient to his own interest or aggrandisement, which 'will not apply with equal, or with greater, force to yourself,' &c.

There is only one other subject, we think, upon which Mr Cobbett used formerly to enlarge with such frequency and zeal as to make it one of the fair characteristics of his peculiar opinions; we mean his ardent love and veneration for the person and family of the Sovereign, and for royalty indeed in general. In his earlier volumes, there is much fulsome cant and disgusting raving of this sort; but since he has embraced the creed of Sir Francis Burdett, this fine spirit of devoted loyalty seems to be pretty well evaporated. In his number for 24th March 1807, he defends the toast of 'our Sovereign the People,' given at one of the worthy Baronet's dinners, and says, he has no other objection to it than that 'it is not of plain unequivocal meaning.' He treats with considerable derision a loyal correspondent, who had said, he trusted every true Englishmen would shed the last drop of his blood in support of his King;—tells him the King has about 200,000 gentlemen in red and blue jackets whose business it is to support him, and that he is able to take care of himself;—and that such views of devotion may be reasonable and manly when we see the King giving up any point whatever, however loudly called for, or from whatever quarter. After this he proceeds to justify the party at the said dinner for omitting to drink the King's health;—contends that this is merely a voluntary expression of admiration of his conduct,—and that, for his own part, since the introduction of so many Hanoverian soldiers, the exemption of the King's property from the income-tax, and one or two other suspicious things of the same description, he has not felt quite so much of that admiration, and does not choose voluntarily to come forward with expressions of that sentiment, &c. (vol. XI. p. 436.) Is it too much to say, that the zealous advocate of the Bourbons, and of all their connexions, might have been expected to speak of the sons of his own Sovereign in terms of less contempt and acrimony? His

In these addresses, as well as in Mr Cobbett's defence of them, both the parties who now divide Parliament, are stigmatized as equally possessed by a sordid spirit of self-interest and individual aggrandisement; and, though differing in every thing else, disposed to unite heartily against any one who might attack the system of jobbing and corruption to which both of them are devoted. Now, these parties, it is to be observed, include every one member of either of the Houses of Parliament; and, indeed, every one individual who is at all known to the public in a political capacity,—except only Sir Francis Burdett, and those who professedly adhere to him. Yet both these parties, and all their adherents, are uniformly represented, in the work before us, as corrupted, venal wretches, intent upon fattening on the public money, and never quarrelling in earnest about any thing but their shares of it. The present Ministers, and their adherents, are honoured with the appellation of 'ousted Treasury clerks,' and the 'no popery faction;' while all who are opposed to them, are massed under the general name of 'the rump of whiggism,' and treated with a still more plentiful share of contumely and abuse.

That these censures do actually apply to the whole Legislature, and were really intended to have this extensive application, is manifest, we think, from the terms in which they are conceived; but Mr Cobbett has left no room for doubt on the subject, and has delivered his sentiments of the whole collective assembly, in terms that admit of no misconstruction. After saying of the late Parliament, that for its treatment of Mr Paul alone, 'it deserved *a death something more than political*,' and that its proceedings would have become an assembly of bashaws, he adds, 'I rejoice that it no 'longer exists. I rejoice that I have an opportunity of speaking 'my mind of it.' But its successor!—No matter! 'I care not for 'that,' &c. &c. Of this successor, however, he favours us with his sentiments by and by, in pretty plain terms. In speaking of the motion for adding Sir Francis Burdett's name to the committee of finance, he says, 'With respect to the rejection of Sir 'Francis by the House, the thing was quite natural: it was what 'the people would in such a case expect. Had he not been rejected, I should have been extremely sorry; because it would have 'led me to suspect that all was not right.' vol. XII. p. 50. In a subsequent number, he is pleased to say, 'I see not the least 'room to suppose, that any insinuations, however foul, can sink 'the character of the House in the opinion of the country. No, 'the House is not to be affected by insinuations of any sort. Its 'character has long been such as to set all insinuations at defiance. 'I venture to assert, that its character is far beyond the reach of detraction,' &c. &c. p. 74. After this, we need not quote any of his

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sneers at the *Honourable* House, and its faithful guardianship of the public purse,—or at the House of Lords, 'where the whole he-'reditary wisdom and honour of the nation are seated.' Still less can it be necessary to retail any of his good old democratical sayings as to the inadequacy of the representation, or his prophetic denunciation to Mr Fox, that if the 'system of Pitt was not abandoned, the consequence infallibly would be, the annihilation of all confidence on the part of the people in the then existing race of public men.'

What we have now referred to may suffice as evidence of Mr Cobbett's opinion of Parliament and public men. He has disqualified the whole of its present members, of all parties and descriptions, and the whole of those who were opposed to them, with the single exception of Sir Francis Burdett and his friends; and no good, he tells us, can be expected from that quarter, till it be filled with persons of their principles and description. The established constitution and usages of Parliament meet with as little toleration as its present composition. No placemen or pensioners are to have seats in either house. In other words, the ministers, who, from their situation and talents, must soonest see the need there is for new laws, and most thoroughly understand their operation, are to have no voice either in proposing or resisting them; and the blessed effect of this is to be, that 'the House of Com-'mons will be as dull as a Quaker meeting; no fixed days for de-'bating, as it is called; no speeches of three hours long; and the 'King might then change his servants when he pleased, without 'any commotion in that house, which has no more business with 'such changes than the mountebanks of Bartholomew fair have;'—'and this,' adds Mr Cobbett, 'would be the way to begin to 'fight France.' vol. xi. p. 1087.

As to the usages and forms of proceeding in Parliament, which are matters indeed of far inferior importance, they are treated throughout with the same spirit of derision and contempt. As to the right and the form of petitioning, for instance, Mr Cobbett takes occasion to say, that really the being permitted to pray does not seem a privilege worth boasting of; and when it is considered that the persons praying are addressing their own *representatives*, he can see no occasion for such excessively humble and cringing language. He then proceeds—

'But, gentlemen, though we may be permitted to write a prayer, we can none of us utter that prayer to the objects of our application. It must be so uttered by some member upon whom we may (*by some means or other*) prevail to become our propitiator; that is to say, before we can bring our prayer before the House, we must obtain the special consent of one of its own members. Having succeeded so far, our petition is allowed

lowed to be read by a clerk, who ſits at a table in the middle of the Houſe; and, a very great comfort it is to one to know, that one's prayer has paſſed through the lips of a man who wears a black gown and a three-tailed wig, and who, as it were for the purpoſe of preſerving *clean hands*, always writes in gloves. But, though read, it is not yet certain that our petition will be attended to. Attended to, did I say? It muſt firſt undergo the ceremony of a motion and of a vote; it muſt have a majority in its favour before it can be permitted to *lye upon the table*; and, when it has arrived at that honour, another motion and another vote of the majority is required, before any thing can be done in conſequence of this our humble prayer; for "humble" it muſt be, that being a quality abſolutely indiſpenſable.' vol. xi. p. 390.

We have quoted this paſſage at ſome length, not becauſe it contains any thing very important or very offenſive in its ſubſtance, but as a fair ſpecimen of the irreverent and deriſive ſtyle in which the author habitually ſpeaks of an inſtitution, from which no good man would wiſh to alienate the affection or reſpect of the country.

With regard to the groſs and inflammatory exaggerations by which he conſtantly endeavours to excite the indignation and diſcontent of the people, as to the diſadvantages of their ſituation, and the abuſes to which they may be referred, it would be endleſs to quote the multitude of paſſages in which they occur. The immenſe numbers of the poor, and the incapacity of a labourer to ſubſiſt a ſmall family from his wages, are repeatedly held forward, and imputed with the moſt unbluſhing confidence to the number of ſinecures, the extent of peculation, and the ſyſtem of funding. He loves to talk of the neceſſity of changing 'a ſyſtem by which forty millions a year of the people's ſavings are collected and diſtributed into hands, through which they naturally paſs to the metropolis, and there as naturally produce all the vices of which we complain.' The following paſſage, however, is particularly curious. If Mr Cobbett believes the ſtatement in it to be true, it may be regarded as the key to that extraordinary revolution in his opinions which we set out with remarking; and, at all events, it may ſerve to ſhow the opinions which he wiſhes to inculcate, and the lengths to which paſſion or prejudice can carry him. After obſerving that public men, in general, ſeemed not to be ſufficiently ſenſible of the great change which had taken place in the general way of thinking on politics ſince 1801, and eſpecially ſince the affair of Lord Melville, and that anti-Jacobinism, which had previouſly been a thriving trade, had ſince been on the decline, he takes occaſion to obſerve, 'There was a time when a cry about Jacobinism or danger to 'the Church would have had great weight. But thoſe *cries* have

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'seen *their day pass*; every man's attention being now turned to 'the abuses in the expenditure of the public money.' And afterwards, 'This, I repeat it, is the *sole* point upon which men's at-'tention is now earnestly fixed. Of *the affairs of the Continent*,—of 'conquests in South America,—and of *means of defence at home*, 'they have not leisure to think. The reading of tax-papers, and 'the providing for the incessant demands of the tax-gatherer, take 'up all their time. Their present grievous burdens is the only sub-'ject upon which they can be expected to think; and, while 'they feel these burdens, they know that enormous peculations re-'main unpunished; they see no hope of preventing them for the 'future; and they feel as men must feel under such circum-'stances.' *Vol.* xi. p. 816.

A people thus defrauded of its political rights, and oppressed in its private circumstances, certainly could have no great inducement to fight for a constitution which imposed and perpetuated such abominations; nor could it look forward to the subversion of such a constitution but as to a deliverance from tyranny, and a chance of restoration to happiness. If Mr Cobbett had intended, therefore, to render his countrymen indifferent as to foreign conquest, and desirous of internal revolution, he could not have employed other means than those to which he has actually resorted. We pretend not to judge of his intentions as to others; but, for his own individual part, he has spoken his opinion pretty freely, at least as to the probability and desirableness of a revolution. There are scattered throughout all his late Numbers general expressions of prophetic exultation to this effect;—that the day of the people will come,—that a terrible contest will soon succeed to the wars of faction,—and that a radical change must be made in our internal system. The following passage, however, is more full and explicit. After alluding to certain advertisements about the purchase of seats in Parliament, Mr Cobbett observes—

'From one corner of the kingdom to the other, corruption extends his baleful, his serpent-hatching wings. *Own this last? Ought it to last?* Of what avail is it that the miscreants engaged in this infamous traffic call us jacobins and levellers? Will any one of them say that this ought to be? Has any one of them the ingenuity to find *out any thing, even in imagination, worse than this?* Politicians *may endeavour to alarm us with cries of revolution*, and divines may preach to us *about hell*; but, if the one can find any thing *more disgraceful*, or the other any thing *more damnable*, than what is described in these advertisements, I beseech them speedily to exhibit it to our view. Fifty-seven of these advertisements have I read in the London daily papers; and I defy any man living to produce *me, in the history of the whole world, any thing so completely descriptive of national degradation.* Well may Mr Fawkes say, in his address to his late constituents of the county of York, that a seat in parliament, which he once

once regarded as the height of laudable ambition, he now views in quite a different light; and the only wonder is, that he ſhould have been till now in the dark upon the ſubject. Again I call upon our accuſers, upon thoſe who, for hire, denominate us jacobins and levellers, and who cry aloud for the preſervation of the conſtitution, to ſay, whether the conſtitution ſanctions theſe things. If it does, what an infamous impoſture it is! and, if it does not, it is we, and not our revilers, who are endeavouring to ſupport the conſtitution of England. Aye, it is we who would reſtore and ſupport the conſtitution; the real conſtitution; that conſtitution which ſo ſtrictly forbids the buying or the ſelling of a ſingle vote, much more a ſeat in parliament; that conſtitution which inhibits peers from any ſort of interference in elections, and that ſuppoſes it impoſſible that any peer ſhould, in any way, ſend a member to the Commons' Houſe; that conſtitution, in ſhort, which forbids, in the ſtrongeſt terms, and under ſevere penalties, every one of the abuſes, of which we complain: and yet have the hireling revilers the audacity to reproach us with a wiſh to overturn the conſtitution! *In ſuch a ſtate the country cannot long remain. No country has ever long remained in ſuch a ſtate.* Thoſe who have an evident intereſt in perpetuating abuſes of all ſorts, *may endeavour to terrify the people with the conſequences of what is called a revolution*; and, from a revolution, in the uſual ſenſe of the word, as applied to politics, God preſerve us! *but a change, and a great change too, muſt come; and come it will, in one way or another, and that at no diſtant day.*' Vol. xi. p. 836-7.

With regard to the probability and the effects of invaſion, Mr Cobbett says, he 'is firmly perſuaded that Bonaparte never meditated a march to the Rhine with more determination than he meditates the invaſion of England or Ireland, and that it would be infatuation unparalleled to ſuppoſe that he ſhould leave theſe kingdoms untried:' and then, on diverſe occaſions, he expreſſes his apprehenſions, that if their grievances be not redreſſed, the people may not think the country worth fighting for; and maintains, that to uphold the preſent ſyſtem of things, is not the way to call forth their zeal in defence of the Government. The moſt offenſive, and, we think, the moſt ſuſpicious, paſſage we have met with upon the ſubject, is in the laſt Number which has reached us. The author is there pleaſed to ſay—

'I have, from long thinking upon the ſubject, brought myſelf to a conviction, that the French never will ſucceed in ſubduing us. The *why* and the *wherefore* I might have ſome difficulty in detailing; but the conviction I entertain, and under it I am eaſy; and, what is more, I am fully perſuaded, that, however ſome perſons may tremble, this conviction is felt by ninety-nine out of every hundred men in the nation. I do not reaſon much upon the matter. I have done aſking how the French can get here or to Ireland, and how we are able to repel them. I know the enemy to be powerful by land, and that he may ſoon become powerful by ſea; I ſee the force of all Europe collected againſt us, and

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I have considered in detail the probable acts of such a conqueror. But when I consider who we have for Commanders, and particularly for Commander in Chief; when I consider the strength of our armies; when I consider the extent of our immense resources, and the manner of distributing those resources; when I consider, in short, the whole of the force and state of the nation, the whole of the scene that lies before me,—I stop not to reason, but involuntarily exclaim, Buonaparte, I set thy utmost ingenuity, power, and malice, at defiance!' Vol. xii. p. 84-5.

Now we know Mr Cobbett's opinion of our Commanders, and of our Commander in Chief; and we have no quarrel with him for that opinion; but, knowing what it is, we ask, whether any man, capable of serious counsel or of proper feeling, could possibly conceive such a crisis of such a country as a suitable subject for derision, or for such *asinine* attempts at irony and humour as are exhibited in this passage?—At such a time, it is the duty of all who possess, or who hope for, any influence over their fellow-citizens, to point out the dangers of the country, and the means by which they may be averted. To affect to be jocular upon such a theme; and, with a full conviction of the danger, to present us, instead of counsels or exhortations, with paltry gibes and personalities, appears to us to be at once despicable and insulting, and to indicate a lamentable deficiency both in the head and the heart of the author.

Having thus endeavoured, in as short compass as possible, to justify the representation we have given of the actual tenor of Mr Cobbett's recent doctrines, we shall proceed to consider, in a few words, in how far the doctrines themselves admit of justification.

Laying aside his mere general common-places of discontent and disaffection, we think Mr Cobbett's whole argument may be reduced to this single proposition,—That all the evils under which we are groaning, are produced by the improper composition of the legislative bodies, and especially of the House of Commons. The evil in its composition is twofold. *First*, That the members are not fairly chosen by the people, but are either nominated by the influence of great families, or purchase their seats from a junto of venal electors; and, *secondly*, That placemen and pensioners are allowed to sit in both houses. The radical evil to which this faulty constitution necessarily gives rise, is, that the members of parliament, instead of deliberating for the general good, are engaged in a constant scramble for place and emolument; that all sorts of jobbing and peculation are winked at, for the sake of securing votes; and that pensions and sinecure places are multiplied for the same unconstitutional purpose. All our other miseries, it seems, may be traced back to this fruitful source

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of destruction. The remedy, however, is happily very obvious and easy. Make the elective franchise more wide and equal, and purge the houses of parliament entirely of placemen and pensioners, and 'the whole will be accomplished in a year;' but, till this be done, the people can take no interest in the proceedings of government; nor can any revolution make our state more desperate or disgraceful than it is.

Now, the first stand we would make against Mr Cobbett's disheartening representations, is on the ground of this last practical conclusion. Admitting the whole of his comprehensive premises, we object stoutly to his ultimate conclusion; and maintain, that it is very easy to imagine something a great deal worse than the present constitution of this country, with all its rotten boroughs, sinecure offices, and placemen and pensioners in parliament; and that, even allowing all these to be evils as enormous as they are now represented, there is still such a vast overbalance of good in our situation, as is well worth a struggle to preserve; and that revolution or conquest is to be regarded therefore with the utmost abhorrence and dismay.

This is a question of fact, and its determination is fortunately as obvious as it is important. So far from being a country the measure of whose sufferings is full, and to which every change must be gain, we conceive it to be obvious, on a very slight consideration, that we have attained a greater portion of happiness and civil liberty, than have ever before been enjoyed by any other nation; and that the frame and administration of our polity is, with all its defects, the most perfect and beneficial of any that men have yet invented and reduced to practice. We have perfect liberty of person, and security of property;—we have an administration of law, both civil and criminal, that is not only impartial, but unsuspected;—we have freedom of speech and of publication, beyond what any other people ever experienced;—we have wealth, and police and morality, superior to any other country; and we have no privileged orders possessing a monopoly of the honours and dignities of the state. These advantages we have attained under our present system of government; and, under it, there does not seem to be any reason to doubt that they may be preserved to us unimpaired. We conceive, therefore, that so far from having little to lose by conquest or revolution, we have infinitely more than was ever possessed by any other people; and that, as the good which we already have, greatly exceeds that of which we imagine we are deprived, it would be in the highest degree criminal and imprudent to expose it to any considerable hazard, for the desperate chance of increasing it by the uncertain issue of a revolution. If these things, however, be at all as we

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have now represented them, what shall we think of the patriotism or the wisdom of those, who, in spite of all this, maintain, that the country is in a deplorable state, and ripening rapidly for destruction,—who do what they can to weaken the attachment of its citizens,—and labour, both directly and indirectly, to render them indifferent to its fate, at a moment when nothing perhaps but the most devoted and unanimous zeal can effect its salvation?

The country which enjoys these advantages must be worth fighting for, whatever may be the defects of its government. This is our first position. Our second is, that the government cannot be utterly bad and detestable under which these advantages have been obtained and secured for so long a period. This requires no commentary for practical purposes. But it is not our intention to evade the inquiry to which Mr Cobbett has defied us; and we shall proceed therefore to consider what is the true nature and extent of the defects of which this patriot complains so vehemently, and whether the evils on which he has enlarged are truly imputable to those defects.

We most cordially agree with Mr Cobbett at the outset, that there is a great deal too much scrambling for place and emolument, both in and out of Parliament; and that the nation suffers, and has suffered, in its substantial interests, from this ignoble scramble. We admit also, that those who sell their votes for money act a very base and dishonourable part, and that those who buy them are not a great deal better; but we deny that this scramble arises either from there being placemen and pensioners in Parliament,—or from the interference of peers in elections,—or from the venality of certain boroughs;—and, so far from being of opinion that the alteration of those parts of our system, according to the suggestion of Mr Cobbett, would cure this or any other evil, we are persuaded that such a measure would have a contrary effect. Placemen, we think, are better in Parliament than any where else;—the influence of great families in the election of members is rather beneficial than pernicious;—and the sale of boroughs, though dishonourable to those who are concerned in it, is in no danger of going to such an extent as to put the constitution in any hazard. It will not require very many words, we trust, to explain ourselves as to all those particulars.

The discussion may perhaps be facilitated by first considering, in a general way, what are the duties and functions which a parliament has to perform in regard to the people, and what are its requisites for the performance of those functions. On a former occasion * we endeavoured to show, that the most perfect representative

* Vol. VI. p. 143, &c.

sentative legislature must be that which reunited in itself the greatest proportion of the effective aristocracy of the country, or contained the greatest proportion of the individuals who actually swayed the opinions of the people, by means of their birth, wealth, talents, or popular qualities. In this way, it was attempted to be shown, that the nation was ultimately governed by the same individuals who, in their separate capacities, could have directed the sentiments of a very large majority; and that this was the only way in which the opinions and wishes of the people could be practically represented. Now, upon this footing alone, as it is evident that rank, fortune, and official situation, are among the most powerful of the means by which men are enabled individually to influence the opinions and conduct of those around them, so it follows that those qualifications should have their due share in returning members of the Legislature; and that the government could not otherwise be either stable or respectable. The real power of every country is vested in what we have called its effective aristocracy; and that country is the happiest, in which the aristocracy is most numerous and most diversified as to the sources of its influence; that government the most suitable, secure and beneficial, which is exercised most directly by the mediation of this aristocracy. In a country where rank, wealth and office, constitute the chief sources of influence over individuals, it is proper that rank, wealth and office, should make the greatest number of its legislators.

There is another elementary view of this subject, which may serve still further to clear our notions with regard to it. The great use of a parliament, in a constitutional point of view, is to preserve the freedom of the people; and it does appears to us that it performs this function chiefly by the frequency, freedom, and publicity of its debates and discussions; by means of which, the attention of the people is called perpetually to their public rights and interests, their intelligence is sharpened, and their spirit exercised and excited. It is on the spirit and the intelligence of the people themselves, that their liberties must always ultimately depend. The only substantial and operative check to the usurpations of rulers, is in their apprehension of the resistance of the people, and their conviction that they will detect the first movements towards oppression, and combine to repel and resent them. Now, if there be a parliament, however chosen, and however constituted, which contains a *sufficient number*, and a *sufficient variety* of persons, to make it certain that every class, and every party in the country, will there have an advocate and expounder of its views and sentiments; and if that parliament meet often, and have practically full *freedom of speech*, and *make*

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*its discussions public*, it does not appear to us, that freedom can ever be extinguished, or the rights of the people very materially invaded. The arguments used by the Legislature will be canvassed and agitated in every corner of the country;—*their* freedom of speech will secure freedom of speech and of thinking throughout the whole community. The understandings of the people will be habitually directed towards their political rights and interests; and a vigilant and jealous observation will be practised by a thousand eyes, and inculcated by ten thousand tongues, whenever the proceedings of government give alarm to their patrons and watchmen in the Legislature. Other checks and devices may be of advantage, indeed, to render the controul and pressure of this great principle of popular resistance on the machine of government, more equable and manageable, and to make it operate earlier and smoother in regulating and repressing those movements by which liberty might be endangered;—but the essence of the problem, is to secure to this regulator sufficient power and efficacy,—to keep alive that spirit and that intelligence in the people on which their resistance must be founded;—and a parliament, possessing the qualifications which we have just specified, seems, of itself, quite adequate to this effect.

Now, without pretending to justify the irregularities which certainly subsist in our system of representation, and without *arguing* on the probable effects of these irregularities, we would merely ask whether it can be denied, in point of *fact*, that our parliament, as it is now constituted, does actually possess the requisites which we have just specified, and does actually perform the functions on which its substantial value depends? In spite of placemen and pensioners, and purchasers of boroughs, and nominees of Lords, the House of Commons unquestionably contains a sufficient number and variety of persons to represent all the different opinions, and maintain all the different views of policy, which exist in the country at large. There is no sentiment so democratical—no accusation so uncourtly—no interest so local, but it finds there a voice to support and assist it. Their discussions are sufficiently free and frequent; they are made sufficiently public; and excite a sufficient share of general attention and interest. While this is the case, we are in no danger of losing our liberties. We should be sorry to think that they depended on the good behaviour of that house, or of any other assembly. They depend on the spirit and intelligence of the body of the people; and Parliament discharges its main function, when it contributes, by the freedom and authority and publicity of its discussions, to excite this spirit, and to exercise that intelligence.

So far, therefore, from thinking with Mr Cobbett, that any alteration would be ſalutary, which would have the effect of making the Houſe of Commons as dull as a Quaker's meeting, and of putting an end to long ſpeeches and angry debates, we are of opinion that the chief benefit of the inſtitution would be loſt, if ſuch a reformation could be effected. Alterations might no doubt be made, which would make the ſyſtem of election more conſiſtent and theoretically perfect; and we are far from inſinuating that more ſubſtantial advantages might not accrue from ſuch a reformation. But theſe advantages, we are perfectly convinced, would be extremely inconſiderable, compared with thoſe which we at preſent enjoy; and certainly would not be worth purchaſing at the price of any great diſcontent, or hazard to the general ſyſtem. The truth is, that by the means which are actually employed, an aſſembly is obtained which performs all the great conſtitutional functions which can be performed by a parliament;—which has in it as much reſpectability and influence as to enſure its authority—as much variety, talent and ambition, as to ſecure a full diſcuſſion upon every point of popular interest—and as much freedom and publicity in its debates as to afford materials and example to free diſcuſſion throughout the nation. It may admit of queſtion, whether an aſſembly, much better qualified to perform this important function, could be obtained by a different form of election. To give every man a vote, probably would make but little difference. The multitude would ſtill follow their natural leaders; and would act under the influence of thoſe who, for the moſt part, now act for them. The ſyſtem of univerſal ſuffrage has not ennobled the legiſlatures of America; though there is among them infinitely leſs of an effective ariſtocracy to bias their votes, than there muſt always be in ſuch a country as England; nor do we think that it would materially alter or improve the compoſition of our Parliament, if it were adopted among us. There are ſome ſubordinate advantages derived to the people, by making them the electors of their lawgivers; and we ſhould be well pleaſed therefore to ſee that privilege extended; but it goes ſo little to the eſſence of our conſtitutional freedom, that we cannot help thinking that our parliaments would be as uſeful and valuable as they ever were, although they were moſtly compoſed of perſons choſen by lot, or by rotation, from the individuals of a certain fortune and education in each of the counties.

With theſe general impreſſions, it will eaſily be underſtood, that we cannot conſiſtently aſſent, either to Mr Cobbett's repreſentations of the vaſt advantages to be derived from parliamentary reform, or to his concluſions as to the worthleſſneſs of our conſtitution under its actual adminiſtration. On a ſubject of ſuch importance,

importance, however, we do not wish to rest on such general impressions; and as we are of opinion that a good deal of misconception exists as to the true nature and operation of this famous constitution, we shall avail ourselves of this opportunity to make a few observations with regard to it.

Every community may be considered, with relation to its political rights and interests, as divided into three great natural classes or orders;—*first*, those who are actually in possession or administration of the government, including the Sovereign, and all subordinate functionaries or office-bearers;—*secondly*, those who, without office or exertion of their own, are born to the inheritance of a certain property, and accompanying rank and influence;—and, *lastly*, the great body of the people, and especially those among them who, by talent, industry, or popular qualities, are aiming at the acquisition of office or influence. These are the three natural partitions of all societies which have existed in a separate form for any considerable length of time. They are naturally in a state of political rivalry; and the character of the government will depend upon the preponderance which is assumed by any of them.

In almost all the modern European governments, this rivalry terminated in a sort of compromise; and a constitution was adopted, which allotted to each of these three orders a certain fixed share of political power and authority. In England, it is well known, it led to the balanced government of King, Lords and Commons;—a balance which has changed its original mode of operation, but which still subsists in effect, and maintains the freedom and permanence of our constitution by its subsistence. It is to the nature of the change which has taken place in its mode of operation, that our attention should now be particularly directed.

At first, these three orders had *separate* functions and privileges, which they exercised separately and successively,—frequently with very little concert,—and sometimes with considerable hostility. While the royal establishment was supported by the royal demesnes and the exercise of the prerogative; while war was carried on by the military service of the King's tenants *in capite*, and the business of legislation for the whole kingdom did not occupy three or four weeks in the year, this absolute partition of the business and privileges of the three orders, was in some measure practicable; and the constitution was in reality very near what it has ever since been represented in theory. In process of time, however, when the business of government became more complicated and operose, the greatest inconvenience must have been experienced from this entire separation of the

three estates of which it was composed; and some expedients must have been devised for giving them a greater sympathy and mutual contact in their proceedings. It never could have been but most injurious to the state and the country at large, that the House of Lords, for example, should throw out, by a great majority, an important bill, which the House of Commons had passed by a great majority,—or that the King should reject, with indignation, a law which had received the decided approbation of both Houses of Parliament. It would appear most desireable, therefore, that these vindictive and curative checks, which could never operate without giving a certain shock to the whole machine, and impairing, for the time, its strength and apparent security, should be converted into preventive checks, that might produce the same effects, without any commotion or disturbance. It would naturally come to pass, therefore, that an attempt would be made to apply the whole of that resistance which any legislative measure was likely to meet with, in the first instance, if possible, to avoid the shock, by anticipating its operation; and to bring all the forces to bear upon every proposition from the beginning, to the operation of which it would otherwise be exposed in succession. Thus, if a measure to which the Lords were adverse was proposed in the Commons, it would be desireable that the reasons and the influence which produced their hostility should be directed against it in that House; and if a measure, from which the Sovereign was resolved to withhold his acquiescence was proposed in either House, it would, in like manner, be desireable that this repugnance should be disclosed in the course of their deliberations, and matters prevented, if possible, from coming to extremities by the interposition of the royal *veto* on a measure zealously patronized by the Parliament.

It must have been felt, therefore, as infinitely desirable, and necessary indeed for the tranquillity of the country, that some means should be devised for bringing the parties together before things had got this length, and of employing the different tendencies of the royal, aristocratical and popular influences, rather to modify the measures of government in their concoction, than to counteract and oppose each other afterwards, by each successively undoing what had been completed by its associates. But the necessity of such a congress would scarcely be felt, before it would become evident that it must take place in the House of Commons. The popular influence could not possibly obtain a place in either of the other branches of the government; while it must at all times have been difficult to prevent their influence from affecting the elections of the Commons. Whenever an inducement was held out, therefore, for them to extend that influence, and for the country at large to connive at it, there is no doubt

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that it would be silently exerted to the effect of placing in that House a multitude of members devoted to the support of the public functionaries for the time, and of the views and interests of most of the great families in the kingdom.

This, we conceive, to be the present state of the government; and the result is, that the balance of the constitution now exists, in a great degree, *in the House of Commons;* and that that assembly possesses nearly the whole legislative authority.

That such a balance does exist in the House of Commons, seems undeniable upon the slightest consideration of its composition. It contains, besides the immediate and most essential ministers of the Crown, a considerable number of persons who have notoriously obtained their seats through that influence. It contains, also, a very considerable number of persons who have been elected through the influence of certain Peers or great families; and, finally, it contains a large proportion of members returned without any such influence,—or in opposition to it,—in consequence of their reputation or popularity with the majority of their electors. There are here then, indisputably, all the elements of that famous constitutional balance, of King, Lords and Commons, by which it is admitted that the freedom and stability of our government are maintained; and there seems to be no reason for supposing, that they should not act at least as beneficially when brought together, and fairly confronted in this manner, as when merely overawing and frowning at each other from their separate orbits. It is impossible to deny, that, according to the present constitution of the House of Commons, the Crown, the Executive government, or the Ministry, has a great influence in its deliberations; and that this influence is secured by some sort of interference, more or less direct, in a variety of elections. It is equally undeniable, that most of the great families in the kingdom have a similar influence, obtained by a similar interference. These things, indeed, are not officially avowed; because they form part of a tacit compact to which none of the parties are formally bound; but they are perfectly notorious notwithstanding; and the actual administration of our government certainly cannot be defended, unless they are both admitted and justified. Even Mr Cobbett would be entitled to laugh at the bullying and cowardly evasion of an angry denial.

The advantages of this arrangement are, as we have already intimated,—that the collision and shock of the three rival principles, is either prevented or prodigiously softened by this early mixture of their elements,—that by converting those sudden and successive checks into one regulating and graduated pressure their operation becomes infinitely more smooth and manageable

and no longer proceeds by jerks and bounds that might endanger the safety of the machine,—while its movements, instead of being fractured and impeded by the irregular impulses of opposite forces, slide quietly to the mark, in the diagonal produced by their original combination.

We have stated already, that the prospect of these advantages probably operated in part to produce the arrangement which ensured them; but it was dictated, no doubt, by more urgent considerations, and indeed, as we think, by a neccessity which could not be resisted. The great object to be accomplished, was not so much to save the House of Commons from the mortification of having their bills stopped by the Lords, or rejected by the Sovereign, as to protect these two estates from the hazard to which they might be exposed from the direct exercise of this privilege. By the vast and rapid increase of wealth and intelligence in the country at large, the consideration and relative authority of that branch of the government which stands most in connexion with it, was suddenly and prodigiously enlarged. The very circumstance of its being open to talent and ambition, ensured a greater proportion of ability and exertion in its members; and their numbers and the popularity of their name and character, all contributed to give their determinations a degree of weight and authority, against which it would no longer have been safe for any other power to have risked an opposition. No ministry, for a hundred years back, has had courage to interpose the royal negative to any measure which has passed through the Houses of Parliament, even by narrow majorities; and there is no thinking man, who can contemplate, without dismay, the probable consequences of such a resistance, where the House of Commons had been zealous and nearly unanimous. It is needless to say, that the House of Lords would oppose a still feebler barrier to such a measure of popular legislation. In order to exercise their constitutional functions with safety, therefore, it became necessary for the King and the great families to exercise them in the Lower House,—not *against* the united Commons of England, but *among* them; and not in their own character, and directly,—but covertly, and mingled with those whom it was substantially their interest and their duty to controul.

It is thus, as it appears to us, that the balance which was in danger of being lost through the increasing power and influence of the Lower House, has been saved by being transferred into that assembly; and that all that was essentially valuable in the constitution, has been secured by a silent but very important change in its mode of operation. This change we take to be, that the influence of the Crown, and of the old aristocracy, is

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now exerted in that House by means of members sent there to support that influence; and that, in that House, as the great depository of the political power of the nation, and the virtual representative of the whole three estates, the chief virtue and force of the government is now habitually resident.

This last conclusion, we are persuaded, will not appear either rash or hazardous to those who consider the exclusive power which is now almost formally yielded to the House of Commons, with regard to the supplies; and the admitted impossibility of going on in the administration of the government, without the support of a decided and permanent majority of its members. * Nor does it follow, by any means, that the other branches of the Legislature, though precluded, in a great measure, from the direct and avowed exercise of their constitutional privileges, are altogether useless in their separate capacities. By their formal subsistence and cooperation, they serve to remind the Commons of the rights under which they interfere in their deliberations, and give greater weight and authority to that interference. They are there in reserve, too, in case of any sudden or violent attack upon their new mode of operation. This, at least, seems the chief ues of the King's negative in the present state of the constitution. The House of Lords has a separate and higher utility as a second and more dignified senate, by whose deliberations, all matters of importance may be expected to be matured and purged still more completely from any dregs of passion and popular prejudice which may have adhered to them after passing through the Lower House. It gives time for enthusiasm to subside, and another chance for argument to be effectual. There are very strong reasons, in short, for preserving the separate and official functions of the King and the House of Lords, as members of the Legislature, independent of the alarm and suspicion which would be reasonably excited by any proposal for suppressing them. We are clearly convinced, that their constitutional functions have long been exercised with benefit and effect in the House of Commons alone; but it would indicate a very dangerous passion for innovation, to propose that they should be restrained from their exercise in any other place.

If there be any truth or soundness in the principles of which we have ventured to delineate this hasty and imperfect sketch, the reader will be at no loss to discover the grounds of our objection



* See Hume's Eſſay on the Independency of Parliament; the very baſis of which is, that the Houſe of Commons abſolutely commands all the other parts of the government, and may, when it pleaſes, ſwallow up the reſt, and engroſs the whole power of the conſtitution.

to Mr Cobbett's fundamental measure of reform, and the reasons for which we must resist any attempt to remove all placemen or other dependants of the Executive from Parliament, or to exclude altogether the interference of great families in elections. We think, a certain infusion of these elements in that assembly essential to the existence of our mixed government; and should consider the accomplishment of such a reform as Mr Cobbett contends for, as the signal for its instant destruction.

With regard to the interference of peers in elections, it is evidently impossible to prevent it by any statutory or authoritative regulation: and as, in fact, it is not very different from the interference of wealthy commoners, it is needless to say any thing more on the subject. With regard to placemen, however, we may be indulged with a few words more. Although excluded from Parliament, this suspicious order of persons would still exist; and, as they would still possess the highest rank, dignity and emolument in the nation, their situation would still be the great object both of generous and of sordid ambition. To say that Parliament would have no concern with them, and that the King might change or appoint them, without producing any sensation in the Legislature, is mere raving or drivelling, and is scarcely entitled to an answer. Parliament, from a sense of duty, would be bound to take a concern in all such nominations; and would be still more sure to take such a concern, from motives of interest, party, or attachment. It would be bound upon some occasions, and entitled upon all, to vote thanks to the retiring ministers, and to declare that they were enemies to the country who had advised his Majesty to displace them; nay, they might petition against any one appointment, and might withhold the supplies till their petition was granted. They would have the means of interfering, therefore, in every such appointment, and in every act of the government, just as effectually as at present; and it cannot require many words to show, that they would have exactly the same inducements. Though placemen could not be members of Parliament on this new system, members of Parliament, it is presumed, might be still transmuted into placemen; and if Parliament had the same power to embarrass and controul the Executive as now, it is easy to see that there would be just the same scramble and competition for such appointments among the members of Parliament, which exists at the present moment. The only difference would be, that the scramble would be conducted in a good degree by underlings and deputies, whom each set of ministers would leave successively to fight their battles, when they themselves took flight to the higher regions of office. Ambitious men would then fight for their places by hirelings of an inferior description; and the ambition which now brings the lof-

tiest talents of the country into open competition in that public assembly, would confine them, in a good degree, to the more dangerous and uncontroulable intrigues of the Cabinet, and leave the Legislature to a secondary and more ignoble breed of combatants, who would struggle for their respective chieftains in that degraded arena. It is needless, after this, to enlarge upon the absurdity of denying a place in the great legislative assembly to the official advisers of the Sovereign,—or upon any of the other inconveniences which would evidently result from such an arrangement. Mr Cobbett and his associates only call for the exclusion of placemen from Parliament, as the means of preventing its members from scrambling for office or emolument; but it is evident, that such an exclusion would have no tendency to produce this effect. It would degrade the Legislature, without purifying it in the smallest degree. It is needless, therefore, to enlarge on the dangers of the remedy; for no one, surely, will insist upon taking it, if it be proved to be quite inefficacious.

But, though we think the actual balance of the constitution requires the exercise of royal and aristocratical influence in the House of Commons, we do by no means intend to assert, that there may not be too much of that influence. Though we wish always to see placemen, and expectant placemen, as well as the members and clients of noble families, in that House, we are perfectly aware, that there may be too many of that description. We wish to see them there to preserve the balance of the constitution,—but it may be destroyed by their excess, as well as by their exclusion; and we have no objection to concede to Mr Cobbett, or to any one else, that there is at present great reason for apprehension, and for caution as to this particular.

We are not much afraid of the influence of noble families. It is not, in general, a debasing or ungenerous influence; and, in this country, there is so little of the oppressive, tyrannical spirit of some aristocracies, that we have really no apprehension at all from the prevalence of such a temper in our Government. An English peer has scarcely any other influence than an English gentleman of equal fortune; and scarcely any other interest to maintain it. The whole landed interest, including the Peerage, is scarcely a match for the monied interest, either in Parliament or in society; and, as it is the basis of a more steady and permanent, as well as a more liberal and exalted dependency, we wish rather to see peers concerned in elections, than stockjobbers or nabobs. The evil and the danger is from the multitude of places and of placemen; not so much from their having places in Parliament, as from their actual existence, and the enormous amount of the patronage which is necessarily vested in some of those functionaries, over which Parliament has an unlimited controul.

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traffic, to the indignation of Mr Cobbett, without any qualification. But we are by no means certain that its consequences are so extremely injurious to the constitution as he appears to imagine. A venal borough is a borough which Government has not bought; and which may therefore be bought by Mr Cobbett, or any other independent man. When a seat in Parliament is advertized for sale, a pretty fair competition, we think, is opened to politicians of all descriptions. The independent and well affected part of the nation is far richer than the government, or the peerage; and if all seats in parliament could be honestly and openly sold for ready money, we have no sort of doubt that a very great majority would be purchased by persons unconnected with the Treasury, or the House of Lords. Wealth is one of the *democratical* elements in this trading and opulent country; and an arrangement which gave it more immediate political efficacy, probably would not be at all unfavourable to that part of our constitution.

The great objection, on the other hand, is, that no honourable man will purchase a seat, and that those who do pay money for one, may be presumed to intend to make money by it, and to sell themselves the first good opportunity. The first observation sounds plausible; and yet every body knows it not to be true. There certainly are many men whose private honour is unimpeachable, who sit for venal boroughs. How this is managed we do not exactly know. Whether the end is thought to sanctify the means, or whether the frequency of the transaction has legalized it in the ideas of the world, like the orchard thefts of schoolboys, and the plunder of Border chieftains of old;—or whether the seat is bought *for* the young patriot, as the living is bought for the young priest, while they themselves are kept pure from the stain of bribery or simony—we really do not pretend to understand. With regard to the other conclusion, that when the seat is bought, the sitter must mean to be sold,—it is as certainly at variance with fact, and has a smaller share of probability. The most moderate contest will generally cost more than the dearest borough in the market; and as, in trying times, contests will be very frequent, it must be the most economical and prudent way for a patriotic party to provide for as many as they can by purchase, before they try the more costly and honourable road of open competition. On the whole, however, we have no great affection for rotten boroughs; but chiefly because we think that the practice of purchasing them tends to abate the love of liberty, and the pride of independence among the people; and that it is to their feelings, and not to the composition of the Legislature, that we must always look for the fountain and vital spring of our freedom.

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Upon the whole, we hope we have said something to justify our love of our actual constitution—our aversion to Mr Cobbett's schemes of reform—and our indignation at his attempts to weaken the respect and attachment of the people to forms and establishments, without which, we are persuaded, there would be no security for their freedom. To some among the higher classes of our readers, an apology may appear to be requisite for the time and attention we have bestowed on a writer of this description. The higher orders of society, however, we are afraid, are but little aware, either of the great influence which such a writer possesses, or of the extent to which many of his sentiments prevail among the middling classes of the community. In his contempt for the Legislature, and his despair of public virtue or energy, Mr Cobbett, we believe, has rather followed than fashioned the impressions of those for whom his publications are intended. *There is* a very general spirit of discontent, distrust, and contempt for public characters, among the more intelligent and resolute portion of the inferior ranks of society. We can see, as well as Mr Cobbett, the seeds of a revolution in the present aspect and temper of the nation; and though we look forward to it, we trust, with other feelings and other dispositions, we are not the less sensible of the hazard in which we are placed. We anticipate little from such an event, but general degradation and misery; we have stepped beyond the limits of our duty, to express our horror at the suggestion; and have contributed our feeble aid to rouse or to undeceive those who may have been misled by different anticipations. At the same time, we cannot be blind to the tendency of public opinion; and are afraid that, in the event of any great emergency or disaster, no reasonings, and no motives of prudence, will be sufficient to uphold the established forms of the constitution, unless some effort be made on the part of public men to wipe off the imputations which are now thrown upon their characters,—to show that, in a great crisis, they can forget party, and prejudice, and self-interest,—and that they have either talents to form plans adequate to the emergency, and resolution to carry them into execution,—or magnanimity to retire from a situation, to the duties of which they are unequal, and to give place to those, upon whose firmness and prudence and talents the nation can rely with assurance. We do not think that this would be done, by making Sir Francis Burdett first Lord of the Treasury, and Mr Horne Tooke secretary for the Home Department. But much must be done,—and more desisted from,—before they and their advocates are disarmed of their most effectual means of delusion.

ART.

ART. X. *Qüestiones Criticas sobre varios Puntos de Historia Economica, Politica y Militar.* Su autor D. Antonio de Capmany. 8vo. pp. 305, Madrid. 1807.

No opinion has been more universally received by political writers, than that Spain was once a rich, populous, and commercial kingdom; and many ingenious and plausible theories have been proposed, to account for its decline. The expulsion of the Jews and Moriscoes;—the discovery and conquest of America;—the foreign and domestic wars, in which for more than two centuries the Spanish monarchy was continually engaged;—the religious bigotry and intolerance of its government;—the excessive number and pernicious influence of its clergy;—the abject and debasing superstition of its subjects;—the oppressive and ruinous system of taxation established in the greater part of its provinces;—the monopolies and other restraints on commerce, which narrow views of interest and mistaken calculations of profit have dictated to its rulers;—its vexatious and intermeddling, though weak and inefficient, police, which harasses and torments, without protecting or defending the people;—and, lastly, the want of security for the liberty and property of the subject, in a country where individuals are liable to exile and imprisonment, without even the form of a trial;—where the course of justice, always slow and uncertain, is sometimes openly infringed by interpositions of royal authority, and still oftener secretly perverted by private intrigues and solicitations;—and where the necessities of a prodigal, unprincipled court, lead to arbitrary exactions and irregular means of supply, which are happily unknown in the rest of Europe, the dominions of Turkey only excepted;—Such are the causes to which the decline of Spain has been attributed: And it must be confessed, that, in a country where grievances like these exist, arts and civilization cannot advance, nor the state keep pace with the progress of other nations which possess a better form of government, or enjoy, at least, a more wise and equitable administration of affairs.

The spectacle of a great, powerful and opulent nation, reduced to weakness, poverty and contempt, by the vices of its government, presents a curious and instructive, though melancholy object of contemplation. But, to judge fairly and without exaggeration, of so lamentable a reverse of fortune, we must not rest satisfied with ascertaining the existence, but must inquire into the extent of the calamity. What was the state of Spain, it may be asked, before the evils of a bad government were felt in the conduct of its affairs? What evidence have we that there has been

been any positive diminution of its antient wealth or resources? What reason have we for believing, that it has actually declined in population, or that its inhabitants were ever more industrious, or more addicted to commerce than they are at present? Such a previous inquiry seems necessary to appreciate justly the bad effects of its government; and yet, obvious and essential as it appears to a correct judgment of the case, it has been hitherto entirely neglected, or pursued in the most superficial and careless manner, by those who have written and speculated on Spanish affairs.

National vanity and false patriotism have misled all the Spanish authors who have turned their thoughts to this subject. Fully persuaded that their own country was the most fertile, and the most bountifully supplied by nature of any in Europe, but, unable to disguise from themselves its real backwardness and inferiority to other states, they sought for consolation in pompous and exaggerated descriptions of its ancient grandeur, and gravely explained, conformably to the prevailing theory of their day, the causes of a decline, which had no existence but in their own imagination. Sometimes it was the neglect of sheep, and sometimes the neglect of agriculture, which had ruined their country. Sometimes they complained of the number of strangers who overspread the land like so many locusts, and devoured the subsistence of its inhabitants; and sometimes they lamented the national prejudices against foreigners, which prevented the arts and manufactures of other countries from being introduced into Spain. Sometimes they complained of the exportation of wool, and the importation of cloth; and sometimes they recommended duties on the exportation of their own manufactures, that foreigners might not have the fruits of their industry for nothing. Sometimes they urged their government to expel its own subjects, with every degree of cruelty and injustice; and sometimes they succeeded in persuading it to import foreigners, with ostentatious pretences of benevolence and hospitality. At one moment they declaimed against luxury, and obtained the enactment of sumptuary laws; and next moment they recommended bounties to foreign artists, and preached up the advantage of fixing and establishing the arts of luxury in Spain. At one and the same time they built palaces for beggars, and pronounced orations in praise of industry; and, with the same breath that they held up commerce as the chief object of national attention, they accused their merchants of selfishness, and vainly endeavoured to wean them from an undue regard to their private interests. But, whatever might be the diversity of their opinions, with regard to the causes and the cure of the many evils under which their country

country suffered, they were unanimous in their accounts of its antient prosperity. Even those who were not the dupes of such ridiculous and extravagant fables, adopted and repeated them, in the hopes of rousing their countrymen to industry and exertion, by flattering pictures of the former opulence and grandeur of their land.

Foreigners, who turned their attention to the affairs of Spain, were deceived by the positive and confident tone with which the native writers described the ancient greatness, and deplored the subsequent decline of their prosperity. And, indeed, when they considered that, for a century and a half, the great object of modern politics had been the maintenance and defence of the other states of Europe against the overgrown power of Spain, and contrasted their past fears and apprehensions with the weakness and total insignificance into which that kingdom afterwards sunk, they were easily persuaded to give credit to the Spanish authors, and to believe that the fall of so mighty a power must have been preceded by some great and sensible decline in the heart and centre of the monarchy itself. They forgot, that it is not the absolute, but the relative power of a state, which renders it formidable to its neighbours; and that a nation may decline in its relative strength, without any absolute diminution of its resources, by remaining stationary while other states are advancing. They forgot, that the alarming preponderance of the Spanish monarchy arose from the combination of a variety of causes, some of them accidental, and others temporary;—from the union of so many rich and extensive states under one Sovereign;—from the possession of Mexico and Peru, while its rivals were excluded from both the Indies;—from the civil and religious discussions of its neighbours;—from the bigotry and fanaticism of the age, which placed the kings of Spain at the head of the Catholic part of Europe;—and, lastly, from the valour and discipline of the Spanish armies, and from the wisdom and sagacity of the Spanish councils. Yet the slight and hardly perceptible impression of the Spanish arms on the enemies of that monarchy, during the victorious reigns of Charles V. and Philip II., while these advantages were entire, might have tended, in some degree, to correct the traditional accounts of the greatness of its former power. The ressitance maintained by Francis I. and Henry II. against the arms of Charles V., and the successes of Elizabeth and of the Dutch commonwealth over Philip II., might have suggested the reflection, that the danger from Spain must have been more apparent than real. While its miserable decline during the 17th century, and the slowness of its recovery during the 18th, might

might have suggested doubts as to the solidity of the basis on which its former greatness, such as it was, had been founded.

Countries, where agriculture and manufactures have been once firmly rooted, soon recover from the losses they sustain in war, and even struggle with success against the vices and defects of a bad government. How quickly did France recruit her strength after the long and sanguinary contests of the League; and how speedily have Flanders and Lombardy recovered from the devastations of war, to which they have been so often victims? Nothing short of Eastern despotism or feudal anarchy will utterly extinguish arts and industry in a country where they have been thoroughly established, and long cultivated by the people. But the causes to which the decline of Spain has been attributed, though capable of retarding the advancement, or even of arresting the progress of a nation, are insufficient to communicate to it a retrograde movement, or to eradicate staple and established manufactures, which have formed the occupation of the great body of the people, and served them for ages as a source of wealth and happiness. The system of taxation in Spain is injudicious, oppressive, and full of vexation to the people; but the most exceptionable parts of it have long since been modified and corrected; and the total amount of the taxes is inconsiderable, even when compared with the limited means and faculties of the country. There are many hurtful monopolies in Spain, and many ill advised restraints and impediments to commerce; but they are not more numerous nor prejudicial than they were in Prussia under the great Frederick. The administration of justice is not to be praised in Spain; but it is not a great deal worse than it was in France under the Bourbons. A mistaken charity lavishes vast sums of money in Spain on the idle and the profligate; but the total amount of this misplaced bounty is infinitely less than that of the poor-rates in England. Religious bigotry and intolerance have never been stronger nor more universal in Spain, than they were in this island in the time of Elizabeth, or under the princes of the house of Stuart. The expulsion of the Jews and Moriscoes was no doubt a cruel and inhuman act; but, as both the court and people were obstinately determined to exclude them for ever from the rank and consideration of old Christians, we are by no means convinced, that it was not better policy to banish them at once from the kingdom, than to allow so many secret enemies, in possession of the most vulnerable part of the country, to increase and multiply, till they should become too strong for their oppressors. Had the ministers of Philip III. delayed the expulsion of the Moriscoes, so frugal in their diet, so industrious in their habits, and so simple in

their manners were these descendants of the Saracens, that, excluded as they were from participating in the honours and dangers of war, and exclusively addicted to the laborious but healthful occupations of agriculture, in less than half a century they must have outnumbered the old Christians in all the southern provinces of Spain; and thereby increased at once the danger of slighting or offending them, and added force to the popular and royal prejudices against admitting them to the civil honours of the state. And, with respect to the effects of that expulsion, (the subject of such reproach against the Spanish nation on the part of the French and English, as if the one had not revoked the edict of Nantz, and the other broken the articles of Limerick), it should be recollected, that authors have been far mistaken who have supposed that with the Moriscoes the Spaniards lost their manufacturers and artizans. It is true, that in the south of Spain many of the ordinary and most necessary trades are still reputed infamous, because in very old times they were exercised by Moors and Jews. But, at the period of their expulsion, the greater part of the Moriscoes were small farmers and gardeners, who lived in penury and misery, and contrived, by hard labour and rigid economy, to pay exorbitant rents to their landlords, in return for security and protection against the bigotry of the priests.

Don Antonio Capmany is, we believe, the first Spanish author who has combated the general prejudice of his countrymen in favour of the ancient opulence and prosperity of Spain. At the end of the third volume of his valuable work, entituled, *Memorias historicas sobre la Marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona*, he has dedicated an entire chapter to an examination of the question, *Whether the arts and manufactures of Spain were at any time equal to those of other nations?* A republication of that chapter, with several additional facts and observations on the same subject, forms the first essay of the volume which lies before us. As the subject of the inquiry is curious, and the view which Capmany has taken of it will, to most of our readers, have the recommendation of novelty at least, we shall give a short outline of his arguments.

We must, in the first place, remark, that when we cast our eyes over the Spanish economists, from Ward and Campomanes, who wrote under Charles III. and Ferdinand VI., to Alonso de Herrera, who flourished under Ferdinand the Catholic, we are struck with the observation, that none of these authors ever represents his country as flourishing or populous at the period when he is writing; but, on the contrary, every one of them laments the decay of trade and industry in his own times, and complains

complains of the laziness and profligacy of the present race of his countrymen, while he refers us back to some remote period, when Spain was rich, industrious, and full of inhabitants. This reminds us forcibly of what happens daily to a traveller in Spain. At every town where he stops, he is told of banditti who infest the roads, and warned of the dangers that await him near some distant town, or at some remote pass in the mountains. But, as he advances, the danger continually recedes;—till, at length, he discovers that the stories which had at first alarmed him, have no other foundation than the folly and credulity of his informers.

We shall follow the plan of Capmany's essay, by examining, *first*, what was the state of commerce and manufactures; and, *secondly*, what was the state of agriculture and population in Spain, at those periods when it is supposed to have been most flourishing.

*Commerce and Manufactures.*

It would be idle to inquire into the state of commerce and manufactures in Spain before the conquest of Seville in 1248. The Catalans and Guipuzcoans had indeed applied to commerce and navigation at an earlier period, and some woollen and cotton manufactures were already established in Catalonia; but these attempts were still in their infancy, and were greatly surpassed by the subsequent exertions of the same provinces. It would be equally unnecessary to extend our inquiry beyond the reign of Philip III., since it is admitted, that, before the death of that Prince, Spain was reduced to the most deplorable poverty and wretchedness. In the intermediate time, a great event, the discovery and conquest of America, had occurred, which is supposed by almost all writers to have had the most fatal influence on the industry and population of Spain. Was it before or after that event, that Spain is supposed to have been eminent as a commercial and manufacturing country? We shall inquire, *first*, what documents remain of the state of commerce and industry in Spain, in the interval between the recovery of Seville from the Moors, and the acquisition of colonies in America; and, *secondly*, we shall trace the effects of those colonies on the commerce and manufactures of the mother country, during the reigns of Charles V. and Philip II.

With regard to the *first* period, we are referred by Capmany to the works of two Florentine merchants, *Balducci* and *Uzano*, who published, the former in 1339, the latter in 1440, 'commercial guides,' for the use of merchants, under the title of *Prattica della Mercatura.** These books give prolix and circumstantial



* Republished at Lucca, in 2 vol. 4to. 1776.

stantial accounts of the different branches of trade carried on at that time by the cities of Italy; and as they were intended, not for speculative or philosophical inquirers, but for the use of practical merchants; they abound in minute and exact details on every subject of which they treat. They describe the exports and imports of every town or harbour frequented by the merchants of Pisa and Florence, and explain their weights and measures, and customhouse regulations, and contain a variety of other particulars interesting to merchants and navigators. From these books we may form an idea of the state of commerce and manufactures in Spain, during the 14th, and in the early part of the 15th century. But, when we look into these authorities, we find that Spain, instead of being a great manufacturing country, received manufactured goods of every description from Italy and Flanders, and that her own exports consisted chiefly of the rude produce of her soil, or other raw materials used in manufactures. Her chief article of export was wool; the next was iron; the others were honey, wax, hides and tallow, sheep skins and goat skins, gold and silver in bullion, quicksilver, kermes, fruits, sugar, wine, wheat, rice, oil, soap, saffron, raw silk and salt. It appears from this catalogue of exports, that Spain was at that time, not only destitute of manufactures for foreign commerce, but that a great part of the country was then, as it is still, in a state of pasturage. It is worth remarking that, though Spanish wool was sent to Italy in the time of Balducci, it was not yet exported to Flanders; nor does it seem to have been held in estimation for its superior qualities, till the latter part of the 14th century, when it was improved by crossing the breed of native sheep with English sheep from Gloucestershire. These sheep are said to have been sent from England, as part of the marriage portion of the Princess Catherine, daughter of John of Gaunt, who was betrothed to Henry III. of Castille, in 1389, and married to him some years afterwards. This operation of crossing the Spanish with English sheep succeeded so well, that it was repeated during the reign of Edward IV. of England; but it was not for more than a century afterwards, that Spanish wool acquired that decided superiority over the wool of other nations, which it still maintains. In 1440, when Uzano wrote, the exportation of Spanish wool to Flanders had become a considerable branch of commerce, and it probably had been at first introduced by the difficulty which the Flemings found of obtaining wool from England.

But, though we find no mention of manufactures for the supply of foreign commerce in the dominions of Castille, there is no doubt that there existed manufactures of that description in the provinces of Arragon. Woollen manufacturers had been long

long established in Roussillon, Catalonia, Valencia, and Majorca, and cloths of various colours and qualities were exported from these countries to Italy and other foreign parts. Paper from Valencia, cordovan and chamois leather from the same city, and earthen ware from Majorca, are also mentioned among the exports from those countries; but, notwithstanding the vulgar opinion, that the Moors were a manufacturing people, red Morocco leather seems to have been the only manufactured article exported from Granada, unless we include raw sugar in that description of goods. There is not the slightest allusion in Balducci and Uzano, to the woollen manufactures of Toledo, Segovia or Burgos, or to the fairs of Medina del Campo, of which such incredible stories are related by subsequent authors; an incontestible proof, in our opinion, that these manufactures, if they existed at all, were confined to the fabrication of coarse cloths for home consumption.

Barcelona is mentioned, by the Florentine merchants, as a commercial city of the first importance; and it seems to have been the great emporium by which the interior of Spain was supplied with merchandize from the Mediterranean. Neither the Moors of Granada, nor the Christians of Andalucia, appear to have been actively engaged in commerce or navigation. The Guipuzcoans and Gallicians, who have been at all times more addicted to a seafaring life than the other inhabitants of Castille, are not mentioned by these authors, though the Guipuzcoans were at that time celebrated for their fisheries, and had commercial factories established in Flanders and at Rochelle. *

A politico-commercial poem, called the *Libell of English Policie*, which is referred to by Mr MacPherson in his Annals of Commerce, † confirms the account of the trade of Spain, which Capmany has collected from the works of the Florentine merchants. According to this book, written about the middle of the 15th century, Spain imported fine cloth and linen from Flanders, and sent in return, figs, raisins, bastard wine, dates, liquorice, seville oil, *grain*, ‡ castille soap, wax, iron, wool, wadmole, skins of goats and kids, saffron, and quicksilver; of these, wool was the chief article.

These conclusions Capmany further confirms by an appeal to the acts and proceedings of the Cortes of Castille, in the 15th, and the beginning of the 16th century, from which it appears, that the woollen manufactures of Castille were at that time of



* Diccionario Hist. Geograf. de Espana, 1802,—art. *Guipuzcoa.*

† MacPherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. 1. p. 651.

‡ Can this be *grana?* i. e. kermes.

the coarsest and most ordinary quality, and fit only for inferior uses. The finest cloth of Valladolid and Segovia was sold at 40 maravedis the yard, and that of Palencia, Cuenca, and Cordoba, at only 34; while fine cloth of Florence was sold at 167, and that of Burgos at 140.

In addition to this conclusive and incontestable evidence, Capmany next refers us to the account book of Ferdinand the Catholic, which is still preserved in the archives of Barcelona, and extends from the year 1496, to the death of that prince in 1516. This curious and authentic record is perhaps the surest and most unequivocal evidence of the inferiority of the woollen manufactures of Spain to those of other countries, at the very time when they are supposed by later writers to have been the most flourishing. We find, that, in the court of that severe and parsimonious monarch, none but his domestic servants were clothed in the manufactures of Spain; while Italy, Flanders, and England, furnished cloth for the use of himself and the royal family.

*Lastly*, It appears from the book of customs belonging to the city of Burgos, as it was settled in 1514, that the chief export from Spain, at that time, was wool, which was sent to Flanders, France and Italy, to be made there into cloth, for the supply of Spain as well as of other countries. The remaining articles of export, as enumerated in the same book, are iron, oil, figs, and raisins, from Xeres, Valencia, and Malaga; cordovan leather, rabbit skins, saffron, raw silk, wax, kermes, liquorice, cumin seed, almonds, rice; sugar from Valencia; and wine from Alicant. The same account of the Spanish exports is given in a book of ordonnances passed in 1511, which regulate the trade of the north coast of Spain, from Fuontarabia to Corunna.

With regard to the *second* period of our inquiry, it is true that, for some time after the conquest and settlement of America, the manufactures of the mother country flourished more than they had done at any former period. We have the testimony of Guicciardini,* that in 1566 the export of wool from Spain to Flanders, was reduced from 40,000 to 25,000 packs a year, in consequence of the increase of the woollen manufactures in Spain; and in 1552, we know from the acts of the Cortes, that Spain actually exported cloth to foreign countries, particularly to Italy, where the black and blue cloths of Spain were in high request for the use of ecclesiastics and magistrates, on account of the softness of the texture, and stability of the colours. This was also the period when the silk manufactures of Spain were most flourishing. Naviger, the ambassador of the Venetian republic

* MacPherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. 2. p. 126.

public at the court of Charles V, mentions the silk manufactures of Granada, and adds, that silk stuffs of that city had great sale in Spain; but, with the exception of velvets, serges and taffeties, he gives a decided preference to those of Italy. He adds, however, that the silk stuffs made at Valencia were better than those of Granada.

But, even at this period, when the manufactures of Spain were in a more flourishing condition than at any former time, that kingdom was supplied by foreign countries with almost all articles of luxury and accommodation, and even with many articles of the first necessity. In 1545, Spain received from Flanders, in return for wool and other raw materials, cloth, linen, cotton goods, silks, and a vast variety of other manufactures. The manufacture of linen was unknown in that kingdom. In 1555, the Cortes complain of the vast quantity of money sent out of the kingdom to purchase linen in France and Flanders, and recommend premiums for the cultivation of flax at home, in order to establish linen manufactures within the kingdom. Hardware and glass were imported from Germany, and even arms and ammunition came from abroad. Milan and Flanders supplied Spain with these articles; and it is an extraordinary fact, that the first cannon foundery in Spain was established at Barcelona in 1719. Lastly, in a solemn petition of the Cortes to Charles V. in 1542, it was stated, though probably with great exaggeration, that the whole commerce of the kingdom was in the hands of strangers; and in 1548 and 1593, the same complaints were repeated by the Cortes with great bitterness.

But the strongest proof, that, even at that time, arts and manufactures had made no solid progress in Spain, is afforded by the views of the Spanish character and the pictures of Spanish manners, left us by contemporary authors; and the force of this evidence is strengthened, by the universal contempt and disrepute in which tradesmen and manufacturers continued to be held in Spain, for many ages afterwards. According to Naviger, Venegas, Medina, and a number of other persons who wrote under Charles V. and Philip II., the Spaniards of that age were proud and lazy, prodigal and ostentatious, and willing to derive a precarious and disgraceful subsistence from alms, or to practise the most dishonest arts for a livelihood, rather than follow a mechanical trade, which they thought a degradation to practise. Perez de Herrera, who lived in the latter part of the reign of Philip II. paints in the liveliest colours those features in the character of his countrymen, and describes at great length, the artifices and impostures of the Spanish beggars. He probably exaggerates their numbers, when he reckons 150,000 beggars and vagabonds in

Spain, at the accession of Philip III.; but, besides the testimony of political writers, the royal proclamation of Charles V. in 1540, and innumerable petitions of the Cortes in his reign, and that of his successor, prove incontestably, that the number of beggars and disorderly persons, who had no settled occupation or place of residence, was on the increase in Spain, during the whole time of its supposed prosperity. The aversion of the Spaniards to mechanical trades was not the effect of laziness alone, but had its origin in ancient prejudices, strengthened and confirmed by the authority of the laws and municipal institutions of the kingdom. *Cleanness* of blood was necessary for admission into corporations; but the lineage of a candidate was tainted by his descent from ancestors who had followed certain trades, as well as by a Jewish or Moorish origin. The trades of tanner, currier, shoemaker, tailor, smith and carpenter, are stigmatized in the laws of Philip II. as *low* and *vile;* and as late as the year 1783, it was necessary to declare, by a royal cedula, that these and other trades were not to be held disgraceful, and should not disqualify those who followed them, from offices in corporations. But, is it conceivable that such prejudices should have existed in a manufacturing country, or that manufactures could have flourished in a country where such prejudices prevailed? Catalonia has been always the most industrious and manufacturing country in Spain; but in Catalonia tradesmen enjoy a certain rank and consideration, and derive importance from the incorporated trade to which they belong. *Soy menestral honrado* would be the retort of a Catalonian tradesman to a gentleman who insulted or offended him. *Yo qui soy Christiano viejo* would, in the same circumstances, be the no less indignant exclamation of a Castillian.

Our limits will not permit us to follow Capmany in his examination of the fabulous, or at least highly exaggerated accounts transmitted to us by authors, of the ancient manufactures of Seville, Toledo, Segovia, and other cities of Castille. He shows, to our perfect conviction, that the statements which they have handed down to us, are, in most particulars, extremely improbable, and in many points positively false. These incredible relations, it must be observed, to which such implicit faith has been given by travellers and historians, rest on no contemporary evidence whatever; are confirmed by no public or private documents of any sort; and are grossly and palpably inconsistent with the description of those cities left us by the most respectable authors of that age. Navigier gives a minute description of Seville and Toledo, without even mentioning those wonderful manufactures of silk, which, in Seville alone, are supposed to have given occupation to 130,000 souls, and, in Toledo, to nearly as many.

many. At the time when the woollen manufactures of Segovia are said to have been most prosperous, Colmenores describes that city as full of beggars and vagabonds.

The result of our inquiry is, that Spain has possessed, at all times, domestic manufactures for common and ordinary uses; but that at no period of its history which we have examined, could it be ranked among the great manufacturing nations; that, on the contrary, its inhabitants have been always supplied with the finer manufactures from abroad, and even with many articles of accommodation, which in other countries are reckoned of indispensable necessity. It has further appeared, that the only interval during which manufacturing industry made any progress in Spain, was for about a century after the discovery of America, when the new demand created by the colonies excited some faint efforts in the mother country to supply their wants. But these efforts were feeble, spiritless, and of short duration. The genius and prejudices of the people were averse to manufacturing industry; and the bad policy and oppression of the government were able, in these circumstances, first, to depress, and, finally, to extinguish their exertions.

*Agriculture and Population.*

Of the flourishing state of agriculture, and immense population of Spain in ancient times, we have the same vague and exaggerated accounts which have been left us of its commerce and manufactures. Osorio, who wrote in the time of Charles II., discusses, with the utmost gravity, whether the peninsula of Spain contained fifty or seventy-five millions of souls in the time of Julius Cæsar; and the most moderate calculator reckons at least eighteen millions of inhabitants in Spain, exclusive of Portugal, in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. But was Spain better adapted for agriculture, in former times, than it is at present? Was it less liable to droughts and consequent famines? Was it better provided with canals for irrigation, or with roads for conveying over its mountains the surplus of one province to feed the starving inhabitants of another? Was its code of rural and municipal laws less pernicious to agriculture, than it became afterwards? Was it less liable to epidemic diseases, which oppose at present such formidable obstacles to the increase of its population? On the contrary, between 1483 and 1506, there were no less than eleven years marked by the prevalence of epidemic maladies, called plagues, in some part or other of Spain; and the number of chapels and processions, founded in those times to St Roque and St Sebastian, show at once how common pestilential

pestilential diseases must have been, and how inadequate were the means taken against them.

The institution of the holy brotherhood, for the security of travellers in desert and uncultivated places, revived by Ferdinand and Isabella, is far from being any proof of a dense and great population in the reign of these princes. The laws and privileges of the Mesta, confirmed and extended by Charles V, show, that a great part of Spain was then, as it is at present, in a state of pasturage. The innumerable laws for securing and regulating property in bees, which are to be found in all the Spanish codes, from the time of the Visigoths to Philip II., afford another proof of the quantity of wild and uncultivated land in Spain. And, while the exports of that kingdom, in the 15th and 16th centuries, show the preference given to pasturage over agriculture by its inhabitants, their exportation of wheat and rice proves, that the quantity of corn which they raised, was more than sufficient to supply their wants. If we extend our inquiries to a more remote antiquity, we find that, in the time of Alonso XI.,* all the provinces of Castille were full of wild boars and bears; and the kingdom, as then described to us, resembles more a wild and savage country, than a civilized and cultivated land.

But let us look into the agricultural and economical writers of Spain, in the times of Charles V. and Ferdinand the Catholic. Alonso de Herrera was employed by Cardinal Ximenes to compile a book on husbandry for the use of his countrymen. But, does the curious and useful work which he composed, warrant us in concluding, that the agriculture of Spain was at that time conducted with intelligence, or pursued with industry? On the contrary, he begins his book, by lamenting the frequency of scarcities in Castille, which he imputes to the laziness of the people, and to their total neglect of agriculture. Laguna, physician to Charles V., in a botanical work, entituled, *Dioscorides illustrated*, written about 1555, observes, 'that gooseberries were very common in France, Italy and Flanders, but that he had never seen any in Castille, where indeed the people are very indifferent about gratifications of the palate; or, to say the truth, where they are so much more indolent than in other countries, that they extract nothing from the earth but what it spontaneously affords them, and leave many parts of their country in a state of nature, which, if properly watered and cultivated, would be highly productive.' Arrieta, in his book called the *Despertador*, or *awakener*, published in 1578, boasts, as usual, of the ancient riches and fertility, and laments the present poverty and sterility of

* He reigned from 1312 to 1350.

of his country. And, lastly, the *pragmatica* of Philip II., issued in 1594, states, in its preamble, that the yeomanry and small farmers of the kingdom were reduced, in general, to beggary and want; and that many even of the large farms had been abandoned by their owners, and left uncultivated. But are these complaints, resounding from so many quarters, compatible with that flourishing state of agriculture which could maintain eighteen millions of souls, in a country where hardly ten millions can find subsistence at present?

But, independent of this presumptive evidence, we have positive proof, that many of the provinces of Spain were less populous in the 16th century, than they are at present. We have three enumerations of the inhabitants of Catalonia and Roussillon, in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries. In 1368, they amounted to 365,000; in 1495, to 473,000; and in 1553, to 340,000. But, in 1797, the inhabitants of Catalonia alone, amounted to 858,818; while the population of Rousillon is estimated, by the French government, at 106,171 souls, making an increase of population, in the two provinces, of 624,989, since 1553. Valencia, in 1510, contained 54,555 families. In 1797, it contained 165,012 families. Allowing five persons to a family, its population, at the former period, was 272,775; at the latter period, 825,059, making a difference, in favour of the second, of 552,284. Arragon, in the time of the Catholic kings, contained only 440,000 inhabitants; it contains 657,376 at present; so that its increase has been 217,376. The whole population, therefore, of the three provinces of the crown of Arragon, in the 16th century, amounted to 1,052,775. The same provinces contain, at present, 2,447,424; and have, consequently, more than doubled their population. It is unfortunate for the argument, which attributes the ruin and supposed depopulation of Spain to the emigration of its inhabitants to America, that the Arragonian provinces have made their most rapid progress in wealth and population since the colonial trade was opened to them. The same is true of Biscay and Gallicia. Ustariz long ago remarked, in opposition to vulgar prejudice, that these two provinces, though they sent the greatest number of emigrants to America, were the best peopled provinces of Castille.

With regard to Castille, our accounts of its antient population are too imperfect to enable us to draw a similar comparison between its present and its former state. The ruinous appearance of many towns in Leon and the two Castilles, is an incontestable proof of their decline; and we are disposed to believe, that, in these provinces, there has been a positive diminution of population, though to a much less extent than is commonly imagined.

If

If we were to admit a similar decline in any other part of Spain, it would be in the kingdom of Granada, where, if we compare the present state of the Alpujarras, and the appearance of the valley of Granada, with the descriptions of Naviger and the history of the wars of Granada by Mendoza and others, we cannot but suppose, that, notwithstanding the increase of Malaga and other towns upon the coast, there has been a diminution, on the whole, in the population of the country. As to Estremadura and Andalucia, we know that the same towns exist there at present, which existed in the time of Ferdinand the Catholic; and if in many of them we perceive little appearance of business or activity, as little do we see in them, in general, any marks of decay. Seville has, indeed, declined in its commercial greatness, and possibly in its population; but Cadiz, Xeres, Isla de Leon, Puerto de Santa Maria and Puerto Real, have risen upon its fall. In the northern provinces, there can be no doubt, that there has been a considerable increase of population.

If the statistical returns made to Philip II. in answer to the queries which had been circulated by his order in the provinces of Castille, were carefully examined, a satisfactory account might be extracted from them, of the ancient population of these provinces. But though a copy of these voluminous returns has been made from the original, which is deposited in the Escurial, and has been for more than thirty years in the possession of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, no extract from it, nor summary of its contents, has yet been published. We observe, however, in MacPherson's Annals of Commerce,* an anonymous English treatise referred to, which was published in 1689, under the title of the 'Happy future State of England.' The anonymous author of this treatise asserts, that Mr Pepys (Secretary of the Admiralty) showed him a paper, stating, that the whole number of men in the realm of Spain, taken by a secret survey, some time, as is supposed, before the year 1588, was but 1,125,390, exclusive of the regular and the secular clergy. But it was in 1575 that Philip II. circulated his *interrogatorio* or queries about the population and state of Castille; and the returns to his queries, some of which we have seen, are dated in 1577 and 1578. If this coincidence of time be considered as any evidence that the numbers in Mr Pepys's paper were taken from a private abstract of these returns, the accuracy of the statement may be relied upon, for the returns were made with the greatest care and diligence. We must, however, on that supposition, substitute, in Mr Pepys's statement, 'provinces of Castille,' instead of 'realm of

* MacPherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. 2. p. 187.

of Spain;' for the *interrogatorio* was circulated in Castille only. But if the number of men capable of bearing arms, exclusive of ecclesiastics, amounted to 1,125,390, the whole population of Castille, excluding the same description of persons, may be calculated at 4,501,560 souls. Adding 100,000 for ecclesiastics,* the whole population will have been 4,601,560. But the population of Castille, at present, exclusive of Navarre, Biscay, Arragon, and the Canary Islands, amounts to 7,328,700 souls; and, consequently, there has been an increase of more than one half in the population of the provinces of Castille since the time of Philip II. If we add to this an increase of more than $\frac{1}{10}$ in the three provinces of Arragon, and suppose that in Navarre, Biscay, the Balearic and Canary Islands, the population has only doubled, we shall have, for the total population of Spain, exclusive of America, under Philip II., 6,071,831; under Charles IV. 10,504,985.

England, when threatened with invasion by the Spaish Armada, is supposed to have contained 4,688,000 souls;† and it is remarkable enough, that the proportion of her population to that of Spain at the present day, is not very different from what it was then.‡ It is true, that the Spanish monarchy comprehended at that time, along with Spain and her colonies, not only her ancient possessions in Flanders and Italy, but her recent acquisitions of Portugal and the Portuguese conquests in Africa and India. It is also true, that England, since the days of Elizabeth, has increased her means of defence by the addition of at least 400,000 men able to bear arms in this part of the kingdom. She has also added about five millions to her population by her union with Ireland; and would to heaven we could say, that she had by that measure added in the same proportion to her strength and security; and that a blind and bigotted attachment to ancient prejudices, and a callous and disgusting indifference to the feelings and interests of so large a portion of her subjects, had not converted that which ought to have been her pride and strength, into her chief source of weakness and apprehension.

Our review of the first of these essays has extended to so unusual a length, that we must confine ourselves to a mere list of

* The number of ecclesiastical persons in Spain, according to the returns made to government in 1768, 1787, and 1797, were 208,899, 191,101, and 182,447.

† Andrews's Continuation of Henry's History of England, vol. 2. p. 154.

‡ The population of England and Wales, according to the government returns (1801) amounts to 9,343,578.

of the names and titles of the others. The subject of the second is the discovery of the mariner's compass, and its earliest use in navigation. The third treats of the origin and antiquity of the venereal disease, and of its first appearance in Europe. The fourth is an inquiry into the earliest use of gunpowder in the art of war, and into the first invention of artillery. The fifth treats of the construction of the vessels used by the ancients; and the sixth, of the size and burden of the vessels used in the middle ages.

D. Antonio Capmany, the author of these essays, is a native of Catalonia. His principal work has been already mentioned, under its title of *Memorias historicas sobre la Marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona.* The two first volumes appeared in 1779; the two last in 1792. The 3d and 4th volumes are collections of state papers, and other original and important documents from the archives of Barcelona. This truly excellent work is marked throughout with a spirit of liberality and good sense, and distinguished by an attention to general and philosophical views but seldom displayed by those who ransack archives, and compile papers for the use of future historians. We consider it as a most valuable addition to the history of the commerce and manufactures of the middle ages.

Capmany has also published an edition of the maritime customs of Barcelona; the foundation of the present maritime law of Europe. He has also edited a collection of antient treaties between the kings of Arragon, and the Mahometan princes of Asia and Africa; and published a translation of the antient naval ordonnances of the Crown of Arragon, as they were confirmed in 1354. He is, besides, the author of several works in literature, which are deservedly held in high estimation by his countrymen.

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ART. XI. *View of the present State of Poland.* By George Burnett, late of Baliol College, Oxford. 8vo. pp. 456. London. Longman & Co. 1807.

THERE is more pretension in this title, than the contents of the volume, or, indeed, the author's own account of it in the preface, will justify. He informs us, with great candour and modesty, that his work has peculiar claims to indulgence. He was only settled in Poland, it seems, about ten months, during which time he lived in a nobleman's family at a great distance from any place of consequence, and made but two visits to towns, Warsaw and Lemberg, for a few days each. Even of these opportunities

portunities he did not make the most, having scarcely taken any notes while he remained in the country. But about two years after his arrival here, if we rightly understand him, he found that every thing relating to Poland was an object of interest; and he got up this work to suit the public curiosity. He is so candid as to admit fairly, that this temporary interest regulated almost entirely the preparation of the book, and that the manuscript was sent to the press as fast as it was written; so many are the deductions from the claims of the title-page, which we are obliged to make by the acknowledgements in the preface! In fact, the book contains nothing which can be called a view of the state of Poland. Mr Burnett has given us, however, a considerable mass of anecdote and information, from his own recollection of a very limited part of the subject; and in this point of view his work, crude and hasty though it be, possesses some claims to our attention. We shall therefore extract from it the parts most worthy of notice, after premising a few remarks on the exceedingly bad manner in which it is written throughout.

The hurry of composition has by no means prevented Mr Burnett from adopting an inflated and often fantastical style. We have 'pines lifting their lofty heads in the cold clear air, huge and still as giants enchanted into pillars of salt.' (p. 32.) Never having had an opportunity of seeing this kind of giant, we cannot speak positively; but, so far as our fancy can carry us, we confess a pine, with flakes of snow on its branches, does not seem to be the object bearing closest resemblance to such a person. Describing the appearance of the winter, when the 'air is so clear, that one can almost *see* the cold,' our author adds, that 'the sun, the while, pours his glistening glory on the subject snow, impenetrable as a rock to his beams.' (p. 45.) He has also found time to invent a number of clumsy and useless words, which he uses in a very intemperate manner. It is quite painful to look at such terms as *womanised*, *amiability*, *societyship*, *excurse*, *selfishment*, &c. To notice the want of elegance, correctness, and, indeed, grammar, which prevails in this book, would be endless. Such defects are perhaps excused by the rapidity with which it was got up; but such imperfections as we have just exemplified cannot be passed over upon the same ground.

Mr Burnett shews a curious degree of ignorance upon many very common-place topics; and a great number of his remarks, indeed many of his details, are derived from this source. The long account of the Polish houses, for example, occupying near fifty pages, and the minute description of the manner of living of the Polish nobles, might be reduced to a very narrow compass, if

every

every thing were omitted which is common, both in all foreign countries, and even in our own. He describes the houses and furniture,—the domestic arrangements of all sorts,—the economy of the table, &c. exactly as if he were making us acquainted with some newly discovered island in the South Seas. Thus, 'if the company be very numerous, there is a table on each side the hall, and one at the upper end, leaving the middle open, the whole forming the two long sides, and one short one of an oblong square.' (205.) 'Every dinner as well as supper begins with soup. While this is taken, the joint which is to succeed (consisting almost uniformly of boiled beef) is removed to the side-table, to be carved by the steward or attendants. The side-table, in these large halls, is situated in a very considerable recess, at the end opposite the door. When the soup-plates are removed, the beef, thus cut into pieces of no very delicate proportions indeed, is handed round. This is dressed to rags, the more savoury parts having been extracted in the soup.' (206.) After dinner the company rise, 'by a sort of tacit consent,' and retire to another room, where 'they are dispersed about in small knots or parties.'—'Thus circumstanced,' he adds, 'each is served with a cup of coffee, which is taken, on this occasion, with sugar only, without either milk or cream.' (225.) 'During summer, the *redingote* is worn by most persons not of the first rank. This word is evidently borrowed from the English *riding-coat.*' (243.) Mr Burnett surely cannot mean that *redingote* is a Polish word, though his notions about the word *joli* (p. 332.) half incline us to think that such is his opinion.

Where a family lives in public, as it were, and constantly open to the inspection of a hundred or more dependants and guests, the members of it have, perhaps, little right to complain of seeing themselves in print. Yet we rather think Mr Burnett has transgressed somewhat upon this publicity of his Polish friends. He lived with the Count Zamoyski, we presume in his employment, and seems to have been on familiar and friendly terms with that powerful nobleman and his family. It is therefore a certain violation of propriety, (though, considering the above mentioned circumstance, we admit it is a slight one), to fill part of his book with minute descriptions and characters of the count and his relatives, female as well as male. Every thing, indeed, is well meant and perfectly laudatory; but were we the Countess Zamoyska, for example, we should not like to be talked of in this manner. 'When her soul is up—when her feelings are awake, and in search of objects to keep them in play, she will often go to her instrument; and the obedient strings, responsive to the electric kiss, will proudly rise in full and warbled harmo-

ny,

ny, or gently sink in dying sounds, which melt and pierce the soul.' And this is only a small part of about five pages to the same effect, devoted to the service of that lady. A long discussion of the question, whether Count Zamoyski should or should not build a new house near the village of Zamoyst, is no doubt extremely interesting in that neighbourhood; but does not, in the same degree, touch the rest of Europe. We much fear that the anecdote (p. 258.) must be put down in the list of those not quite favourable to the persons of whom they are related; though it is clear that our author is by no means aware of this himself. Princess Czartoryska, it seems, 'has amassed a considerable collection of curiosities;' and, among these, 'the chair of Shakespere.'—'This relic of our revered bard,' says Mr Burnett, 'she bought in England for three hundred pounds;' and she has likewise the chair of Rousseau.

We confess, we are rather provoked at Mr Burnett for filling so much of his book with the details now shortly alluded to, and excluding a variety of recollections which are of general and permanent interest. His opportunities were, in some respects, much more favourable than he seems to think. Though he saw few towns, he lived on a footing of close intimacy with various natives of the highest rank and greatest accomplishments in the country, and might have obtained from them almost as much information as is to be procured, respecting the present state and the late history of Poland. His own observation, too, might have supplied many important blanks in the knowledge which we possess of the condition of the lower orders in that country. We cannot help complaining a little, that his senses should have been so acute, and his memory so faithful, for all the trifling incidents of halls and rooms and doors,—and chairs and tables,—and roast meat and boiled meat,—when subjects of real importance might well have been illustrated by him. However, he has contributed some information, and, such as it is, we thank him for it. Without attempting, what would be quite useless where there are so few materials, to digest this into a regular form, we shall notice those elucidations of the state of the country which chiefly struck us. Mr Burnett landed at Dantzic, and proceeded up the country through Warsaw, he does not exactly say whither; but we infer from several circumstances, that he went into the Austrian part of Poland, and that his remarks apply to this and the Prussian part. He never was in the Russian division, and heard scarcely any thing about it. Respecting Dantzic and Lemburg, he communicates little or no information.

The face of the country over which our author passed, is uninteresting, from its flatness and uniformity. The Vistula,

though a fine river, runs so much through bogs and heaths, that it seldom affords any fine views. The following description of the country beyond the plain of Dantzic, he says, is nearly applicable to the whole scenery of Poland.

'The traveller sometimes finds himself in an expanse of surface, almost without a house, a tree, or any single object large enough to attract his notice. Soon, however, are descried the skirts of some vast forest fringing the distant horizon; and on entering it we proceed, for eight or ten miles (more or less) winding with the road through lofty pines, &c. &c. precluded from the sight of all objects but trees and shrubs. Sometimes, in the midst of a forest we meet with a small spot of ground (for example, of ten or twenty acres) cleared and cultivated; its sides prettily fenced by the green surrounding woods. Sometimes a small lake is found thus situated, its borders ornamented in a similar manner: and these, generally speaking, are the prettiest scenes which Poland furnishes. These forests, in some places, are fifteen, and even twenty miles, in all directions; an assertion which will appear the more credible, when I observe, that of an estate belonging to a certain nobleman, nearly one half is computed to be forest. Indeed, if we exclude morasses, and the level pasture lands, I should not scruple to affirm, that not more than one half of the country, speaking generally, is cleared. After passing the Vistula, at the place just mentioned, the surface is considerably open, for a distance at least of thirty or forty miles. But woods no sooner begin to appear, than it is rare the traveller entirely loses sight of them. The view is bounded, in one direction or another, by forest lands. I have proceeded in a south-easterly direction through a distance of four or five hundred miles, and this description, with insignificant variations, appears to me strictly applicable.' p. 29—31.

'There are some lakes far more extensive than those just mentioned. The Vistula itself, from the great increase of its waters in the spring, is expanded, in certain places, into a sort of lake. There are also occasional bogs and impassable morasses. At very distant intervals are found plains of some extent, affording rich pasturage. The richest I have had an opportunity of seeing, are those contiguous to the Vistula, some of which are periodically overflowed by that river. Such are those in the neighbourhood of Warsaw, and which supply that town with good butcher's meat. These pasture-lands, in general so thinly scattered, are said to be more frequent in Lithuania, and particularly in Podolia.' p. 32. 33.

'The villages are the most wretched that can be imagined. They are thinly scattered, rather along the skirts than in the midst of the forests, and sometimes in the middle of vast bare heaths, where no other object is to be seen as far as the eye can reach. They consist of from ten to fifty miserable huts, rudely constructed of wood, and covered over with straw and turf; and afford so imperfect a shelter, that the inhabitants are glad to stop up the vents during winter, and to be half smothered with smoke,

smoke, rather than die of cold. Bad as these villages are, you may travel ten miles, even in the clear part of the country, without seeing one,—or, indeed, beholding any human habitation. The small towns are considerably more comfortable; they consist almost uniformly of a square, with the town-house in the centre. The houses are built of wood, and seldom have more than one story; there is frequently a sort of *piazza* along the sides of the square, where small wares are exposed to sale. These towns seldom contain 2000 inhabitants, and some of them have only 200 or 300. The larger towns consist of brick houses, for the most part stuccoed or rough-cast, and are generally situated in the neighbourhood of a morass; both for the sake of defence, and the facility of procuring bricks. Nothing, our author says, can be conceived more dismal than the position of such a town, frequently in the midst of an immense plain, without a tree or any other object in sight. Stone quarries are so rare, that it is only in the chief cities we find any houses built of stone. Warsaw is irregularly laid out and constructed; there is no square, no regular street, and scarcely any open spaces. The streets are wretchedly paved; some of the palaces are large and well built, but they are now almost all deserted, and exhibit an half ruinous appearance, with high grass growing in the courts. The nobles have either sold or deserted them, and live entirely on their estates in the country, or resort in the winter-season to the capitals of the powers within whose division their properties lie. Since the partition, the population of Warsaw is supposed to have decreased one half; its inhabitants are now reckoned at 50,000. The suburb of Praga consists chiefly of huts like those already described, with a few houses of a better description.

The common inns are still more wretched, in proportion, than the hovels of the natives. They consist, indeed, chiefly of the stable, where, during the summer, the inhabitants and travellers sleep, almost promiscuously with the cattle. The house generally enters from one end of the stable, and is described as more filthy than any thing which an inhabitant of this country can picture to himself. The better sort of inns have one or two rooms, generally without any other furniture than a chair and a table, with a small couch, on which the traveller may spread his bedding. They are almost all kept by Jews; and Mr Burnett complains of their impositions, and of the general expense of travelling,—having paid twenty guineas from Dantzic to Warsaw, about two hundred English miles, for a carriage with three horses, and all other expenses on the road. When the nobles travel, they endeavour to stop at each other's country-houses, and when obliged to use the inns, they carry almost every accommodation with them.

The provisions most easily to be met with are, poultry, eggs, milk and whisky. Prices are said to have been raised more than double since the partition; and Mr Burnett is certainly right in stating, that the quantity of money in circulation must have greatly augmented during this period. The best butcher's meat costs threepence a pound;—formerly, that is sixteen years ago, it used to cost only a penny, or, at most, three halfpence. Count Zamoyski having taken over several English mechanics to settle with him, one of these told our author that he found, after six months trial, he could live for one half the expense which nearly the same style of living cost him in England; and Mr Burnett asserts, that he might have done it for still less. It is obvious, that, in many essential circumstances, Poland resembles the United States of America. They are both great agricultural countries, abounding in cheap and fertile land, with a population but thinly scattered over woods only begun to be cleared. In both countries we may expect to find rude produce, or articles in the first stages of manufacture sufficiently cheap; but articles of more finished manufacture are only to be procured by importation, and bear a high price accordingly. In both countries, though with very different degrees of rapidity, the population is increasing, the foreign trade augmenting, and the cultivation of the land following the rise of price which all sorts of produce, in consequence of the increased trade and population, undergo, and tending in its turn to check that rise of price. In both countries, the wealthy poprietors residing on, and superintending the management of their estates, and possessing a great superfluity of the necessaries of life, addict themselves to an inelegant and profuse hospitality; with this difference, however, that the very unequal division of property, and the prevalence of political distinctions, fills the palace of the Polish noble with a great crowd of dependants, while the same kind of hospitality is more generally diffused, and exchanged on more equal terms among the American landholders. The most interesting part of the notices contained in Mr Burnett's work refer to the general topics which we have just now run over.

Almost every article of manufacture is imported, and the greater part, are either really, or nominally, English. Our author having occasion to buy a hat at Lemburg, found the name and ticket of a well known London hatter on it, though he perceived plainly that it was of foreign manufacture. The prices of all such articles are, of course, exceedingly high, about one half higher than in London. The names of many even of the most ordinary articles, are evidently foreign, a hat is *kapelusz*, (pronounced *capellooth*), ink *atrounent*, an ink-stand *kalamarz*, a candlestick

dlestick *lichtarz*, a plate *talerz*. And when Poles, above the lower orders, are conversing in their own language upon such topics as fashions, the fine arts, &c. they naturally and insensibly change from Polish to French, without interrupting the course of a single sentence.* Almost the whole retail trade of the interior is in the hands of Jews, who are estimated, Mr Burnett says, at two millions. They carry on the traffic with the indefatigable activity peculiar to their race. A stranger, says our author, no sooner arrives at his inn, than he is beset by the inferior Jews, who act as emissaries to the shopkeepers. They enter his room without ceremony, and watch every motion and look, until they have caught him, and led him away to the shop of their employers.

The rent and price of land is extremely low. A farm of several thousand acres will let for 200*l.* or 250*l.* sterling;—but more depends, of course, on the number of the peasants than the extent. The estate of one nobleman, consisting of 5000 square miles, is worth about 50,000*l.* Sterling a year. A rich manufacturer of earthen ware, paid 2000*l.* for an estate of about 2000 acres, half of which is in wood; it had a good house of several rooms, with a large garden and pleasure grounds well enclosed.

The wealth of the powerful nobles is enormous;—Prince Czartoryski, and his son-in-law Count Zamoyski, possess together domains equal to half of England in extent. The quota of the former used to be 20,000, that of the latter 10,000 men, in the times of the republic. The great nobles live surrounded by others of the same class, but possessed of no fortune, and dependent upon their wealthy brethren for subsistence. Their houses are likewise filled with persons, chiefly foreigners, in their employment, as artists, with secretaries, and other agents above the rank of servants, with farmers of the better order, and a constant assemblage of visitors. The house of a nobleman is likewise full of servants, of whose characters our author gives us an unfavourable opinion. The following extracts will shew a little more nearly the features of that rude hospitality which distinguishes the style of living in this country, arising clearly from its feudal manners and abundance of ordinary articles of consumption.

'It is rare in a large house, that one sits down to dinner and supper with a less company than thirty or forty persons. At the palace of the Prince Czartoryski, I apprehend that scarcely ever less than fifty persons dine in the hall—a number which is very frequently augmented to a



* See p. 135, 136—272—274, and 279.

hundred, a hundred and fifty, and even three hundred. To ſit down alone, with his wife and a friend, perhaps, would be intolerable to a Pole. And when an Engliſhman, or other perſons who might have been in this country, have mentioned to a liſtening company the cuſtom of England in this particular—and that even perſons of the firſt conſequence both for rank and wealth, would often ſit down to dinner, ſimply a man and wife, or accompanied by a ſingle friend—they have all exclaimed, with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, *Ah! comme il eſt triſte*—how melancholy!' p. 308. 309.

'Theſe (ordinary wines) are the only drinks in ordinary uſe, even by the nobles themſelves. When they wiſh for a different ſort of wine, claret is the moſt uſual, a bottle of which is placed near them, and of which they commonly invite ſome one or more to take part; it cannot be all. This is rather a tickliſh time for the ſubalterns, in whoſe countenances may be commonly obſerved no very ſublime conflict of feelings, between their wiſh to applaud every act of their ſuperior, and their obvious jealouſy and envy of the favoured individual. The nobles, I have not the ſlighteſt doubt, not unfrequently debar themſelves from ſuch luxuries in public, that they may avoid exciting a mutual jealouſy among thoſe in their ſervice.

'On *gala* days, a few glaſſes of champagne are drunk, at the cloſe of dinner. Other French wines are occaſionally produced, and are in the cellars of moſt of the nobility; but, on account of the number there would be to partake, they very rarely appear. They are met with only in ſmall and private parties. Engliſh bottle-porter is alſo a *rarity*, as it ſtands in Poland at the high price of a guinea per dozen.

'In theſe large eſtabliſhments and parties, it would be unreaſonable and even abſurd to expect the utmoſt elegance or comfort, and for very obvious reaſons. In ſmaller families and parties, there is no want either of the one or of the other. Things are always better cooked, and nicer in all reſpects.' p. 209–211.

'The children of the nobles are educated, for the moſt part, in their families, where they are provided with the requiſite maſters. In the times of the republic, the princes and nobles of large fortune educated alſo in their houſes a great number of the children of their needy brethren; and their palaces uſually contained ſchools, like thoſe of our Engliſh biſhops in times paſt. The Prince Czartoryſki had formerly, at all times, a conſiderable number of boys and young men at his court, all of whom he provided with board, clothing, and education, and afterwards ſituations in life. One day in the week was called the flogging day, on which each offender received the chaſtiſement for miſdemeanours committed during the preceding ſix. In Warſaw, ſuch was the pomp of former Poliſh manners, that the princeſs, when ſhe went abroad, was attended by twenty of theſe young men at once, all on horſeback, and who ſtrove to outvie each other in vigilant attention and chivalrous gallantry. It was a point of politeneſs always conteſted with peculiar zeal, who ſhould be foremoſt in handing her highneſs out of her carriage, and in helping her to aſcend.' p. 301. 302.

'During

'During the time of dinner, the lofty and magnificent hall is abſolutely crowded with ſervants; among whom may be diſcovered ſeveral Coſſacks, with their long whiſkers, and in their military uniform. Every perſon of conſequence, too, has his own footman behind his chair, in his peculiar livery; the whole forming a ſpectacle which forcibly carries back the mind to the pompous periods of feudal grandeur. The ſervants, on all occaſions, are very numerous; I once counted twelve waiting at a dinner-table, at which there were only eight perſons dining. There might not poſſibly have been more, had there been triple the number in company.' p. 223–24.

'The accommodations in the wings of the Poliſh manſions are not perhaps quite correſpondent with the elegance of the ſaloons and beſt apartments. Each wing may be conſidered as a very long houſe, not lofty, though, with the attic, it has occaſionally two ſtories above the ground floor. Through the centre, longitudinally, on each floor, extends a common paſſage, into which the ſeveral doors, on both ſides, of the diſtinct chambers, open. According to the more ancient plan, however, there is a range, in the front of the building, of ſeveral common (uſually ſtone) ſtair-caſes, each of which leads, on each floor, to a room both on the right and left; ſimilarly to what is found in colleges, the inns of court, and the houſes of Edinburgh.

'The apartments themſelves are remarkable neither for ornament, for furniture, nor comfort. They are adapted, in general, for ſingle perſons; more rarely for two. Their common dimenſions are thoſe of a pretty good-ſized bed-room, and may be from 12 to 15 feet by 10 or 12. If deſigned for two, they may be ſtill larger; or this enlargement may be produced by a conſiderable receſs on one ſide. The floor of each, though inlaid with inferior workmanſhip, can ſcarcely be expected, when the number is ſo great, to be kept ſhining and beautiful, as thoſe of the beſt rooms. It is therefore merely duſted, and occaſionally waſhed; in which ſtate it has no advantage over a common deal floor. The walls, in the oldeſt houſes, are ſimply white-waſhed, without any ſort of ornament.' p. 168–69.

The farmers are generally dependants of the proprietor, who, having performed ſervice as ſecretaries, or lived as companions with him, or married ſome dependent female of his family, are rewarded with leaſes of part of the eſtates not in the immediate occupation of the noble. Their mode of living is thus deſcribed by Mr Burnett:

'The houſes of the farmers are commonly built of wood, and have merely the ground floor. On the exterior, they are, in every point of view, humble, very often mean in appearance: the interior is occaſionally ſomewhat better,—though an Engliſhman looks in vain for any thing like comfort. There are uſually two or three ordinary rooms, white-waſhed, though one only ſerves, for the moſt part, as a ſitting-room. The floors are ſometimes of earth only, but more frequently planched. A bed almoſt always ſtands in every room, ſometimes,

though rarely, with curtains. The only *double* bed, however, is that for the maſter and miſtreſs of the family; and which is placed in the principal room; the others are mere couches for ſingle perſons, occupying the corners. In the midſt of all theſe homely appearances, you are much, though agreeably, ſurpriſed at ſeeing the table ſet out with conſiderable neatneſs, and abundantly ſupplied with good things; among which chicken are only not univerſal. Every plate is furniſhed with a napkin and a ſilver fork; the courſes are almoſt as numerous, and follow the ſame order as in the houſe of a nobleman, from which the whole is obviouſly imitated. There is ſome little incongruity in all this, it muſt be owned; but incongruities of this deſcription are abundant in Poland.' p. 126. 127.

Our author's account of the peaſantry is ſingularly unſatisfactory. It is well known, that in different parts of Poland their condition is in every reſpect perfectly different; that in the Auſtrian diviſion, and in ſome parts of the Pruſſian, they are free; while in others, and over the whole of the Ruſſian diviſion, they are bondmen, attached to the ſoil. But Mr Burnett deſcribes them as all indiſcriminately in this condition; although he never was in Ruſſian Poland, and appears to have paſſed the greater part of his time in the Imperial territory. The following account muſt therefore be taken, with ſeveral material corrections.

'When a young peaſant marries, his lord aſſigns him a certain quantity of land, ſufficient for the maintenance of himſelf and family in the poor manner in which they are accuſtomed to live. Should the family be numerous, ſome little addition is made to the grant. At the ſame time, the young couple obtain alſo a few cattle, as a cow or two, with ſteers to plough their land. Theſe are fed in the ſtubble, or in the open places of the woods, as the ſeaſon admits. The maſter alſo provides them with a cottage,—with implements of huſbandry,—in ſhort, with all their little moveable property. In conſideration of theſe grants, the peaſant is obliged to make a return to the landholder of one half of his labour; that is, he works three days in the week for his lord, and three for himſelf. If any of his cattle die, they are replaced by the maſter; a circumſtance which renders him negligent of his little herd, as the death or loſs of ſome of them is a frequent occurrence.

'When a farmer rents a farm, the villages ſituated on it, with their inhabitants, are conſidered as included in the contract; and the farmer derives a right to the ſame proportion of the labour of the peaſants for the cultivation of that farm, as by the condition of their tenure they are bound to yield the lord.

'If an eſtate be ſold, the peaſants are likewiſe transferred, of courſe, with the ſoil, to a new maſter, ſubject to the ſame conditions as before. The Poliſh boors, therefore, are ſtill ſlaves; and relatively to their political exiſtence, as abſolutely ſubject to the will of their lords, as in all the barbariſm of the feudal times. They are not privileged to quit the ſoil, except in a few inſtances of complete enfranchiſement; and if they

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were, the privilege, for the moſt part, would be merely nominal: for whither ſhould they go? They may retire, indeed, into the receſſes of the foreſts, where it is poſſible they may not be traced; and it is probable, that, in times paſt, many reſorted to this expedient to eſcape from the cruelties of a tyrannical maſter. To fly from a mild maſter would be obviouſly againſt their intereſt. To quit the territory of one grandee for that of another, muſt commonly, if not always, have been impracticable: for what landholder would chooſe to admit a fugitive peaſant, and thus encourage a ſpirit of revolt? Again, it is not in their power, from the circumſtances of their condition, to ſell their labour indifferently to this or that maſter; and if ſuch obſtacles did not oppoſe, the very extent of the Poliſh farms, and the conſequent want of a ſecond contiguous employer, would ſuffice, in moſt caſes, to preclude a change of maſters.

'It is ſaid that few of the peaſants improve the little ſtock which is committed to their management, in accumulating ſome ſmall property; but their conduct is far more frequently marked by careleſſneſs and a want of forecaſt. Inſtances, however, of this accumulation, begin to multiply: for one effect of the partition has been, that the peaſants are leſs liable to be plundered. Generally ſpeaking, it does not appear that this allowance of land and cattle either is, or deſigned to be, more than enough for their ſcanty maintenance. I was once on a ſhort journey with a nobleman, when we ſtopped to bait at the farm-houſe of a village, which I have before mentioned as a common cuſtom in Poland. The peaſants got intelligence of the preſence of their lord, and aſſembled in a body of twenty or thirty, to prefer a petition to him. I was never more ſtruck with the appearance of theſe poor wretches, and the contraſt of their condition with that of their maſter. I ſtood at a diſtance, and perceived that he did not yield to their ſupplication. When he had diſmiſſed them, I had the curioſity to inquire the object of their petition; and he replied, that they had begged for an increaſed allowance of land, on the plea that what they had was inſufficient for their ſupport. He added, "I did not grant it them, becauſe their preſent allotment is the uſual quantity; and as it has ſufficed hitherto, ſo it will for the time to come. Beſides (ſaid he) if I give them more, I well know that it will not, in reality, better their circumſtances." p. 85, —90.

We apprehend that, upon this important point, our author, if, as we preſume, he refers to Auſtrian Poland, has been led into an error, by confounding things extremely different. The peaſant, though unfranchiſed, that is to ſay, free to leave the land when he chooſes, is bound, while he remains, to pay a certain conſideration for his cottage and field, which in Poland has not been commuted into money or any other rent, but is a certain proportion of his labour. In the greater part of the Auſtrian dominions, this commutation has taken place. We conceive, then, that he has confounded the labour given to the lord in the cultivation

tion of his land, in return for the land allowed to the peaſant, with the labour of a ſerf, who is indeed ſupported by a grant of land, but has no right to give up his ſmall property, and retire from ſervice. He has probably confounded, alſo, the ſtate of things, between lord and peaſant, in point of practice, with their mutual rights and obligations in point of law. For, as the whole peaſantry of Poland were certainly in the ſtate deſcribed by Mr Burnett, until the Auſtrian government placed its acquiſitions upon a different footing, it is poſſible that, in many diſtricts, even of Auſtrian Poland, the proprietors may continue to have nearly the ſame authority over the inhabitants on their eſtates, by cuſtoms which they formerly had by law. This certainly happens in the more remote parts of Hungary, notwithſtanding the abolition of villenage by Maria Tereſa; and the peaſants there are ſubject to very conſiderable oppreſſions. But ſuch irregularities, or violations of the law, muſt ſpeedily be corrected; and their exiſtence, in the mean time, tends rather to the benefit of the community, by converting what in its own nature was a ſudden, perhaps a raſh meaſure, into one of a more gradual operation. The effects of vaſſalage, on the manners of the people, it is ſcarcely neceſſary to remark, muſt long ſurvive any ſuch changes, whether in the legal rights, or in the actual condition of the peaſantry. Our author gives us ſeveral curious examples of this. The cuſtom of a peaſant proſtrating himſelf when he meets his lord, is wearing out; but even when it is diſuſed, its exiſtence may be traced, in the practice of touching the lower part of the leg of a ſuperior, upon receiving any trifling preſent. 'I kiſs your feet,' is a common, and even admired expreſſion of politeneſs. Frequently, in the middle of a large company, the dependants of a nobleman, both men and women, who are admitted to his table, will kiſs the ſkirts or ſleeves of his coat, or any part which they can catch as he paſſes, or ſtands near them.

The education of the noble Poles is not ſuch as can fit them, either for the more dignified purſuits of the underſtanding, or for ſeverer virtues. The children are taught at home, chiefly the more frivolous accompliſhments of what is univerſally termed faſhionable life. As a Poliſh nobleman delights in having his table crowded with foreigners, both dependants and gueſts, he teaches his children, from their earlieſt years, by an intercourſe with thoſe ſtrangers to prattle all their different languages. This gift of tongues, which, it muſt be owned, they poſſeſs in an unrivalled degree, together with the ſtill more trivial accompliſhments which merely tend to the embelliſhment of the perſon, are reckoned the beſt fruits of an exalted education. The children are, moreover, introduced into ſociety at a very early period; and

and thus live from their infancy in the idleneſs and diſſipation which, among the nobles of other nations, is reſerved for thoſe of riper years. Nothing can be more pernicious both to their moral and intellectual endowments.

The account which our author gives of female manners, is, though ſomewhat heightened, upon the whole, conſiſtent with other information upon this ſubject, and preſents a picture of great profligacy. The following paſſage refers, not merely to this ſpecies of corruption, but to a ſtill blacker charge againſt the characters of parents.

'There can be no doubt that this paſſion for company is a ſource of great corruption of manners—a corruption, too, which is aided by the prevalent ſentiments on the ſubject. Chaſtity, even in married women, is conſidered as ridiculous; and an unlimited latitude is admitted on both ſides. Yet in caſes where the huſband and wife have a real regard for one another, they do not always view with perfect indifference ſymptoms of an occaſional arrangement on either ſide. There is a ſort of ſelfiſhment in affection very difficult to be ſubdued. But again, I have obſerved in other inſtances, that couples who have been notoriouſly and eminently unfaithful, not only retain a mutual affection and eſteem, but ſeem to like each other the better for their reſpective wanderings; and to obſerve, with a ſort of roguiſh approbation, any preliminary ſigns of a foreign negociation.

'There is a natural prejudice of no ordinary force among Engliſh huſbands, (and which, for the purity of our manners, we will hope, is not likely to be eradicated), which makes them curious to know, whether the population of their domeſtic territories is attributable excluſively to their own exertions, or whether it has been at all promoted by foreign ſuccours. This is a queſtion of leſs anxious intereſt in Poland; and a huſband, perhaps, acts wiſely in treating it with philoſophic indifference. It is not uncommon to go entirely through a family, and to remark upon each younger member—*that* was the fruit of ſuch an amour; *that* of ſuch another,—and ſo on; and in this manner the diſconſolate huſband is ſometimes bereft of every laurel he had oſtenſibly won in the fields of Hymen. In ſuch a ſtate of things, it may be readily ſuppoſed that jealouſy, from its obvious inconvenience, is of rare occurrence. Yet human nature is ſtill human nature, under all its various modifications; and that ugly paſſion will ſometimes intrude, though it is commonly obliged to retire abaſhed.

'A few young women are often educated in large houſes, as companions, perhaps, to the daughters of a family. I have been told, that it is no unuſual thing for the patron to cull the firſt fruits, in theſe inſtances, and leave the general harveſt to another; that is, a girl thus prematurely womaniſed, will be given in marriage to one of his reſpectable dependants, whom he will perhaps provide with a farm, or other ſituation; and the happy couple are made for life; being alſo admitted ever after, on all occaſions, to their maſter's table.' p. 324—326.

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The Poliſh language, our author is diſpoſed to think ſo much on the decline, that ſhould no political change happen, it is moſt likely to wear out of uſe, except among the peaſants. All the upper claſſes, indeed every one above the lower ranks, is maſter of one or two languages beſide his own. The natives, among themſelves, as frequently converſe in French as in Poliſh. The nobles have almoſt always ſome foreign ſervants; and even the Poliſh ſervants in their houſes know ſomething of German. A ſociety, it ſeems, has been founded at Warſaw, ſince the partition, for the purpoſe of preſerving the language of the country; but our author aſſures us little or nothing has been done by this learned body. 'They diſtinguiſh themſelves' (ſays he) more by ſhowy ſpeeches, and particularly by pompous *eloges* over their deceaſed members, than by any memoirs valuable either for their ſcientific or literary excellence.'

A conſiderable portion of this volume is devoted to the hiſtory of eccleſiaſtical diſſenſions in Poland, and the different political changes which were effected before the final partition. In this ſketch we do not find much to praiſe. It is by no means full or ſatisfactory in proportion to its length; and the information from which it is compiled being exceedingly well known to the generality of readers, Mr Burnett ſhould have claimed our attention, by digeſting it in a more advantageous manner. He has given no new anecdotes relating to the partition, nor indeed any of the ordinary information reſpecting that event, which Poles are moſt in the habit of communicating. The proofs which his narrative brings, however, imperfect though it be, of the evils of religious diſſenſions in extinguiſhing the ſpirit and energies of a naturally brave and patriotic people, are deſerving of attention in the preſent day; and we cannot too much applaud the manly and decided tone in which he makes his application of this leſſon to the actual ſituation of this country and the ſiſter kingdom. We ſhall cloſe our extracts with the anecdote relating to the Empreſs Catharine,—becauſe, we believe, it is little known among her admirers,—and places, in a ſtrong light, the baſe and little qualities which deformed her extraordinary character.

'She (the princeſs Czartoryſka) has rendered herſelf particularly illuſtrious by a rivalry with the late Empreſs of Ruſſia, who, as ſhe was ſurpaſſed in beauty (the moſt loved and coveted ſource of female power), ſet no bounds to her ſpite. It ſeems, that in ſeveral inſtances they interfered in reſpect of gallants; and one of the inſtances is ſaid to have been the King of Poland—an offence, which her imperial haughtineſs could not brook. On the partition of Poland, the Ruſſian army had expreſs directions not to ſpare the town and palace of Pulawy; and they were accordingly twice pillaged, and almoſt deſtroyed. The beſt rooms of the palace were perfectly gutted; every article of furniture, pictures and

and ornaments of every ſort, were all taken out and immerged in the baſon of water in the court; and the walls were then beſmeared with ordure. The Prince with his family was driven from his home—all his eſtates confiſcated—and, from a condition of ſplendour, he ſaw himſelf reduced in a moment to a ſtate of complete poverty. He was obliged during two years to ſubſiſt only on the bounty of his friends. Such were the effects of Imperial jealouſy. It was not till the death of the Empreſs, that he with many others were re-inſtated in their rightful poſſeſſions.' p. 259, 260.

That the Poliſh nobles, who retain the greateſt, and, indeed, the beſt founded diſlike of the partition in a political view, ſhould repreſent that event as having occaſioned a diminution of the national proſperity, and eſpecially as having diminiſhed the population, is extremely natural. No one, however, who reflects a moment on the ſubject, can doubt about the falſehood of all ſuch theories. The ſeizure of Dantzic for ſeveral years gave a great ſhock to its trade; but for the laſt ſeven or eight years, it has exceeded the amount before the partition; while the trade of Konigſberg has, during the ſame period, been rapidly increaſing, that of Memel and Elbing almoſt created, and new channels of communication opened with the ſouth of Europe. But we need not go any further in this argument, than merely to aſk, Whether the police of the Auſtrian and Pruſſian diſtricts, for example, and the ceſſation of theſe conſtant ſcenes of turbulence and civil war which prevailed during the times of the republic, muſt not have promoted in every direction the efforts of induſtry, and enabled Poland to ſupply that increaſed demand for her produce, which the improvement of other nations, eſpecially of England, her beſt cuſtomer, has, in the mean time, occaſioned. The author of the work now before us ſtates exactly what we ſhould have expected on this topic. The nobles, he ſays, and every one about them, at firſt and in public, ſeemed to complain grievouſly as often as the partition was mentioned; but he ſoon diſcovered that ſuch expreſſions were rather the remains of romantic poetical ſentiment than the feelings of real life. The perſons of high rank and great weight in the country muſt no doubt deeply regret the loſs of political power; but the nobles, as a body, and ſtill more the bulk of the people, have well exchanged their nominal independence for greater ſecurity and tranquillity.

The queſtion, Whether France will find many ſupporters, ſhould ſhe preſs the meaſure of reſtoring Poland? naturally attracts our notice in this part of the ſubject. Without entering at length into a diſcuſſion for which Mr Burnett has furniſhed no materials, we may ſafely aſſert, that any change which ſhall reſtore the influence of the Poliſh nobles, and revive, as it were, the name and

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ſeparate exiſtence of the country, will be exceedingly acceptable to all ranks of the inhabitants; and that, certainly, no reſiſtance to ſuch a change can be expected in favour of the preſent rulers of the territory. But we can as little expect to ſee any vigorous exertion made to promote this revolution, when we recollect how much the influence of the Poliſh nobles over their vaſſals has been diminiſhed, at leaſt in the Auſtrian and Ruſſian diviſions; and how greatly the general averſion to the former ſcenes of confuſion, and civil diſſenſions, muſt have increaſed during the more tranquil period which ſucceeded the final diſmemberment. The reſtoration of the whole, or, what is now more likely, a portion of Poland to its rank as a ſeparate monarchy or principality, would probably be received as a boon by the inhabitants, if attended with no exertion or violence; but it is a boon for which they would ſcarcely pay that, or any other price. In this ſtate of things, the fortunes of the country will be decided by a battle or a treaty like thoſe of any other diſtricts on the Continent, where the wiſhes and the intereſts of the people go for nothing. France has already failed completely in her attempts to obtain the aſſiſtance of the Poles; and, as ſhe has ſucceeded in her own views without any movement on their part, we may be ſure ſhe will only conſult their inclinations in the uſe which ſhe makes of her victory, as far as ſuch a compliance may render the conſequences of that victory more beneficial to herſelf. If we might hazard a ſpeculation reſpecting this ſubject, we ſhould conjecture, that France, having completely humbled Pruſſia, will now endeavour to improve her relations with Ruſſia, a power ſo far diſtant from her, and ſo little liable to be attacked by her, that ſhe cannot be viewed as her natural enemy. In the proſecution of this object, France will probably leave the greater part of the Ruſſian diviſion of Poland in its preſent ſtate, granting indemnities in the South for whatever ſhe takes of it. By this means, ſhe may expect to prevent the chief danger to which the new Poliſh principality will in future be expoſed, namely, a new league of partition among the neighbouring ſtates; and we can ſcarcely doubt, that ſhe will ſtill further provide for the ſtability of this arrangement, by introducing a military organization for which ſhe will find many facilities in that country. So long as the preſent order of things remains entire in France, nothing can prevent the conſolidation of power in this new ſtate; and the parent country will thus poſſeſs an advanced poſt, or rather an important branch of her own force, in the midſt of the only enemies whom ſhe can ever expect to reſiſt her. The other powers of Europe, during the life of her preſent ruler, will have no chance of ſafety but by yielding, temporizing, doing every thing to keep peace with him. In the event of his death, they will probably have ſome

ſome choice; and, if they are wiſe—if they liſten to their own beſt intereſts, and are reſolved not to raiſe up another conqueror, they will be ſatisfied with leaving things as they ſhall then find them, and allowing each of the new ſtates which may at that time be in exiſtence under the protection of France, to retain its rank and independence, as if it had from the beginning formed parts of the European commonwealth,—ſatisfied with the termination of its dependence upon the parent ſtate. The counſels which England will at that juncture be ready to give, againſt her own beſt intereſts and thoſe of her allies, will be liſtened to or rejected, in proportion as the reſults of her paſt operations ſhall have failed or ſucceeded in teaching the Continent wiſdom.

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ART. XII. *On the Hindoo Systems of Astronomy, and their Connexion with History in Ancient and Modern Times.* By J. Bentley, Esq. From the 8th Volume of the Asiatic Researches. Calcutta, 1805.

OF the new objects which India has offered to the curioſity of the Weſtern world, none have appeared more worthy of attention than the remains of aſtronomical ſcience. Theſe fragments,—preſerved in a country where the means of acquiring ſuch knowledge is no longer to be found; the peculiarity, and at the ſame time the accuracy of the methods they employ; the mixture of fable and extravagance introduced even in the rules of trigonometrical calculation, form altogether an enigma which the antiquary and the philoſopher muſt be equally deſirous to reſolve. The philoſopher, indeed, will be much intereſted in the inquiry, by conſidering that the darkneſs which covers the hiſtory and the chronology of the Eaſt, is likely to be diſpelled, at leaſt in ſome quarters, by the light which may be ſtruck out from the analyſis of theſe extraordinary fragments. Aſtronomy, more than any other portion of human knowledge, is capable of having its hiſtory traced by reaſoning from principles, when other documents are wanting. As the object of that ſcience is ſo far immutable, that it always preſents either the ſame face, or a face that varies according to fixed laws; it is evident, that when we know the aſtronomical ſyſtem of any nation, we muſt be enabled to judge with ſome accuracy of its ſtate of refinement, and of general information. We are acquainted with the original; and therefore, from knowing the copy, we can gueſs with tolerable exactneſs at the ſkill of the painter. Beſides, it often happens, that there is in the picture certain *data* from which its age may be deduced; the

the time required to the compoſition of the work may be aſcertained; and even the place on the earth's ſurface where the obſervations were made, may be diſcovered in the ſyſtem to which they have given riſe.

The aſtronomy of the Orientals, therefore, could not fail to excite the curioſity of men of ſcience in Europe, as ſoon as it became known to them. The firſt intelligence of it was received by means of M. La Loubere, the ambaſſador of Lewis XIV. to the King of Siam, who brought with him from that country a manuſcript containing tables and rules for calculating the places of the ſun and moon. This fragment, though obſcure and imperfect, was explained by the celebrated Dominic Caſſini, into whoſe hands it was put, and who bore teſtimony both to its accuracy, and to its great diſſimilitude to any of the ſyſtems of aſtronomy that had previouſly been heard of in Europe. After that time, two other ſets of aſtronomical tables were ſent to Paris by the French miſſionaries in Hindoſtan; but they ſeem to have lain unnoticed in the royal library till the return of Mr Le Gentil from India, where he had been to obſerve the tranſit of Venus in 1769. This aſtronomer returned poſſeſſed of another ſet of tables, and inſtructed by a learned Brahmen in the Indian methods of calculation. M. Bailly, proceeding on these *data*, dedicated an entire volume to the elucidation of the Indian aſtronomy.

On the inſtitution of the Aſiatic Society, the aſtronomy of the Eaſt naturally became an object of attention. Several papers illuſtrating different parts of the monuments of that ſcience, have appeared in the Aſiatic Reſearches, particularly a paper by Mr Davis, and two others by Mr Bentley, one in the ſixth, and another (the particular object of this review) in the 8th volume of the ſame work.

The notion concerning the antiquity of the Indian aſtronomy which M. Bailly endeavoured to eſtabliſh, was, that it reached back to a very remote period, earlier than any other of the records of profane hiſtory, and upwards of 3000 years before the Chriſtian era. This opinion was very prevalent among the learned in Europe, when Mr Bentley publiſhed the firſt of the papers above referred to, where he endeavoured to ſhow, that the argument of M. Bailly was ill founded, and proceeded on an entire ignorance of the *principles* of the Indian aſtronomy. The paper before us is directed to the ſame object, and contains alſo ſome ſtrictures on an article in our review, where ſome of the arguments contained in the former paper were ſhown, as we imagined, to be inconcluſive.

Our intention, at preſent, is to conſider the antiquity of the Indian tables, purely as an aſtronomical queſtion, and without reference

reference to any other matter in the hiſtory or mythology of Hindoſtan. It is the nature of aſtronomical tables, as has already been remarked, to involve in themſelves evidence by which their antiquity may generally be aſcertained, at leaſt within certain limits. This ſort of internal evidence, is the firſt thing to be conſidered, and is evidently a ſubject which ought to be diſcuſſed as much as poſſible on its own merits, and without the introduction of extraneous circumſtances.

With this view, we ſhall now take the liberty of examining Mr Bentley's papers, on principles purely aſtronomical. We ſhall endeavour to point out what we conceive to be the fallacy of the aſtronomical argument contained in them; to ſhow, that whatever be the age of the books in which the aſtronomy of India is now contained, the aſtronomy itſelf is probably of an antiquity not inferior to what has juſt been mentioned; but that, nevertheleſs, we ſhould abſtain from any abſolute concluſion on either ſide, till the whole of the evidence is laid before the public.

In the ſixth volume of the Aſiatic Reſearches, Mr Bentley treats of the antiquity of the SURYÁ SIDDHÁNTA, a work that profeſſes to have been received by divine revelation about 2,164,899 years ago. The extravagance of this pretenſion requires no refutation; but Mr Bentley endeavours to ſhow, that the age of it does not exceed a few hundred years. We do not however propoſe, at this time, to enter into the queſtion of the age of the Suryá Siddhánta, or of any other book, but into that of the aſtronomy contained in thoſe books; taking our information from the ſcience itſelf, and confining our attention, as Mr Bentley has alſo done, to the mean motions of the heavenly bodies as laid down in the Indian tables.

Mr Bentley ſays, Aſiatic Reſearches, vol. vi. p. 537.

'Monſieur Bailly, in the year 1787, publiſhed at Paris, a whole quarto volume on the ſubject of the Indian aſtronomy; and Mr Playfair, in the year 1789, publiſhed a paper on the ſame ſubject in the Edinburgh Tranſactions. The principles, however, of the Hindoo ſyſtems of aſtronomy, being unknown to theſe gentlemen, and differing widely in many reſpects from that of the European, the concluſions drawn by them reſpecting the antiquity of the ſeveral aſtronomical tables mentioned by M. Bailly, appear now to be altogether unfounded. Indeed, the materials which M. Bailly had collected, were inſufficient to enable him to form a juſt idea of the principles of the Hindoo ſyſtems, which being moſtly artificial, his method of inveſtigation (from the *quantity* of the mean annual motions, &c. of the planets, though otherwiſe perfectly juſt), became altogether inapplicable; ſo much ſo, that the tables of Trivalore, which he had ſuppoſed were as old as the commencement of the preſent Cali-yug, at leaſt, were actually written

and dated about the year 4383 of the Cali-yug. or 516 years ago; and the mean annual motions of the planets given in that work, were, *on the principles of the Hindoo aſtronomy*, calculated to give the poſitions of the planets in the heavens, at that time, as near, at leaſt, as the author could determine by obſervation. However, in order to do away theſe deluſions, I ſhall, before I proceed to the inveſtigation of the antiquity of the Suryá Siddhánta, explain, in as ſimple a manner as poſſible, the principles upon which the Hindoo ſyſtems are founded, and the manner in which they are formed.'

The charge here brought againſt M. Bailly is, without doubt, a very heavy one, and affects his character deeply as an aſtronomer and a man of ſcience. To have had a ſet of aſtronomical tables put into his hands, and not to have been able to diſcover their principles, or the ſuppoſitions on which they were calculated, might indeed involve no reproach at all. Their form might be ſo enigmatical, they might be ſo imperfect, and of ſo little extent, as not to afford *data* for the required determination. But if ſuch were the caſe, the aſtronomer muſt at leaſt be ſenſible of theſe defects. He muſt know whether he underſtood the matter before him or not. This is what a man, not to ſay of ſcience, but of common ſenſe, could not but perceive; and if M. Bailly has really written a quarto volume on a ſubject which he did not underſtand,—if he has treated of it at ſo much length, and deduced from it ſo many conſequences, it will be very difficult to reconcile his conduct with the ability and modeſty by which he is uſually thought to have been diſtinguiſhed. We ſhall beg leave to conſider, therefore, how far this charge is well founded, and whether thoſe reſults which Mr Bentley intends to *do away*, are really the deluſions which he ſuppoſes them to be.

The mean motion of any of the planets, or the angle which, at a medium, it deſcribes in a given portion of time, is deduced from two determinations of its place, ſeparated by a conſiderable interval of time from one another. The more accurate the obſervations, and the greater the length of time between them, the more exact will be the mean motion derived from this compariſon. The length of the interval, even if the obſervations are not very exact, may ſo far compenſate their inaccuracy, as to give great preciſion to the reſult. If, for example, we were to determine the length of the ſolar year, and if the obſervations compared were made at the interval of 2000 years, then, though the error in theſe obſervations ſhould amount to ſix hours, or a quarter of a day, the determination of the length of the year would nevertheleſs be exact to the 2000dth part of ſix hours, or to ten ſeconds nearly. It is thus that time adds

to

to the accuracy of aſtronomical determinations, and is capable of doing ſo indefinitely; on which account, ſuch determinations might continually approximate to the truth, in as much at leaſt as regards the mean motions, even were no improvement to take place in the inſtruments or methods of obſervation. The improvements in theſe laſt have no other effect than to render the approximation more rapid.

It is chiefly to this effect of time, in giving a value to obſervations, that we are to aſcribe the progreſſive accuracy in the tables of the planetary motions. Thus, Ptolemy was enabled to give thoſe motions more accurately than Hipparchus; the Arabs more accurately than Ptolemy; Tycho than the Arabs; and the modern aſtronomers much more exactly than any of their predeceſſors. With regard to the latter, it is true that great improvements in aſtronomical inſtruments have taken place; but, even independently of the ſuperior accuracy derived from this ſource, the mere lapſe of time would have produced a near approach to the ſame reſults.

This is the natural progreſs of aſtronomical improvement, and is the inſeparable concomitant of the antiquity of ſcience. In the Indian aſtronomy, there appears to be a contrivance calculated ſomewhat to retard and derange this natural progreſs; and it is on this contrivance, and the effect of it, that Mr Bentley lays ſo much ſtreſs, in the account of what he calls the *artificial ſyſtem* of the Indian aſtronomy.

The contrivance referred to is this;—The Indian aſtronomers, having firſt determined the mean motion of the ſun or any of the planets, from two or more obſervations made and compared as ſuppoſed above, have from thence gone back by calculation to ſome fictitious epocha connected with their mythological ſyſtem, which, in all their future calculations, they chooſe to aſſume as an obſervation actually made, and as the ſtandard with which other obſervations are afterwards to be compared. The effect of this fiction muſt be, to prevent the knowledge of the mean motions from improving and becoming more perfect in the progreſs of time, in ſo conſiderable a degree as it has done in the aſtronomy which has deſcended from the Greeks, through the Arabs, to the nations of modern Europe.

This retardation of improvement, and the continuance of the ſcience nearly in the ſame ſtate for a ſucceſſion of ages, are the only poſſible effects that could reſult from the practice here referred to. This may be made evident by a very ſimple inſtance. Suppoſe that the motion of the ſun were reckoned at 360° in 365 days 6 hours, as in the Julian calendar, and that the inſtant in a cer-

tain year, when the sun was in the vernal equinox, had also been observed. Suppose, likewise, that at the end of ten times 365 days and 6 hours, or after 3652 days and a half, the sun's place is again observed, and is found to be advanced beyond the vernal equinox by a small arch, such as the sun passes over in $1^h.\ 50^m.$ then it is evident that the sun's annual motion has been supposed too slow by the tenth part of the small arch of excess just mentioned, or every year two long by the tenth part of $1^h.\ 50^m$, that is by 11 minutes, so that the true length of the year is 365d. 5h. 49m.

But now, let us suppose that, after the first observation was made, the astronomer had counted back 10 years or 3652 days and a half, and at the commencement of that period had concluded the sun to be in the vernal equinox; then if he compares his second observation, not with the first, which was only 10 years distant from it, but with the fictitious observation, which is 20 years distant from it, he will conclude that the year has been reckoned too long only by the 20th part of 1h. 50m. instead of the 10th, and therefore the correction which he applies in order to obtain the true length of the year will be only the half of what he ought to have applied. If, however, preserving the fictitious epocha, other observations at the distance of 30, 40, 50 years, &c. be compared with it, the corrections found will approximate to the true corrections as the fractions $\frac{1}{1}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, do to $\frac{1}{1}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$; so that the errors will decrease in the proportion of the differences of the above, or as the fractions $\frac{1}{0}$, $\frac{1}{12}$, $\frac{1}{20}$, &c.

The only effect here is to retard the progress of improvement, but by no means to give the system any greater accuracy than its principles naturally involve.

If the fictitious epocha were taken at a very great distance from the date of the real observations, then the progress of the science might be in some measure stopped; the retardation of improvement would become so great, that the science would continue in the same state for a vast number of ages. This is in a great measure the case with the Indian systems, into which, for reasons that we do not know, but probably connected with religion, such fictitious epochas have been introduced. In consequence of this fiction, these systems remain more stationary than they would do otherwise; and it seems as if the astronomers of the East had been led, by a kind of instinct, to a device that was to give the same inactivity and inertness to their science, that pervades among them the whole of the moral and intellectual world.

Now, admitting all this to be just, and to be a true description of the Indian tables of astronomy, let us see how it will affect

affect the argument concerning their antiquity. It is evident, that this aſtronomy, in as far as relates to the mean motions, has little ſuſceptibility of improvement, and cannot have acquired by ſubſequent obſervation much more exactneſs than at the time when the tables were firſt conſtructed, and the artificial ſyſtem introduced. We muſt therefore conſider whatever exactneſs we find in ſuch a ſyſtem, as going back to its commencement, when the mean motions muſt have been determined by accurate or diſtant obſervations. Now this is preciſely the ground of M. Bailly's argument, which, therefore, is either not at all affected, or only a little ſtrengthened by the conſideration ſuppoſed by Mr Bentley to be ſo entirely ſubverſive of it. Indeed, it is on the accuracy of the mean motions, as they are actually ſet down, that the proofs of the antiquity of the tables muſt depend, and every other condition may be ſafely ſet aſide. The circumſtance on which Mr Bentley lays ſuch ſtreſs, is really extraneous to the conſtruction of the tables; it amounts to nothing but a ſecurity that, in the ſubſequent editions, they have received but little improvement; and M. Bailly, had he ſuppoſed the fact to be as has been ſtated, could not have drawn any other concluſion than that which he has actually done. It muſt ſtill have been by the accuracy of the mean motions, as contained in the tables, that their merit, and their claim to antiquity was decided. The mean motions of the heavenly bodies can be diſcovered in one way only, viz. by the compariſon of obſervations made at a great diſtance, in time, from one another; and the principles on which this is done muſt be every where the ſame. A man cannot ſet about making a ſyſtem of aſtronomy by the mere force of his fancy or his genius, as he may write a romance or an epic poem. It is not by invention, but by obſervation and diſcovery, that his taſk is to be performed. The principles on which he muſt proceed, if he would attain accuracy, muſt be every where the ſame, in whatever age or country he is placed,—whether he has gone to work on the banks of the Ganges or the ſhores of the Atlantic,—has lived in the antediluvian ages, or in the nineteenth century,—has been inſtructed by the philoſophy of Newton, or amuſed by the fictions of Varáha.

The author of the paper on the antiquity of the Surya Siddhánta ſhould therefore have thought well before he hazarded an aſſertion that was to charge with ignorance or preſumption ſuch men as Caſſini and Bailly, who had explained the aſtronomy of the Eaſt; it was not likely that an *amateur*, however diſtinguiſhed, ſhould convict theſe aſtronomers of groſs ignorance, or find it ſo eaſy to *do away* their opinions, in a matter that concerned their own profeſſion,—a ſcience which, day and night, had been for many years the ſubject of their ſtudy.

Let us next conſider the criterion which Mr Bentley himſelf propoſes for determining the age of a ſyſtem of aſtronomical tables, from the conſideration of the tables themſelves, independently of teſtimony, tradition, or any external evidence. Such a criterion is preciſely the thing wanted on the preſent occaſion, but we can by no means approve of that particular one which he endeavours to eſtabliſh. It is founded on this maxim, that the time of the conſtruction of any ſet of tables muſt be that at which they agree beſt with the heavens. Hence, when ſuch tables are given, and we wiſh to determine their antiquity, we have only to compute from them, the places of the ſun and moon, &c. for different times conſiderably diſtant from one another: to compare theſe places with thoſe given by the beſt modern tables, and the time when they approach the neareſt to one another, is to be taken for the time when the tables were conſtructed. As it muſt be an object, in all aſtronomical tables, to repreſent the ſtate of the heavens tolerably near the truth at the time when they are compoſed, it muſt be allowed that this rule is not deſtitute of plauſibility. On examination, however, it will be found very fallacious, and ſuch as might lead into great miſtakes.

Aſtronomical tables are liable to errors of two different kinds, that may ſometimes be in the ſame, ſometimes in oppoſite directions. One of them concerns the radical places at the epoch from which the motions are counted; the other concerns the mean motions themſelves, that is to ſay, the mean rate or angular velocity of the planet. Of theſe the firſt remains fixed, and its effect at all times is the ſame; the ſecond again is variable, and its effect increaſes proportionally to the time. If, therefore, they are oppoſite, the one in exceſs, and the other in defect, they muſt partly deſtroy one another; and the one increaſing continually, will at length become equal to the other, when there will, of conſequence, be no error at all; after which the error will fall on the oppoſite ſide, and will increaſe continually. Here, the moment of no error, or that when the tables are perfectly correct, is evidently diſtant from the time of the conſtruction of the tables, and may be very long, either before, or after that period. Suppoſe, for example, that, in conſtructing tables of the ſun's motion, we are to ſet off from the beginning of the preſent century, and that we make the ſun's place for the beginning of the year 1801 more advanced by half a degree than it was in reality. Suppoſe, alſo, that the mean motion ſet down in our tables is erroneous in a way oppoſite to the former, and is leſs than the truth by 1″ in a year. The place of the ſun then as aſſigned from the tables for every year, ſubſequent to 1800, will, from the firſt of the above

causes,

cauſes, be half a degree too far advanced, and from the ſecond, it will be too little advanced by as many ſeconds as there are years. When the number of years becomes as great as that of the ſeconds in 30′, that is, when it is equal to 1800, the two errors will deſtroy one another, and the tables will give the place of the ſun perfectly exact. Were we, therefore, to aſcertain the age of the tables by Mr Bentley's rule, we ſhould commit an error of 1800 years; from which we may judge of the credit due to that rule as a guide in chronological reſearches.

This is the rule, however, by which he judges, as far as his argument is purely astronomical, of the antiquity of the Suryá Siddhánta. We must confess that we are not much disposed to trust to so precarious a guide. With respect to the evidence derived from other sources, from the written or the traditionary history of Hindostan, we abstain from any opinion at present, and leave it as a discussion more properly belonging to the antiquary than the astronomer.

We shall now state, very briefly, our reasons for thinking, whatever may be true of the books of the Indian astronomy, that the astronomy itself is of great antiquity. After what we have said in his vindication, we shall not be afraid to trust ourselves to the guidance of the historian of astronomy, though we admit that the extent to which he has pushed some of his arguments may require a certain deduction to be made.

The precession of the equinoxes is one of the celestial phenomena which has been found of the greatest use in researches like the present. It was by means of it that Sir Isaac Newton determined the date of the expedition of the Argonauts, the great hinge of his chronological system. The very same means of investigation, offers itself in the present question. M. Le Gentil brought with him from India the delineation of a zodiac, on which the constellations and the principal fixed stars are marked with considerable accuracy. The Indian zodiac is moveable; it begins with a certain point in the starry heavens, which is supposed to move forward from the point of the vernal equinox, at the rate of 54″ annually. Now, in the zodiac of Le Gentil, the star Aldebaran has the longitude of 53° 20′ reckoned from the beginning of it. But, according to the Brahmens, at the commencement of the Cali Yug, or in the year 3102 before the Christian era, the beginning of the zodiac was 54° west of the vernal equinox, and therefore Aldebaran which was 53° 20′ east of the former point, was 40′ to the westward of the latter, or of the vernal equinox. Now, let us see, according to our astronomy, where Aldebaran actually was at the same epo-

cha. The longitude of that star, or its distance eastward from the vernal equinox, in the year 1750, according to the best observations, was 66° 17′ 47″; and therefore, reckoning back, or westward from thence, 50¼″ annually, (which is the mean rate of the precession of the equinoxes), we shall find that 3102 years before Christ, Aldebaran was 1° 32′ west of the vernal equinox. The Indian computation made the same star 40′ west of the same point: the difference is only 52′, which is very inconsiderable, and answers in time to about 60 years. This coincidence is the more remarkable, that the Brahmens by their own rule of allowing 54″ for the annual precession, could not have assigned the same place to Aldebaran, by four or five degrees, if they had calculated back from a modern observation. This gives a high probability to the supposition, that the zodiac in question represents the state of the heavens for the beginning of the Cali-Yug; at least, it must be allowed, that we have as good authority for believing so, as for holding the sphere of Chiron and Musæus to have been constructed, and the expedition of the Argonauts to have taken place, 1263 years before the Christian era.

Let us next inquire how the places of the sun and moon, as given by the tables of Trivalore for the beginning of the Cali-Yug, agree with computations made from the most correct tables of our modern astronomy. If the author of the former tables calculated back to the distance of more than four thousand years from a modern observation, we may be well assured that he has afforded sufficient *data* for detecting the imposition. Nothing but astronomy in its most perfect state, enriched with the conclusions derived from the theory of gravitation, is capable of ascending so far into the ages that are past; and, unless both had copied from nature, there is surely no probability that the simple and imperfect methods of the Brahmen should coincide with the refined calculus of the European astronomer.

M. Bailly calculates from the tables of Trivalore, that at their epoch answering to midnight between the 17th and 18th of February of the year 3102 before our era, the mean place of the sun was 10ˢ 3° 38′ 13″. The same calculated from La Caille's tables is 10ˢ 1° 5′ 57″, to which must be added, 1° 45′ 22″, on account of an inequality in the precession of the equinoxes discovered by La Grange, (Mem. Acad. Berl. 1782, p. 287.) making altogether 10ˢ 2° 51′ 19″, not more than 47′ different from the Indian Tables. This second coincidence adds much to the probability that the Indian tables give the places of the heavenly bodies, from observations not much more recent than the ancient epoch to which they profess to be adapted.

The

The moon's motion affords another remarkable verification of these results. The place of the moon calculated from Mayer's tables for the instant of the beginning of the Cali-Yug, as above defined, to the meridian of Benares, is $10^s\ 0^o\ 51'\ 16''$. This is on the supposition, that the moon's mean motion has been always at the same rate as at the beginning of the last century. But it is known that the moon's motion was slower in former ages; and, on counting back, is found uniformly retarded, at the rate of $9''$ in a century. This quantity accumulating as the squares of the times, amounts, in 4801 years, to $5^o\ 45'\ 44''$, which, added to the mean place already found, gives $10^s\ 6^o\ 37'$. But the same calculated from the Trivalore Tables is $10^s\ 6^o\ 0'$, so that the difference does not amount to two thirds of a degree. This coincidence, if we consider that the allowance for the retardation of the moon in past ages is an element quite unknown to the Brahmens, can be referred to no source but actual observation.

Let us now make the same experiment with the tables of the Greek and Arabian astronomers, by deducing from them the places of the sun and moon, for the epoch of the Cali-Yug. If we take the tables of Ptolemy, and go back from the era of Nabonassar to that just mentioned, including the difference between the meridians of Alexandria and Trivalore, we shall find the longitude of the sun $10^s\ 13^o\ 59'\ 28''$, and that of the moon $10^s\ 17^o\ 52'\ 7''$, each differing more than $11^o$ from the places that have just been calculated.

If we next appeal to the tables of the Tartar prince ULUGH-BEIGH, constructed in the year 1437 at Samarcand, not far from India, and deduced from a comparison of the Arabic and the Greek observations, we find that in place of the sun for the beginning of the Caly-Yug, there is an error of $1^o\ 30'$, and in that of the moon of no less than $6^o$.

On considering all these circumstances, the coincidence on the one hand, and the difference on the other, what is the conclusion that any man of plain sense and tolerable impartiality will be inclined to draw? When he finds the calculus of the Indian Brahmens more accurate than that of the astronomers of Greece and Arabia, and agreeing in its delineation of the state of the heavens, at a remote epocha, with the improved astronomy of modern Europe, can he doubt that it is from having had access to records which went back to that epocha, that this superior accuracy is derived? The astronomers of Greece, and even of Tartary, had every advantage above those of Hindostan, except what might be derived from the antiquity of science; and yet they have fallen into great errors, which the latter have entirely avoided. Is it not

not, therefore, to the antiquity of their ſcience alone, that the aſtronomers of India are indebted for this proud diſtinction?

The arguments here ſtated muſt, we think, be acknowledged to give great probability to the opinion, that the art of aſtronomical obſervation is of high antiquity in India, and goes back not leſs than 3000 years before the Chriſtian era. We muſt not, however, ſuppoſe that this concluſion extends to the books or tables of this aſtronomy, as they now exiſt. A ſcience muſt always be older than the books that treat of it. This is particularly the caſe with aſtronomy, which muſt have been cultivated for many ages before any thing entitled to the name of an aſtronomical table could poſſibly exiſt. Our argument goes no further than to prove, that obſervations were made and recorded at ſuch a remote date as has juſt been mentioned; and that thoſe obſervations were ſubſervient to the conſtruction of the tables now exiſting in India. It is material to obſerve, that this is the true ſtate of the queſtion; and that our argument does not immediately concern the date of the preſent books of aſtronomy, or the age of the authors by whom they were compoſed. The tables, many of them, do not profeſs to be very ancient; thoſe of Kiſtnabaram are not ſaid to be older than 1491; and the tables of Trivalore, the moſt accurate of all, as far as we know, may be no older than Mr Bentley ſuppoſes.* All this, however, is quite compatible with the greater antiquity of the ſcience. The works that have now been mentioned, and indeed all the aſtronomical books in India, of which we have any information, are obviouſly derived from others more perfect and more extenſive than themſelves, and muſt be regarded as an abridgement or compendium of a ſcience that has exiſted in a fuller and more enlarged form. What the revolutions were by which this change has been effected, is not the ſubject of the preſent inquiry, and falls not within our province to diſcuſs. But it is proper to obſerve, that our poſition may be true; and the aſſertions of Mr Bentley, concerning the age of the authors of the books we have been treating of, and alſo of the Surya Siddhánta, may alſo be perfectly juſt. The ſcience and the books muſt by no means be identified; and it is by doing this improperly that ſo much

* The dates of the actual compoſition of the tables were fully underſtood to be modern before Mr Bentley wrote. The tables of Siam were referred by Caſſini to the year 638 of our era; thoſe of Kiſtnabaram by M. Bailly to 1491; and thoſe of Narſapoor to 1569. In thoſe of Trivalore, there is a date, as the ſame aſtronomer obſerves, that comes down to 1282 of our era.

much room has been given for controverſy, in a queſtion, where, if not the truth, yet ſurely the probability, is very clearly to be diſtinguiſhed.

When M. Bailly's account of the Indian aſtronomy made its appearance, the Suryá Siddhánta was hardly known in Europe. The inſtitution of the Aſiatic Society, which has been of ſuch benefit to all that regards the antiquities of India, could not fail to make us ſpeedily acquainted with a work that was held in the higheſt eſtimation over all the Eaſt. The antiquity of it has been conceived to be very great, as it is reckoned the moſt ancient aſtronomical treatiſe of the Hindoos; but, according to Mr Bentley, that antiquity extends to no more remote period than the year 1068 of our era. The main argument on which this determination is founded, ſeems to us ſubject to conſiderable difficulty. (Aſiatic Reſearches, vol. VI. p. 544, and 568, &c.; alſo vol. VIII. p. 216.) It ſuppoſes, what is by no means certain, that the Hindoo aſtronomers deduced the mean motions of the planets from a compariſon of a real obſervation with one that was purely fictitious. This is nowhere proved by Mr Bentley, though taken as the baſis of all his computations. It is more likely that the Brahmens deduced thoſe motions as all other aſtronomers have done, from a compariſon of two or more obſervations made at a great diſtance of time. The firſt mentioned method could not aſſiſt them in the outſet; and before they could employ it at all, they muſt have made uſe of that which has been laſt mentioned. For, ſuppoſe that the Hindoo aſtronomer was diſpoſed to proceed in the manner now deſcribed, and that, knowing the place of the ſun and moon at a particular inſtant, by his own obſervation, he aſſumed, as a fact, that theſe bodies were in conjunction in a certain point of the heavens * 648000 years ago. In order to deduce any conſequence from this ſuppoſition, he muſt know how many days are in 648000 years, and alſo how many revolutions of the moon are contained in that period. But whence does he derive this information? It is the very thing which he is ſuppoſed to be in ſearch of; ſo that we have here a real begging of the queſtion, a *petitio principii*, ſuch as a theoriſt, ſitting in his cabinet, has often enough been guilty of, but which no practical artiſt was ever in danger of committing. We have therefore demonſtrative evidence, that neither the foundation of the Hindoo, nor of any other ſyſtem, was laid on the principle which is here referred to. If indeed that principle was ever employed, it muſt have been in adjuſting and altering the reſults that had been obtained from an actual compariſon of obſervations; and

* Aſiatic Reſearches, vol. VI. p. 539.

and would then only have the effect already pointed out, of retarding the progreſs of aſtronomical improvement.

In ſome parts of the argument, we acknowledge, however, that Mr Bentley's reaſoning is leſs exceptionable. The mean motions of the moon, and of the planets that are liable to ſecular equations of very long periods, and of which the law is known, are very proper for affording the means of judging when the Hindoo determinations of thoſe motions were made. The diſquiſition, however, to which this leads, is a very delicate one, and appears to us to require the ſolution of ſome analytical problems of conſiderable difficulty. Were we, from the ſtatement which Mr Bentley has given of the moon's mean motion from the Suryá Siddhánta, (where it is conſiderably ſlower than in the preſent age), to form a groſs eſtimate of the age of that book, we ſhould be diſpoſed to refer it to a more remote antiquity than any that has been yet aſcribed to the aſtronomy of India. But on this eſtimate we can place no reliance, as it is made without the previous inveſtigations which have juſt been hinted at.

Many collateral arguments might be brought from other quarters to support the antiquity of the Indian astronomy. Beside the mean motions, several other elements in the tables have the appearance of belonging to a very remote period. The obliquity of the ecliptic, the length of the solar year, the aphelion of Jupiter, the equation of Saturn's centre, and the mean motion of both these planets, correspond well with the commencement of the Caly-Yug. Another element, the equation of the sun's centre, to which the Hindoo tables assign a magnitude considerably larger than it has at present (2° 10′ 32″, instead of 1° 55½′) is regarded by M. Bailly as leading to the same conclusion. It is indeed certain, that the irregularity just referred to was greater in former ages than it is in the present; and that the earth's orbit is tending more and more to circularity, when, for a time at least, the equation just mentioned will entirely vanish. La Place, however, has taken notice of a circumstance which escaped the observation of his brother academician, and which tends to invalidate the conclusion which he drew from the above mentioned irregularity. The equation to the sun's centre, as given in the Hindoo tables, includes in it that equation or irregularity of the moon's motion, known by the name of the Annual Equation. This happens, because it is the object of those tables to exhibit the relative motion of the sun and moon, at the time of the eclipses of these luminaries. They, therefore, have very naturally united together the irregularities that belong to each of the bodies, and have considered the amount as belonging only to one of them, by

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which their relative motion is equally well represented, and, apparently, with more simplicity. The blending together of these two irregularities, has therefore produced a greater equation of the sun's centre than is admitted in our astronomy, where they are separately considered. This observation, therefore, takes away the force of one of M. Bailly's arguments, though we must say that, nevertheless, it does not materially affect his general conclusion. We have stated this the more particularly, both because impartiality required that we should conceal nothing that affected the argument either way, but because we think that, after twenty years, during which the *Astronomie Indienne* has been before the public, this is the only argument contained in it, that, on fair and solid grounds, can be said to have lost any of its force.

Beside the arguments that tend immediately to prove the antiquity of the astronomy of the Hindoos, there are others that do so indirectly, by marking it as a system distinct from those that are known to have existed in Greece and Arabia, the only countries, it would appear, from which India can have borrowed. We had occasion already to remark the great difference between the tables of Trivalore and those of Ptolemy, and of Ulugh-Beigh, when we calculated from them the places of the sun and moon at the beginning of the Cali-yug. We might remark the same sort of dissimilitude on comparing them either with the Arabic or the Persian tables, so that they seem essentially distinguished from all the systems of ancient astronomy, of which any distinct records have been preserved.

In several of the other astronomical methods, not contained imdiately in the tables, the same appearance of originality is discovered. Such is the rule by which the Brahmen of Trivalore, who instructed Le Gentil, computed the length of the day, at the different seasons of the year. That rule consisted in an approximation to a trigonometric result, made by a method quite peculiar, and applicable only to very low latitudes. The trigonometry contained in the Surya Siddhánta, of which Mr Davis has given so curious an account, is very different from any thing of the same sort that we meet with in other quarters. The theorem from which the investigation of the sines is deduced in that trigonometry, has been pointed out (Edin. Trans. vol. IV.), and is a proposition that was known to the Greek geometers, but not applied by them in a way at all similar to that explained in the Suryâ Siddhánta. The remark on which the computation in that work proceeds, that each number in the tables is related in the same way to the two that go before it, is abundantly subtle, and escaped the mathematicians of Europe, till within two centuries of the present time.

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To this we may add the rectification of the circle, or the computation of the length of its circumference made by a rule known in India before it was known in Europe, and remarkable for its accuracy. This we are informed of in the Institutes of Akbar, where the proportion of the circumference to the diameter is said to be stated by the Hindoos, at 3927 to 1250, which is the same with that of 3.1416 to 1; an approximation very near the truth, and the same which we now employ in our computations, though we believe, that it was hardly known in Europe at the time when the Emperor Akbar reigned in India. (Ayeen Akbery, Vol. III. p. 32.)

The consideration of these facts, and of many more which it would be easy to produce, ought to keep our curiosity alive to the remains of science in the East. Their extent and accuracy are so considerable,—their origin and genealogy so completely unknown,—they are united with so much extravagance and superstition, and so totally separated from any general stock of knowledge, that we cannot but consider them as forming altogether the most enigmatical monument of antiquity that is to be found on the face of the earth. We wish to consider this subject as still requiring much investigation, and we would wish to prevent opinion from taking, on this head, any fixed and determinate position. The probability seems to us to be much in favour of the great antiquity of these curious remains; and we hope that the preceding statement may do something to keep awake the wonder which their first appearance and the commentaries of M. Bailly had tended to excite. We are the more adverse to Mr Bentley's opinion, that it tends to lessen the interest in this subject,—to remove that admiration which is the most powerful stimulus to inquiry,—and to make us sit down contented with the supposition, that all the remarkable coincidences in the Indian Astronomy are the mere effects of chance or artifice. We have no doubt that the zeal of this learned and ingenious author, to diminish the surprise which the Indian Astronomy has produced, arises from the love of truth, and the natural desire of bringing what seems extraordinary down to a conformity, or a level, with the ordinary course of things. But, in doing this, let him beware of extinguishing curiosity, while any thing of value remains to be known; and let him take care that while he would *do away* the delusions of others, he is not trying to recommend a phantom of his own.

A great degree of scepticism on this subject ought most carefully to be preserved, till the industry and learning of the Asiatic Society, to which we have already so great obligations, shall furnish

nish us with a more complete catalogue and description of the remains of Oriental science. We may then decide, whether the East has only borrowed from the West; or whether it be true, as Lucian says, 'that it was in India that philosophy first alighted on the earth.'

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ART. XIII. *Some Account of New Zealand, particularly the Bay of Islands, and ſurrounding Country, with a Deſcription of the Religion and Government, Language, Arts, Manufactures, Manners and Cuſtoms of the Natives, &c. &c.* By John Savage, Eſq. Surgeon and Correſponding Member of the Royal Jennerian Society. 8vo. pp. 118. London, Murray. 1807.

THIS is a publication of conſiderable merit, and of very modeſt pretenſions. The author having had occaſion, we preſume in the way of his profeſſion, to viſit a part of the world very little known to Europeans, noted down ſuch particulars, reſpecting the country and its inhabitants, as he had an opportunity of obſerving. The knowledge of theſe remarks was likely to intereſt men of ſpeculative habits, and aſſiſt ſucceeding navigators. He therefore has made them public. As his materials, from the nature of the ſubject, and his ſhort reſidence, were neceſſarily ſcanty, he has given them juſt as he collected them, without the trick of expanding them into a large and coſtly volume, by means of excerpts from former works, the introduction of things foreign to the ſubject, and the various other reſources of the book-making art. For ſetting ſo good an example, he deſerves our thanks. Thoſe who, from accidental circumſtances, become poſſeſſed of curious information, ſhould, without ſcruple, give it to the world, although its trifling bulk may ſubject them to the imputation of publiſhing a little book, and bar them from the gains of a coſtly quarto. That we may contribute our ſhare towards the encouragement of ſo good a practice, we ſhall endeavour to make our readers acquainted with this ſmall volume.

New Zealand, from its diſcovery by the celebrated Taſman in 1642, did not attract the particular attention of navigators until 1770, when Captain Cook accurately ſurveyed a conſiderable portion of it, and found that it was divided into two large iſlands by a ſtraight. He collected likewiſe a number of intereſting particulars reſpecting the country and the natives; but his obſervations were confined to the ſouthern iſland. Since the time of Captain Cook, we have no information reſpecting New Zealand, except

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a few unconnected details given by Mr Collins in his account of New South Wales, upon the authority of two New-Zealanders, who reſided for ſome months in that colony. Mr Savage paſſed a part of the months of September and October 1805 in the Bay of Iſlands, a fine bay on the north-eaſt coaſt of the northern iſland. During that time, he had conſtant intercourſe with the natives; and he brought one of them away with him, from whom, in the courſe of the long voyage home, he obtained conſiderable additions to his information. The Bay of iſlands, to the neighbourhood of which his remarks are confined, is not far diſtant from the moſt northerly point of New Zealand. The obſervation of Captain Cook was directed to the oppoſite quarter. Mr Savage has given his information in a plain and unambitious manner. He begins at once with the ſubject, and neither ekes out his book by accounts of the outward voyage, nor amuſes us with narratives of perſonal adventures. The voyage home is only alluded to as illuſtrative of the habits of the native who accompanied him.

The Bay of Iſlands lies in latitude 35° 6′ ſouth, and longitude 174° 43′ eaſt, between two points called in the maps Cape Brit and Cape Colville. The anchorage is excellent, and of eaſy approach. The neighbourhood furniſhes an abundant ſupply of the beſt potatoes. For this reaſon, it is a point of great importance to navigators to be acquainted with the appearances of the land from the ſea, and with ſuch other circumſtances as may aſſiſt them in reaching the harbour. Our author gives ſeveral neat ſketches, and a number of directions, which cannot fail to prove highly uſeful in this reſpect. We regret that he did not attempt to lay down the Bay, of which we believe no chart whatever exiſts. A few obſervations, in addition to thoſe which he or his companions ſeem to have made, would have enabled him to do ſo; and at any rate, he ſhould have given us a map of the iſlands of New Zealand, according to the received notions of their extent and poſition, although he had merely taken it from the works of former navigators, or the common charts.

The vegetable produce of the ſpot in queſtion, though limited in point of variety, is apparently very valuable. The flax, notwithſtanding every diſadvantage of an extremely rude culture, is of excellent quality,—the fibres five or ſix feet long, and the appearance beautiful and ſilky. The root of the fern, which grows in abundance wild, furniſhes a nouriſhing juice to the natives, who chiefly live upon it. Potatoes, which they cultivate with conſiderable ſkill, and chiefly reſerve for traffic with the ſhips that arrive, are produced in ſufficient plenty, and perfect, both

both in flavour and for keeping. They are carefully preserved upon platforms, supported by a single post about ten feet from the ground, in order that, on the arrival of a vessel, they may be exchanged for iron, the article most of all wanted by those people, and for which they have only a wretched substitute, in a species of semitransparent green talc, used for making their tools as well as ornaments, before their intercourse with Europeans, but now chiefly confined to the latter employment. Next to the fern root, and as much of the potato as they can afford to consume, their chief resource is in fishing, at which, like all the Southern Islanders, they are extremely skilful. Their hooks are formed of the car-shell, unless when they procure iron ones from Europeans. Their nets and lines are admirably well made of the native flax; so much so, indeed, that our author recommends all ships which touch there to lay in some of their lines for fishing on the voyage. A mode of dressing fish in use among them, is rather curious, as proving their want of one of our simplest operations, and a certain ingenuity in supplying it. When a fish is to be boiled, it is wrapt up in a quantity of cabbage leaves, which are tied about it with tendrils. It is then laid on a heated stone, and turned repeatedly. The steam completely boils it, and the cabbage is eaten along with it. Our author assures us that this dish is excellent. They sometimes dress their potatoes in the same manner. The dog is almost their only animal food. Thus, from the abundance, especially of fish and fern, they are seldom in want of subsistence. Their canoes are well made of the trunk of the fir-tree, which grows to an enormous size. Sometimes they fix two together, when engaged in warlike operations; and the double canoe will contain thirty fighting men. Their huts are wattled, and exceedingly well thatched. They have separate sheds at some distance, for the purposes of cookery. In all these particulars, they are greatly superior, as will easily be perceived, to the natives of New Holland.

The character of the New-Zealanders is much more favourably spoken of by Mr Savage than by any of his predecessors. He admits, that, like all barbarians, they are liable to the sudden impulses of violent passions, over which they can exercise no controul. But he asserts, that they are, upon the whole, of a friendly and affectionate disposition, and gives the following anecdote as a proof of it.

'We had constantly a number of natives on board the ship; many remained two or three days without visiting the shore, and others visited it daily. One day, it blowing very strong, a canoe, in which were women and children only, attempting to approach the ship, upset; the lamentations of those on board the ship were expressed in a most affect-

ing manner; but we were too much engaged in lowering down a boat to ſave the lives of the poor creatures, to attend to thoſe who were expreſſing ſo much apprehenſion for their ſafety. Happily the boat ſaved every life: the women clung to the canoe with one hand, and in almoſt every inſtance ſupported a child with the other, their own ſafety appearing evidently to be a ſecondary conſideration. Their ſituation for ſome time was extremely perilous, and that of the natives on board the ſhip truly pitiable, till they found that the boat arrived in time to reſcue the women and children from a watery grave. Then their diſtreſs gave way to the moſt tumultuous joy: and when the poor half-drowned ſhivering females and their children were brought on board, the congratulations on their eſcape, and their kind and ſoothing attentions, were ſuch as would by no means have diſgraced the moral character of the moſt refined European; thoſe who had remained on board immediately ſtripping themſelves of their mats to cover their friends or relatives, who had a much greater occaſion for them.

'It was upon this occurrence only that the natives received any ſtrong liquor; I prevailed upon them to take a little wine, which their confidence in me induced them to receive as a medicine to prevent the effects of cold; ſhewing, however, the greateſt ſolicitude for the health of their children, by helping them before they took any themſelves.' p. 3—38.

Their character for cannibalism is well known; but our author here also attempts to vindicate them. They acknowledge, he says, that in times of great ſcarcity, they have been driven to eat human flesh; but ſince the introduction of potatoes, the practice has become much leſs prevalent, 'as they give that root a decided preference.' He ſtates, however, that in war, as a token of victory and for the gratification of 'revenge,' they devour ſome of their priſoners;—not the whole, Mr Savage obſerves, but only the chief, whoſe body they divide among them and eat. Of the proneneſs to ſuicide mentioned by Mr Collins, nothing whatever is ſaid. It is indeed an exceeding unlikely ſtory; and we believe that reſpectable author muſt have been miſled by the two natives from whom he received his information. They are exceedingly ſtrong and well made; their expreſſion of countenance good and open; their females far from ugly; the men, without any appearance of brutal ferocity, are full of courage as well as of activity. But the moſt ſingular circumſtance which our author records of them, is their averſion to ſpiritous or other ſtrong liquors; nor have they any method of intoxication, or ſtimulus, among them. They are fond of dancing and muſic; their inſtruments do not materially differ from thoſe uſed in the other South Sea iſlands; but from Mr Savage's deſcription of their airs, we conceive that they are much liker muſic. Their geſtures in dancing are frequently indelicate, like thoſe of the other iſlanders; but we believe they

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are peculiar in sometimes extending the same quality to the fashion of their instruments.

The country is divided into various principalities; and there are chiefs over considerable districts, having other dependent or delegated chieftains under them. At the Bay of Islands, our author conceives, that only a subordinate chief resides; for the people described their leader as a person of inferior rank and splendour to others who lived in the interior, and 'who, instead of walking on foot, were always carried on the shoulders of men in a sort of hand-barrow.' The elders are consulted by the chief upon all matters of public concern, and have even an authority paramount to his during the short intervals of peace. But war is the general lot of these tribes. While our author was there, he had no opportunity of seeing any military operations; but this, he thinks, was merely owing to the rival powers having no point where, at that moment, their forces could meet. They had been fighting for years, and had, as it were, nothing now to fight about,—or were perhaps preparing invasions and expeditions against each other; for the tribe with whom he held intercourse, bore a natural enmity (as we term it) towards the tribe of a chief residing on the opposite side of the Bay, about twenty-five miles distant, 'to whom,' says Mr Savage, 'they had vowed eternal enmity.' They take the field resolved either to conquer or to die: all their honours are reserved for successful warriors. The spirit of inveterate hostility is so unceasing between individuals of these tribes, that on purchasing a bill-hook in the Strand, the native whom our author brought over, brandished it with infinite exultation, swearing at his return that '*he would kill Oorootookee with it*,' meaning the chief of the enemy. In short, had these poor people been born on the Seine or the Thames, and had every thing to lose by war, as we have, they could not possibly be more heartily, though they might be more disinterestedly, attached to that generous and useful pursuit.

The religion of the New Zealanders our author could not learn much about; probably because there was but little to learn. They believe that a man came from the moon a long while ago, and went back again, but continues to be anxious for their welfare. To such of our readers as are curious in foreign gods, we recommend the specimen at p. 21, being the figure of this man of the moon, which they fashion of green talc, and wear for a sort of protection in seasons of difficulty. They sing a song of cheerful adoration at sunrise, and a more melancholy strain at sunset; they likewise have a mournful hymn to the moon. They have some strange superstitions, as not feeding themselves for some days after they have either cut or combed their hair; and

removing their heads, with great marks of horror, from below a place where food of any sort is put. They have some idea of future rewards and punishments. We must probably refer to religious rites also, their singular custom of mourning upon the return of absent friends: If the absence has been protracted, the female relations never fail to disfigure themselves by cutting their faces violently with pieces of broken shell. The scene upon parting, is, nevertheless, nearly the same; consisting of tears and lamentations in great abundance.

For further details respecting all these points, we must refer to the work of Mr Savage itself; and likewise for an amusing account of the native whom he brought to England,—his behaviour on the voyage, and after he landed here. We trust, that his example will be followed by other voyagers, and are sure, that, at any rate, he has laid the public under considerable obligations, both by the light which he has thrown on the character and habits of these islanders, and the intelligence which he has communicated respecting them and their coast, to such as may hereafter visit that part of the world.

We know not very well how to apologize for concluding this article by introducing several curious particulars with which we have been favoured, with respect to the progress of civilization among another class of savages to whom we some time ago called the attention of our readers. This information, however, well deserves to be known, and we possess at present no other occasion upon which to communicate it. It is the last intelligence relating to the success of the Quaker experiment for civilizing the North American Indians, which we described at length in our sixteenth Number; and requires no further introduction.

'Agreeably to thy requeſt,' ſays our informer, 'I ſhall attempt to furniſh ſome account from my notes, kept on a late viſit to the Seneca Indians, reſiding near the Alleganey and Cattaragues Rivers. In the 7th Month, 1806, three of the Committee having charge of Indian concerns, were appointed to pay the ſaid Indians a viſit, in order to ſee what improvement they had made ſince our laſt in 1803, as well as to promote the object of the concern generally, by having friendly conferences with them, and pointing out ſuch things as would conduce to their happineſs. We ſet out the 1ſt of the 9th Month; arrived about the middle of the ſame; and found the Indians moſtly at home, employed in uſeful labour. Two of us being known to moſt of them, our meeting was cauſe of much gladneſs. In paſſing along to the ſettlement formed by the Committee at Tuneſſaſſa, I was aſtoniſhed at the improvements made by the Indians within the laſt three years; for, notwithſtanding my very ſanguine expectations, they had conſiderably exceeded, in labour and attention, any opinion I had formed. The aſpect of things was truly pleaſing, indicating increaſing induſtry and economy, and very encouraging to us, as proofs

proofs that our labours have not been in vain. Even the roads opened by them are remarkably well made, being much superior to those we observed among the frontier white inhabitants. They had erected nearly one hundred new houses since my last visit, most of them two stories high, and well put up with hewn logs, very perpendicular at the corner, and nicely fitted together. Some have pannelled doors and stone chimneys; and a great many of them glass windows. Their farms are enclosed under good fence, from seven to ten rails high; and there is a much greater proportion of corn planted this season than has been known before, and it generally looked well. Diverse of them have raised wheat, oats, buckwheat, potatoes, turnips, beans, squashes, pumpkins, cucumbers, and melons of various kinds. They have a number of horses, and a good stock of cattle and hogs. The buildings are, with very little exception, their own work; their ingenuity in some of the mechanic arts being equal to their industry in agricultural pursuits.

'The above statement exhibits the progress making by one tribe of the Senecas towards civilization, and furnishes those interested in their welfare with great encouragement in the prosecution of a work so well calculated to increase the comforts of human life: and it is a peculiar satisfaction to find, that one effect of Friends' endeavours with these people, is a diminution of labour on the part of the females, in the cornfields, &c.; for in their former savage state, the women appear to have been consigned to slavery in the field, the procuring of wood, and many other hardships; the men seldom, if ever, assisting them therein. But notwithstanding they labour less in the field, they are not idle. Some of them have been taught the art of making soap, in order to promote cleanliness. Some have also learned to spin and knit; and, in all probability, their habits will, ere long, be as much changed as the men's. Both men and women were much more cleanly in their persons, clothes, and houses, than at the time of our last visit.

'There are a number of other tribes whose advances are very considerable, and quite equal to what might be reasonably expected. We were as much encouraged at Cattaragues as at Alleganey, although the improvements were not so great; they being more remotely situated, and of later date.

'It is very remarkable, that the Indians among whom we have endeavoured to promote the arts of civil life, have very generally abandoned the use of ardent spirits: except two or three of those on or near the Alleganey, the whole tribe has relinquished it for about seven years. We are told that the Cattarague Senecas had all quitted it (except one) for about four years; and many others. Our grist and saw mills at Alleganey are very useful. Population is evidently increasing with them, from this change in their way of life; and they appeared to enjoy good health.'

'The Committee, which for several years has devoted much attention to the important subject, in a written report to the Yearly Meeting, dated the 17th of the 4th Month, 1807, mentions the receipt of infor-

mation from the Friends ſettled at Tuneſſaſſa, from which, and the re-report of three of their own number, who viſited the ſettlement in the 9th Month laſt, they ſay, "It is manifeſt that there is in the natives an encouraging improvement in agriculture, and ſome of the mechanic arts, as well as in the regularity of their lives and manners; the latter of which, we apprehend, has been conſiderably promoted by the aid of our women Friends, who are among them." And that report, ſtating the general import of the narrative of one of the viſitors, (firſt above mentioned,) further expreſſes, that "ſome of the Indian women and girls appear much diſpoſed to be inſtructed by the women Friends;" and that, in the courſe of their journey, they had "not ſeen one Indian the leaſt intoxicated with liquor."—A proof of reformation, which they only can fully appreciate, who are acquainted with the former intemperate habits of this long-neglected claſs of our fellow-creatures.'

To this interesting intelligence we have to add, that the President of the United States has lately encouraged the undertaking, by appointing a superintendant and eight assistants, chosen from the body of the Quakers, to reside among the Indians, with suitable salaries, and an allowance of expenses for travelling, distributing tools, &c. The yearly sum allotted to this service, is about ten thousand dollars.

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ART. XIV. *Household Furniture and Internal Decorations executed from Designs.* By Thomas Hope. Folio, pp. 173. London, 1807.

AT a time when we thought every male creature in the country was occupied with its politics and its dangers, an English gentleman of large fortune and good education, has found leisure to compose a folio on household furniture. We do not think this would have been much to his credit, even if the upholstery had been more laudable than it is. A man of taste, if he be also a man of leisure, will shew it, no doubt, in his furniture, as well as in his dress; but he will infallibly make himself ridiculous, in this country, if he make a study and an occupation of such frivolous concerns. What should we say of a young nobleman who had studied and travelled, and drawn and modelled, for many years, in order to acquire and describe a collection of classical—wigs, spencers, boots, and pantaloons? And what better are Mr Hope's stools, fire-screens, candlesticks, and dressing-glasses? There is in England, we believe, a pretty general contempt for those who are habitually and seriously occupied about such paltry and fantastical luxuries; and at such a moment as the present, we confess we are not a little proud of this Roman spirit,

spirit, which leaves the study of those effeminate elegancies to slaves and foreigners, and holds it beneath the dignity of a free man to be eminently skilled in the decoration of couches and the mounting of chandeliers.

If we were to form our judgment of Mr Hope's taste from his style of writing, we should certainly be shy of submitting ourselves to his guidance—even in the form of our ice pails. But when a gentleman condescends to write about household furniture, it is natural enough that his production should read like a flashy shop-bill, or the eloquence of a happy auctioneer. We do not know that we have ever met with any thing, out of a newspaper, so exquisitely bombastic, pedantic, and trashy, as the composition of this colossal volume. The Introduction, which covers near twenty of these vast pages, is, upon the whole, the most elaborate and highly finished part of the volume; and really deserves some commemoration for the preeminence of its solemn foppery. If the salvation of Europe depended on Mr Hope's eloquence, he could not have exerted it with more earnestness and animation; and we are convinced, that neither the restorers of learning nor the reformers of religion, ever spoke of their subject in terms half so magnificent, nor of their own abilities with such studied and graceful modesty, as this ingenious person has here done, in recommending to his countrymen a better form for their lamps, sideboards, and cradles. As the great price of the volume puts it out of the reach of ordinary readers, we shall make a few extracts,—just to let them see what sort of books fine people pay ten guineas for.

The introduction sets out with informing us, that 'under the 'general denomination of *Household Furniture*, are comprised an 'infinite variety of different productions of human industry, 'wrought in wood, in stone, in metal, in composition of various 'descriptions, in silk, in wool, in cotton, and in other less usual 'materials.' We are then told that these things may be either ugly or pretty; and that, till very lately, they were abandoned, in this country, 'to the taste of the sole upholder;' which meritorious description of artists is then stigmatized as being 'utterly ignorant of the most familiar principles of visible beauty, and wholly uninstructed in the simplest elements of drawing.' In consequence of this sad desertion of duty by our men of taste, Mr Hope proceeds to inform us, that

'Furniture of every description, wrought by the most mechanical processes only, either remained absolutely void of all ornament whatever, or, if made to exhibit any attempt at embellishment, offered in its decoration no approach towards that breadth and repose of surface, that distinctness and contrast of outline, that opposition of plain and of enriched parts, that harmony and significance of accessories, and that apt accord between the peculiar meaning of each imitative or significant de-

tail, and the peculiar deſtination of the main object, to which theſe acceſſories belonged, which are calculated to afford to the eye and mind the moſt lively, moſt permanent, and moſt unfading enjoyment.' p. 2.

From the badness of our taste, Mr Hope next deduces the inceſſant fluctuation of our faſhions; and laments, in very moving terms, the great sums thus uſeleſsly thrown away, which, by being expended on household furniture of a better quality, 'might have increaſed in endleſs progreſs the opulence of the individual, and the wealth of the community.' Something better, indeed, might ſometimes be had abroad; but Mr Hope's patriotism ſtartles at the idea of importation; and he would by no means be acceſſory to 'diminiſhing the balance of trade in our favour,' or 'raiſing the pride of foreigners at our expenſe, by 'a tacit acknowledgement of inferiority in the arts of elegance 'and taſte.' This public-ſpirited principle, indeed, ſeems to have actuated him throughout; for, after talking of his improvements as likely to convert into objects of 'beneficial exportation' those articles 'which had heretofore only appeared in the repul'ſive and unpatriotic ſhape of expenſive articles of foreign in'genuity,' he ſums up the advantages to be gained 'through 'the more general diffuſion of the charms of art, and through the 'thence reſulting more general initiation into the myſteries of 'taſte,' in the following ſublime period.

'Thus, in fine, I hoped to contribute my mite not only towards remotely giving new food to the induſtry of the poor, but new decorum to the expenditure of the rich; not only towards ultimately increaſing the welfare and the commerce of the nation, but refining the intellectual and ſenſible enjoyments of the individual; and thus, through the diſtant but powerful operation of the *new ſtimuli applied to the human mind*, I flattered myſelf with ſome day ſeeing the ſame copious ſource of benefit here firſt opened, produce *farther advancement in virtue and patriotiſm*, as well as farther progreſs in opulence and enjoyment; farther claims to reſpect in our own eyes, as well as farther titles to conſideration in the eyes of foreigners.' p. 6. 7.

Would any one imagine that this eloquent person was talking of improvements in the conſtruction of chairs, foot-ſtools and book-caſes? But the reader will have but a very inadequate idea of Mr Hope's gift of wordiness, unleſs we give him a little more. After talking of 'the humble and reſtricted way' in which he had endeavoured to ſet the example of a better taſte, he expreſſes a modeſt hope, that, by this means, the arts of design

—'might be made to diffuſe their beneficial influence throughout the minuteſt ramifications even of what had hitherto been conſidered as the excluſive province of the mere mechanic trades; and that conſequently almoſt every production of induſtry, reſcued in ſome meaſure from the hands of the mere plodding artiſan, would be enabled to give

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ſome ſcope to the talent of the profeſſor of the more liberal arts,—the draughtſman, the modeller, the painter, and the ſculptor.' p. 4.

'Thus, I hoped to open to ingenuity a new and boundleſs field, in which the greater number of artiſts, who, though qualified to riſe above the ſphere of the mere artiſan, yet are not ſufficiently gifted to reach the higheſt provinces of the fine arts, might find an ample ſource of ſuch employment, as, without being of the moſt exalted deſcription, were yet, to a certain degree, elegant and dignified; and in which, moreover, that ſmaller number of ſuperior men, deſtined by the liberality of nature to aſpire at eminence in the higheſt and nobleſt branches of the fine arts, might find a means firſt to diſcover the latent germs of their genius to themſelves and to others; firſt to cultivate and to extend their abilities; firſt to give to a diſtruſtful public earneſts of the far greater height to which more ample encouragement might ultimately carry their powers; and firſt to preſent to that public, inducements to beſtow on them that greater encouragement required for this purpoſe.' p. 5.

Having sketched in these and twenty such passages, the splendid object he had in view in this laborious undertaking, Mr Hope proceeds, in language still more moving and magnificent, to describe the difficulties he had to encounter in this arduous attempt.

'The union of the different modifications of viſible and intellectual beauty which were deſireable, with the different attributes of utility and comfort which were eſſential; the aſſociation of all the elegancies of antique forms and ornaments, with all the requiſites of modern cuſtoms and habits, having heretofore been ſo ſeldom attended to, in objects of common and daily uſe, I found no one profeſſional man, at once poſſeſſed of ſufficient intimacy with the ſtores of literature to ſuggeſt ideas, and of ſufficient practice in the art of drawing to execute deſigns, that might be capable of ennobling, through means of their ſhape and their acceſſories, things ſo humble in their chief purpoſe and deſtination as a table and a chair, a footſtool and a ſcreen.' p. 7.

In this state of miserable destitution, a feebler genius would have been led to relinquish the attempt. But Mr Hope had resources in himself; and thus obliged to depend, as he is modestly pleased to express himself, on 'his own inadequate abilities, 'and on that feeble talent for drawing, which he had thus far 'only cultivated as the means of beguiling an idle hour,' he set about making drawings himself of the different articles of furniture he wished to procure. But new perplexities crowded in upon him. The upholder could not work from mere drawings; and Mr Hope could find no one in this barbarous land capable of making models from them! He is obliged to have them done in Italy. He takes two pages to tell this,—beginning thus.

'From the lines firſt traced by the draughtſman on a mere plane, muſt ſtill, in the ſecond place, by the modeller, be wrought, in ſome ſoft

ſoft and yielding ſubſtance, a relievo, exhibiting in detail all of thoſe projections and receſſes, which are unſuſceptible of being expreſſed in the drawing, and which nevertheleſs are intended to be diſplayed in the actual implement, before theſe concavities and theſe convexities can, in the third and laſt inſtance, by the carver or the caſter be, with any certainty of ſucceſs, transferred to the more ſolid and more inflexible material, out of which the utenſil itſelf is finally to be wrought.' p. 9.

Even when he had got his models, he found that, 'like the race of draughtsmen and of modellers, that of carvers in wood and stone, and casters in metal, were almost totally wanting;' so that, 'after the most laborious search,' he was only able to find two men to whom he could entrust the execution of his designs. These two distinguished persons he has gratefully immortalized by naming them in this monumental volume; and, foreigners though they be, we will not withhold them from our readers. The one is Decaix, a bronzist, and a native of France; the other Bogaert, a carver, born in the Low Countries. With this scanty assistance, Mr Hope's work proceeded so slowly, that he closes his narrative by stating, that from these causes 'I have hitherto succeeded in embodying in wood and metal, or 'imprinting on paper and cotton, but a very small portion of 'the latter and more extended ideas, which in the course of my 'first and more restricted endeavours, I successively was led to 'conceive.' The upholsterers, however, had got hold of many of his articles; and as they were exposing them to ridicule by 'extravagant caricatures, and injudicious imitations,' he thought it necessary to rescue them from this degradation, by the present publication, which, among other advantages, is expected to form an era in the history of engraving, and to produce 'a total new 'development of the germs of the peculiar species of abilities 'requisite for the purpose.' This subject is pursued in the style of which the reader has now had a sufficient specimen; and the introduction ends with an earnest and affectionate warning to the young artist into whose hand the volume may fall, 'not 'to confine his exertions to a mere servile copying of its con-'tents.'

The work itself consists chiefly of plates, with descriptions, and occasional remarks and dissertations,—of which, we think, the most valuable and important is the following fine eulogium on bronze.

'Ornaments in bronze, which, being caſt, may, wherever a frequent repetition of the ſame forms is required, be wrought at a much cheaper rate than ornaments in other materials, only producible through the more tedious proceſs of carving; which, moreover, may be indiſcriminately affixed to objects in wood, or ſtone, or metal, or porcelain, or any other; which, thirdly, when once placed, ſeem liable to little

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or no injury or diſcolouring either from the effects of weather or wear, of carriage or dirt; which, in the fourth place, nowiſe irretrievably cohering with the body of the object, on whoſe ſurface they are ſituated, may, either on a renewal or a change of habitation, be taken off things become uſeleſs or decayed, however long they have adhered to the ſame, and be applied to new objects; and which, finally, on a deſire to increaſe the richneſs of their appearance, may, however long they have ſerved in their green and naked ſtate, ſtill aſſume a richer garb, be gilt and be burniſhed,—ſeem, in a country where fuel is leſs expenſive than hands, and where the atmoſphere, charged with damp and with ſmoke, is ſeldom pure, preferable to ſculptured ornaments, whoſe original fabrication, in any quantities, is more expenſive; whoſe texture is more brittle; whoſe hue is more delicate; which, eaſily diſcoloured, and eaſily broken, are difficult to clean, and more difficult to mend; and which, laſtly, never ſuſceptible of being ſevered from the object to which they belong, muſt follow its fate, and periſh with the ſame.' p. 29, 30.

Of the plates, and of the articles which they represent, we are of course unable to give our readers any clear ideas. Many of the objects, being exactly copied from the fine remains of ancient art, are unquestionably beautiful in themselves; but we must take the liberty to say, that we think them, for the most part, quite unsuitable for articles of household furniture, and to predict, that the fashion which Mr Hope may now succeed in introducing will not be much more permanent than those which it has supplanted. We say so for a great variety of reasons; some of which we shall shortly run over.

In the *first* place, the articles are in general too bulky, massive, and ponderous, to be commodious for general use.—There are arm chairs, whose cold hollow square would contain a woolsack,—and couches which could not be moved by a dozen of Irish chairmen. A considerable number of articles of this kind, are copied from antient monuments in marble. But Mr Hope should have known, that sculpture requires a mass and breadth in its representations, which must be extremely inconvenient, and therefore unbecoming, in utensils of ordinary use. In things which are of real, frequent, and essential use, the chief source of beauty will always be the visible sign of utility; and any quality which obviously interferes with that, must produce the effect of deformity. Now, in chairs, tables, footstools, &c. it is a substantial part of their convenience, to be easily moved; and accordingly, the improving luxury of the age, has gone on to make them lighter and lighter for the greater part of a century. Mr Hope, however, is a great advocate for solidity; and has produced such an assemblage of squared timber, and massive brass, as would weigh down the floor and crush out the walls of an ordinary

ordinary London house. Let any one look at the chairs in the Egyptian room, (pl. 8.), or at that in plate 22. with their enormous pediments, friezes, and massive bronze ornaments, and say whether it be possible for such things to come into use as articles of furniture, till aldermen wear armour, and take their afternoon naps in Guildhall.

In the *second* place, we object to the whole scheme and system of embellishment, as being affected, pedantic and unnatural in the very highest degree. Every thing is to be adorned, according to Mr Hope, with emblems and symbols connected with the uses to which it is applied,—and all these emblems are to be derived from *classical mythology!* We can scarcely conceive any conceit more miserably poor, cold and shallow than this. After having banished the heathen gods and their attributes pretty well from our poetry, we are to introduce them habitually into our eating-rooms, nurseries and staircases; and, in the course of our daily business and domestic life, to set constantly before us a chaos of symbols and effigies which no man can interpret who has not the whole Pantheon at his finger ends! We should expect something like this taste in the vestibule of an academical museum, or in the dwelling of a fantastic usher of a grammar-school; but we should be very sorry to see it supersede every other in the metropolis of a great and manly and polished people. Is there any other grown Englishman who would choose to speak of his furniture in this jargon? Describing an organ, for instance—

'The car of the god of music, of Apollo, glides over the centre of the pediment. The tripods, sacred to this deity, surmount the angles. Laurel wreaths and other emblems, belonging to the son of Latona, appear embroidered on the drapery, which, in the form of an ancient peplum or veil, descends over the pipes of the instrument, and gives it the appearance of a sanctuary.' p. 22.

He afterwards says of a sideboard, 'It is adorned with emblems of Bacchus and of Ceres. Cellaret ornamented with amphoræ and with figures allusive to the liquid element. To the right, a sloping altar surmounted by a vase. On the table, a vase with Bacchanalian marks,' &c.; and, in the same taste, we meet with 'a mantle-piece surmounted with two Mythriac figures, and the heads of Vesta and Vulcan, emblematic of the worship of fire—a stand for ewer and bason with *sea monsters*, and other aquatic emblems round the frieze—bedsteads ornamented with figures of Night rising on her crescent and spreading her poppies,' &c. &c.

We have already said, that the constant recurrence of those emblems which are not naturally expressive of any thing, and are only significant of course to the professed antiquary, must give

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a pedantic and affected air to any mansion of which they formed the sole decorations. But, in the *third* place, we would object to Mr Hope's peculiar manner of grouping and combining them, as being beyond all former example artificial and offensive. He has made a perfect hieroglyphic or enigma of most of his apartments by this means; and produced something so childishly complicated and fantastic as to be impenetrable without a paraphrase, and ridiculous when it is interpreted. As a specimen we give his description of plate 7.

'The central object in this room is a fine marble group, executed by Mr Flaxman, and representing Aurora visiting Cephalus on Mount Ida. The whole surrounding decoration has been rendered, in some degree, analogous to these personages, and to the face of nature at the moment when the first of the two, the goddess of the morn, is supposed to announce approaching day. Round the bottom of the room still reign the emblems of night. In the rail of a black marble table are introduced medallions of the god of sleep and of the goddess of night. The bird consecrated to the latter deity perches on the pillars of a black marble chimneypiece, whose broad frieze is studded with golden stars. The sides of the room display, *in satin curtains*, draped in ample folds over pannels of looking-glass, and edged with *black velvet*, the fiery hue which fringes the clouds just before sunrise: and in a ceiling of cooler sky blue are sown, amidst a few still unextinguished luminaries of the night, the roses which the harbinger of day, in her course, spreads on every side around her.

'The pedestal of the group offers the torches, the garlands, the wreaths, and the other insignia belonging to the mistress of Cephalus, disposed around the fatal dart of which she made her lover a present. The broad band which girds the top of the room, contains medallions of the ruddy goddess and of the Phrygian youth, intermixed with the instruments and the emblems of the chase, his favourite amusement. Figures of the youthful hours, adorned with wreaths of foliage, adorn part of the furniture, which is chiefly gilt, in order to give more relief to the azure, the black, and the orange compartments of the hangings.' p. 25, 26.

Would any one desire a more exquisite representation of the Dawn? Satin curtains with black velvet binding!—a marble table with a rail!—a black chimney-piece and guilt furniture!

We do not know any thing at all parallel to this—but the ingenious personification of Moonshine, and a rough-cast Wall in the lamentable tragedy of Pyramus and Thisbe;—and earnestly hope that we may be defended from seeing Mr Hope's chamber copied in any other dwelling, till our dramatists revive those magnificent personages.

In the *last* place, we object to Mr Hope's system of embellishment, because it is, in a thousand instances, incongruous and inconsistent

inconsistent with the very principle which he has himself laid down. That principle, if through the glare of his diction we have been able to discover it, is, that every object should have an appropriate ornament, and that all its decorations should bear reference to its uses, and to each other. Now, though, in the instances already quoted, and in some others, a melancholy attempt is made to preserve this pedantic congruity, it is obviously and entirely abandoned in the far greater number of the articles with which we are here presented in illustration of it. Why, for instance, should a chair be in the shape of a lyre,—or of two antique swords, —or have a ram's head on the arm, and a bronze pine on the top of the corner? By virtue of what analogy is a griffin or a chimæra introduced to support a dressing table?—or what has a lion's head to do on the pediment of a sofa, and a man's bust on the corner? Can Mr Hope give any very good reason why a wine-cooler should be made in the shape of an ancient bath,—why a sloping altar should be placed by the end of a sideboard,—why a fireplace should be made, in one instance, in the form of a façade to a sepulchral chamber, and in another in that of an Egyptian portico,—or finally, why a fire screen should have the form of a Roman shield, and be adorned with the *fulmen* of Jupiter? All meaning and propriety is plainly lost sight of in those and innumerable other instances. But the most ludicrous of the whole, is that, in which two horses' heads are made to project from the mantle-piece of an eating room, for this very satisfactory reason,—that there is a bust in the centre inscribed with the name of *Philip;*—which name, in Greek, the unlearned reader will please to be informed, signifies a lover of horses!—This is about the most pitiful attempt at a *pun* in sculpture that we ever recollect to have met with. The lion tearing the cocks at Blenheim is not half so bad: nor do we believe that any thing more would be necessary to discredit this whole collection, along with the system and the taste of its author, than merely to mention, that, in pursuance of his grand project for imparting significance, harmony and intellect to the decorations of our houses, he had brought two horses to his parlour fireside, because he had a bust of *Philip* on the mantle-piece! There is a similar attempt at a pun in ornamenting a lamp with a wreath of *nightshade;* and, for any thing we know, there may be a more interesting and ingenious allusion of the same sort in the decoration of a cradle with emblems of Dreams, Night, and—*Hope.*

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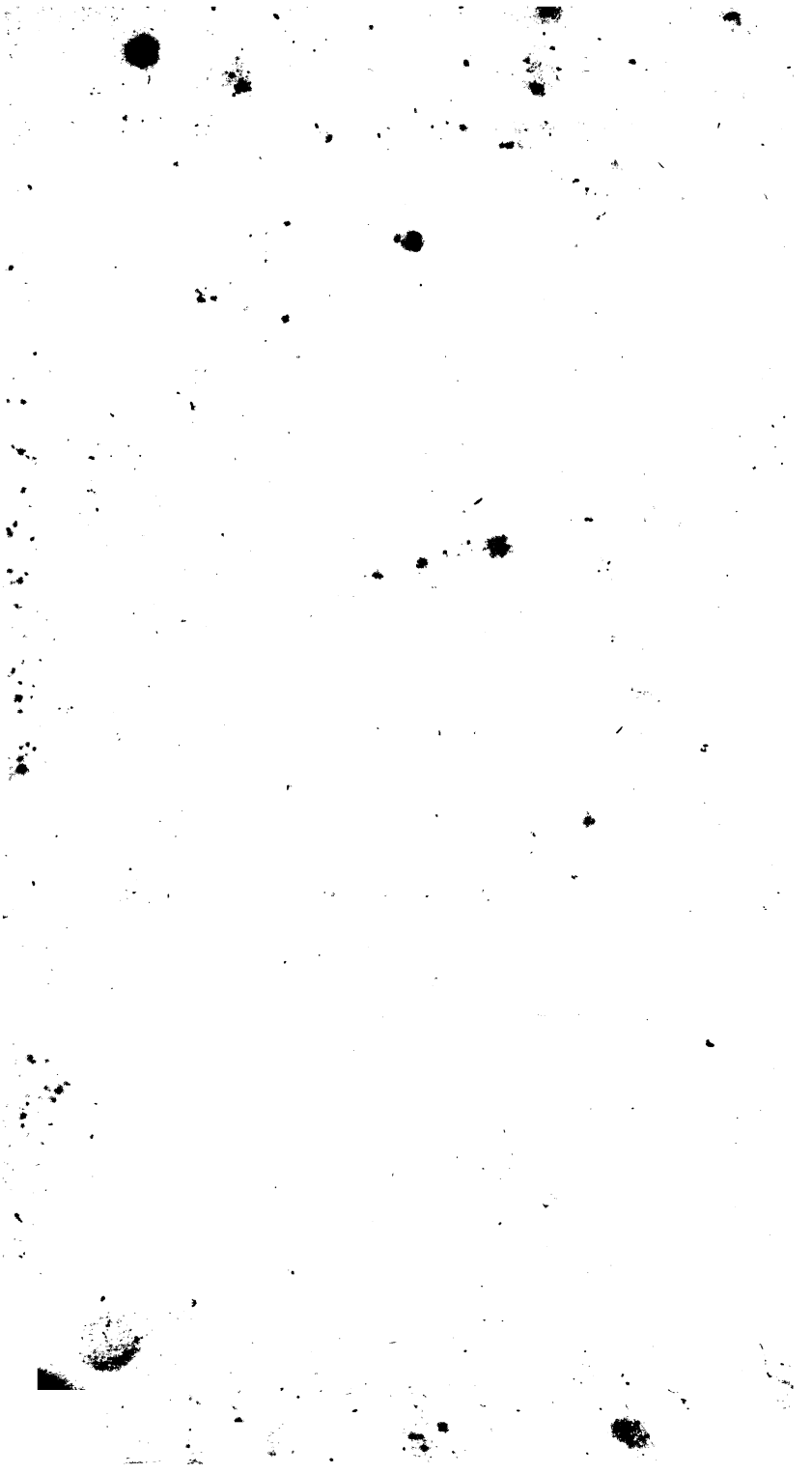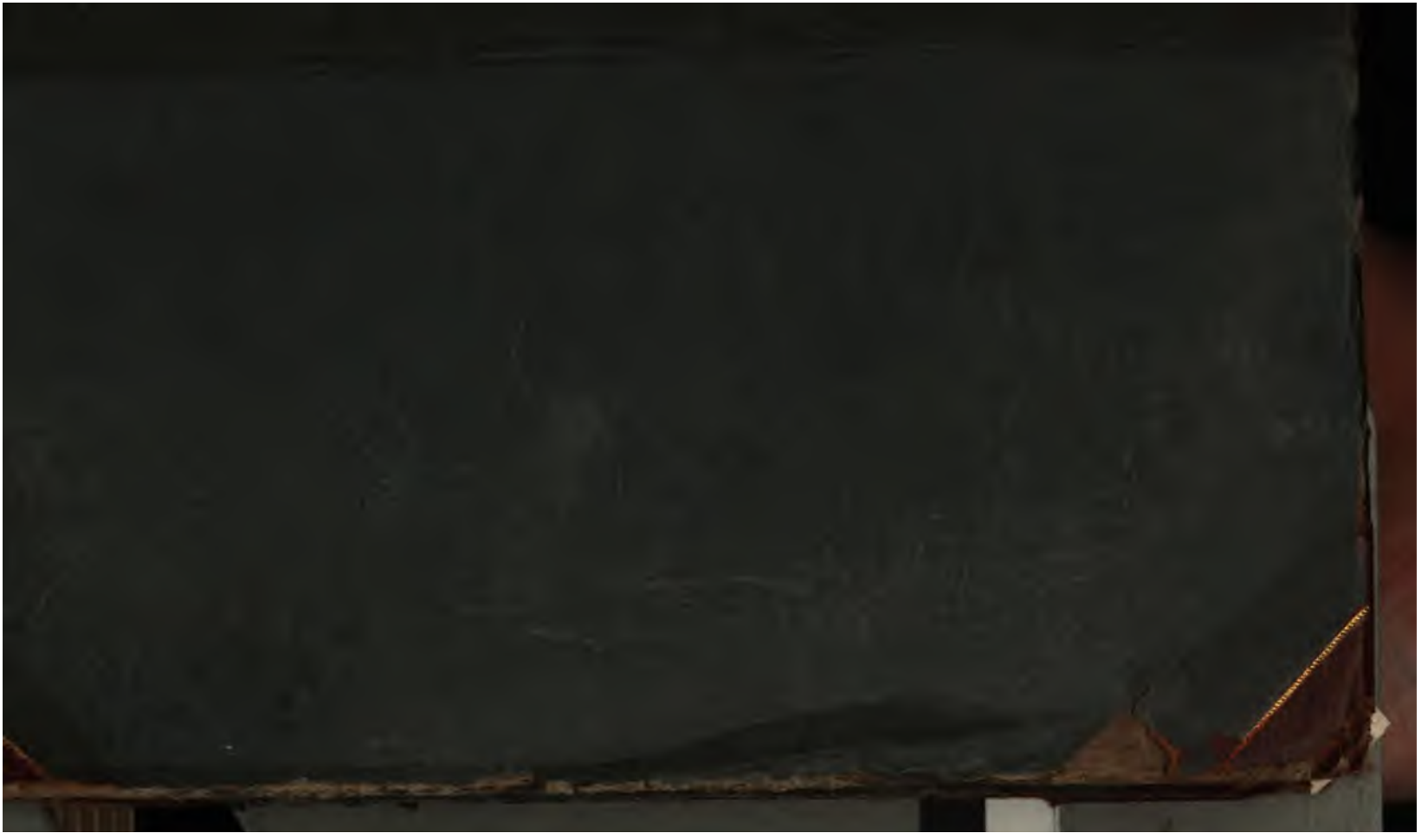
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